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THE

GREAT EPIC OF INDIA

Its Character and Origin

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ABBREVIATIONS.

As most of the references in this volume are to the Mahābhārata, all numbers without alphabetical prefix refer to this epic (Bombay edition, or with prefix C. to Calcutta edition); but when necessary to distinguish a reference to the Mahābhārata from a reference to the Rāmāyaṇa, I have prefixed M., which therefore does not refer to Manu, but to the great epic. To bring the two parallel editions of the epics into line, I have used R. or RB. for the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa also (rather than for the Bengal text), and for clearness I employ G. for the Gorresio (Bengal) text thus:—

M. or MB., Mahābhārata, Bombay edition.
R. or RB., Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay edition.
C., Mahābhārata, Calcutta edition.
G., Rāmāyana, Gorresio's edition.

Other abbreviations, such as those usually employed to indicate native texts, or, for example, ZDMG. and JAOS. for the Journals of the German and American Oriental Societies respectively, require no elucidation for those likely to use them. Those using the old edition of RB. must add one to all references to sargas after vi, 88, and two to all after vi, 107. Sanskrit words usually anglicized have so been written.

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PREFACE.

THE sub-title of this book places analysis before speculation. In recent studies of the great epic this order has been reversed, for a method calling itself synthesis has devoted itself chiefly to dwelling on epic uniformity, and has either discarded analysis altogether or made it subject to the results of "synthetic" speculation.

The best way, of course, to take up the historical investigation of a literary product the origin of which is well known is to begin with the source and afterwards to study the character of the completed whole. But if the origin be unknown, and we wish to discover it, we must invert the process, and begin our study with an examination of the character of the work. When the results of our analysis become plain, we may group together those elements which appear to have existed from the first, and thus, on the basis of analysis, reconstruct the past. To begin with a synthesis (so called) of whatever is preserved in the product, and so to postulate for the beginning exactly what we find to be the completed whole, is a process that leads us only to the point from which we started. As vaguely incorrect as is the designation synthesis for the method so called is the method itself, which thus does away with all analysis. Analysis is an examination of constituents. As a method it is, like any other, obnoxious to error, but it is not on that account an erroneous method. It is in fact, as turned upon history, nothing but inevitable critique; and synthesis without such critique becomes merely the exploitation of individual opinion, which selects what pleases it and rejects, without visible cause, what is incompatible with the synthetic scheme.

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In the case of the great epic of India, the peremptory demand that we should reject the test of analysis is the more remarkable as the poem has never been completely analyzed. The literature mentioned in it has been ably collected in the well-known memoirs of Professor Holtzmann, who has also indicated what in his opinion may be supplied from allusions; but the poem has not been thoroughly examined to see what literature it reflects from the age of the later Upanishads or Vedic schools; it has not received a careful investigation from the metrical side; its philosophy has been reviewed only in the most haphazard fashion; and its inner relation to other epic poetry has been almost ignored. Yet critic after critic has passed judgment on the question of the date and origin of this poem, of which we know as yet scarcely more than that, before a definitive answer can be given, the whole huge structure must be studied from many points of view. And last of all the synthesist comes also, with his ready-made answer to a problem the conditions of which have not yet been clearly stated.

Thus far, indeed, the synthetic theory has not succeeded in winning over a single scholar to accept its chief conclusions, either as regards the contention that the epic was composed 500 B. C., or in respect of the massed books of didactic material and their original coherence with the narrative. Though the results of the method have not proved to be entirely nugatory, yet they are in the main irreconcilable with a sober estimate of the date and origin of the epic; but the hypothesis is, in truth, only a caricature of Bühler's idea, that the epic was older than it was thought to be. In its insistence upon the didactic element as the base of the whole epic tale it bears a curious resemblance to a mediæval dogma, the epitaph of which was written long ago. For there were once certain ingenious alchemists who maintained that the Legend of the Golden Fleece was a

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legend only to the multitude, whereas to the illuminati it was a didactic narrative teaching the permutation of other metals into gold; on the tomb of which brilliant but fallacious theory was finally inscribed: *λόγος ὅς ἐστι τῇ μὲν τόλμῃ μέγας τῇ δ' ἀποδείξει κενός.*[1]

But though this theory has failed as a whole, yet, owing to the brilliant manner in which it was first presented by its clever inventor, and perhaps also to its sharing in the charm which attaches to all works of the imagination, it has had a certain success with those who have not clearly distinguished between what was essential and adventitious in the hypothesis. The Rev. Mr. Dahlmann, to whom we owe the theory, has shown that epic legends and didactic motif are closely united in the epic as it is to-day; but this is a very different proposition from that of his main thesis, which is that complete books of didactic content were parts of the original epic. One of these statements is an indubitable fact; the other, an historical absurdity.

This historical absurdity, upheld by the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann in a rapidly appearing series of somewhat tautological volumes, is of much wider application than has perhaps occurred to the author. For in the later additions, which the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann regards as primitive parts of the epic, are found those sections which reflect most clearly the influence of Buddhism. If these sections revert to 500 B. C., all that Buddha as a personality stands for in the history of Hindu religious thought and practice belongs not to him but to his antecedents, and therewith vanishes much of the glory of Buddha. Though the author has not publicly recognized this obvious result of his theory, yet, since it is obvious, it may have appeared to some that such a darken-

[1] Almost identical, in fact, is the verdict on the synthetic argument delivered by the veteran French critic, M. Barth: "conclusion audacieuse . . . théorie absolument manquée" (Journal des Savants, 1897, pp. 337, 448).

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ing of the Light of Asia added glory to the Light of the World, and this is possibly the reason why the synthetic theory has been received with most applause by the reviewers of religious journals, who are not blind to its bearings. But however important inferentially, this is a side-issue, and the historian's first duty is to present the facts irrespective of their implication.

On certain peculiarities (already adversely criticised by disinterested scholars) characteristic less of the method of investigation than of the method of dialectics which it has suited the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann to adopt, it is superfluous to animadvert in detail. Evidence suppressed by one seeker, in his zeal for truth as he sees it, is pretty sure to be turned up by another who has as much zeal and another method; nor has invective ever proved to be a satisfactory substitute for logic. As regards the claims of synthesis and analysis, each method has its place, but analysis will always have the first place. After it has done its work there will be time for honest synthesis.

The material here offered is by way of beginning, not by way of completing, the long task of analyzing the great epic. It is too varied for one volume, and this volume has suffered accordingly, especially in the chapters on philosophy and the interrelation of the epics. But the latter chapter was meant only as a sketch, and its worth, if it has any, lies in its appendix; while the former could be handled adequately only by a philosopher. The object of these and other chapters was partly to see in how far the actual data rendered probable the claims of the synthetic method, but more particularly to give the data without concealment or misstatement. For this reason, while a great deal of the book is necessarily directed against what appeared to be errors of one sort or another, the controversial point of view has not seldom been ignored. Pending the preparation of a

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better text than is at present available, though Dr. Winternitz encourages the hope of its eventual appearance, the present studies are intended merely as signboards to aid the journey toward historical truth. But even if, as is hoped, they serve to direct thither, they will be rendered useless as they are passed by. Whether they are deficient in their primary object will be for travellers on the same road to say.

JANUARY, 1901.

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THE GREAT EPIC OF INDIA

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THE GREAT EPIC OF INDIA.

CHAPTER ONE.

LITERATURE KNOWN TO THE EPIC POETS.

PARADOXICAL as it may seem, the great epic mentions post-epical as well as prae-epical works. To solve the paradox it is necessary to assume that the text has been interpolated, a fact admitted as a last recourse even by him who holds that the epic was originally what it is to-day. But interpolations to be referred to when everything else fails will not suffice. A large part of the present epic is interpolation, some of it self-interpolated, so to speak. For, not content with receiving accretions of all sorts, narrative and didactic, the Bhārata, in default of other sources of interpolation, copied itself. Thus the same story, hymn, and continuation are found in iii, 83, 116 ff. and ix, 38, 39 ff. The matter of xii, 223 is simply enlarged in 227, while xii, 248–9 repeats xii, 194 and then reappears again in xii, 286. An example of reproduction with variations is found in ix, 51, 50, as compared with iii, 133, 12 ff. In one case a youthful prodigy encounters venerable sages and teaches them the Veda; in the other a priest and king are instructed, but with the same setting of proverbial lore. So xii, 185 is a reproduction of iii, 213, 1–19; xii, 277 (8), of xii, 175, etc.

It is not strange, therefore, that a work thus mechanically inflated should have absorbed older literature. But to understand the relation between the epic and the older literature copied by the epic it is essential to know the whole literature referred to as well as cited. In this chapter, then, beginning with the Vedas, I shall follow the course of revealed and

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profane literature as far as it is noticed in the epic itself, reserving, however, for the two following chapters the Rāmāyaṇa and the philosophical systems.

The Vedas.

Allusions to Vedic literature, veda, chandas, mantra, çruti, are naturally common in every part of the Mahābhārata, but except in the didactic or later epic these are usually of a general character. It may be assumed that the bulk of Çruti or revealed works, if not all of it, was composed before the epic began. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see which portions of this hereditary literature are especially mentioned, and particularly important to observe how the epic cites from older works. Even the fact that it does cite verbatim the words of the holy texts is of historical moment when it is remembered that in other places even women and slaves are exhorted to hear the recital of the epic.[1] We find indeed in the course of the epic narrative that a woman is taught Vedic mantras,[2] but the mantras are from the Atharva Veda, which, without being particularly slighted, is less regarded than the older Vedas, as is shown by this incident; for no woman would have been taught Rig Veda verses, for example.

The Vedas are all mentioned by name, though the Atharva Veda is not always recognized in the formal enumeration. The order of precedence is not fixed, though its peculiar holiness, vimala, is not the reason why the Sāma Veda in the Gītā and Anuçāsana heads the list.[3] Usually the Rig Veda stands at the head and the Atharva, if mentioned, at the foot, though the order Ṛk, Yajus, Atharvan, Sāman, and even Atharvan, Sāman, Ṛk, Yajus is found; but the last order occurs only in the didactic or later epic. The four together comprise the vedaç caturmūrtiḥ, or fourfold Veda, which, in

[1] Compare i, 62, 22; 95, 87; iii, 85, 103; xii, 341, 116, etc.

[2] Tatas tāṁ grāhayāmāsa sa dvijaḥ Mantragrāmam . . . atharvaçirasi çrutam (v. l. atharvāṅgirasi), iii, 305, 20.

[3] For in v, 44, 28, it has this epithet, yet stands last in the list: "Not in R. V., nor in Y. V., nor in Atharvas, nor in the spotless Sāmans."

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distinction from the threefold Veda, is often joined with the "Veda of the bow." The epic even has caturveda as an epithet of a man, — "one that knows the four Vedas" (= cāturvāidya), — as earlier triveda, trāividya, is used in the same way of one learned in the three (cāturvidyam is a pseudo-epic term for the Vedas).[1]

The tradition of "lost Vedas"[2] and "divided Vedas" is well known. There was at first but one Veda, but after the Kṛta age men became men of three, men of two, men of one, and men of no Vedas, triveda, dviveda, ekaveda, anṛk, iii, 149, 14–29, and v, 43, 42, çāstreṣu bhinneṣu being Vedas; bhinnās tadā vedāḥ, xii, 350, 42 (by Apāntaratamas). The last passage is peculiar in the use (çl. 41–47) of ved*ākhyāne* çrutiḥ kāryā, and in the name of Kali as kṛṣna (as well as tiṣya).[3]

The Veda is either recited, declared, or made, sṛṣṭa, kṛta. The latter word contradicts the dogma declared in the well-known words: na hi cchandāṅsi kriyante nityāni cchandāṅsi, "the Vedas are not made, they are eternal;" but the sense is

[1] The word triveda remains the usual form (tritayaṁ sevitaṁ sarvam, ix, 64, 21). Besides caturveda as an epithet of a god (illustrated in PW.) we find in the late passage iii, 313, 110 ff.: paṭhakāḥ pāṭhakāç cāi 'va ye cā 'nye çāstracintakāḥ sarve vyasasino mūrkhā, yaḥ kriyāvān sa paṇḍitaḥ; caturvedo 'pi durvṛttaḥ sa çūdrād atiricyate, yo 'gnihotraparo dāntaḥ sa brāhmaṇa iti smṛtaḥ. On the order of names referred to above: the lead of the Atharva is found also in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 432); the epic passage is xiii, 17, 91. The name is here atharvaṇa or ātharvaṇa, xiii, 93, 136; 94, 44. Examples of the usual order are ṛco yajūṅṣi sāmāni, i, 1, 66; ix, 36, 34; xii, 252, 2 (ṛco yajūṅṣi sāmāni yo veda na sa vāi dvijaḥ); ṛgvedaḥ sāmavedaç ca yajurvedaç ca atharvavedaç ca, ii, 11, 32; iii, 189, 14, atharvaṇaḥ. In v, 18, 6–7, it is said that the name Atharvāṅgiras will eventually belong to the Atharva Veda. The word sāmāni is not restricted to this Veda. Thus Dhaumya, a Purohita and, therefore, as Weber has shown, presumably an Atharvan priest, sings incantations of destruction, sāmāni rāudrāṇi yāmyāni (gāyan), ii, 80, 8. On the expression atharvavede vede ca, see below. For the order of names, compare my Ruling Caste, p. 112; and see Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 5; for further passages (for the AV. in particular), Bloomfield, SBE. xlii, p. liii.

[2] On this aeonic occurrence (xii, 210, 16 ff.), compare vedaçrutiḥ praṇaṣṭā, xii, 346, 9, the story in 348, and the quotation in the text below. The modified vrata, rules, vikriyante vedavādāḥ, are referred to in xii, 233, 38.

[3] The former as Kali is still starred in pw. The latter is masculine in R. vi, 35, 14 (also starred as such in pw.). The word occurs also in xii, 341, 86.

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not opposed, as the maker is God (vedakartā vedāṅgo veda-vāhanaḥ, iii, 3, 19), who only emits the Vedas as he does all else when the new aeon begins. The more decided "make" is found of seers, however, in the Harivaṅça, mantrabrāhmaṇa-kartāraḥ, mantrakṛtaḥ,[1] seers and descendants of seers, just as there is a Mahābhāratakṛt and Itihāsasya kartā, or ποιητὴς ἐπῶν, though he too is divine.[2] The gods who are credited with the making of the Vedas[3] are Fire and Sun, as All-God (above), or especially Brahman, and in the later epic Vishnu. It was Brahman who "first recited the Vedas," vedān jagāu, v, 108, 10. With a natural inversion, "Brahman created brahman" (whereas in reality brahman created Brahman), according to another passage, xii, 188, 1–2. Compare: ya ime brahmaṇā proktā mantrā vāi prokṣaṇe gavām ete pramāṇam bhavata utā 'ho na, v, 17, 9–10. The Self-existent, according to xii, 328, 50, created the Vedas to praise the gods, stutyar-tham iha devānāṁ vedāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ svayambhuvā. Kṛṣṇa, who is kṛtāgama, in xiii 149, 97, takes the place of the more general term. Compare xii, 340, 105:

> yadā vedaçrutir naṣṭā mayā pratyāhṛtā punaḥ
> savedāḥ saçrutikāç ca *kṛtāḥ* pūrvaṁ kṛte yuge
> (atikrāntāḥ purāṇeṣu çrutās te yadi vā kvacit),

and *nirmitā* vedā yajñāç cāu 'ṣadhibhiḥ saha, ib. 341, 66, with xiii, 145, 61, āgamā lokadharmāṇām māryādāḥ pūrvanir-mitāḥ.[4]

[1] jāyantī 'ha punaḥ punaḥ Mantrabrāhmaṇakartāraḥ dharme praçithile tathā, H. 1, 7, 56.

[2] Kṛṣṇa Dvāipāyana, also called Kuruvaṅçakara, xii, 347, 13; xiii, 18, 43–44. The recitation of the Vedas is a matter of scientific study. When they are "loudly recited in the proper way," saçāikṣya, they fill (other) winds with fear, and therefore should not be recited when a high wind is blowing, xii, 329, 23–56.

[3] For the gods and especially for the part of Brahman in creating the Vedas and the transfer of his office to Vishnu in the epic, see Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxviii, p. 188, and Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 6.

[4] The v. l. sarva is wrong. The word āgama usually refers to Veda, but not always. Compare xiii, 104, 156, āgamānāṁ hi sarveṣām ācāraḥ çreṣṭha ucyate; i, 2, 36, itihāsaḥ çreṣṭhaḥ sarvāgameṣv ayam; xii, 59, 139, āgamaḥ purāṇā-nām. It means any received work, particularly the Vedas.

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In late passages the two earliest forms of the text (the latest forms are unknown) together with the accents of the texts are especially mentioned.[1]

In the important numerical analysis of xii, 343, 97–98, the Rig Veda is said to "have twenty-one thousand"; while the Sāma Veda has "one thousand branches"; and the ādhvaryava or Yajus has "fifty-six and eight and thirty-seven (one hundred and one) branches." Probably "twenty-one branches" is the real meaning in the case of the Rig Veda. Here too are mentioned the gītis, songs or verses (a rather unusual word) found in the branches in their numerous divisions, çākhābhedāḥ, çākhāsu gītayaḥ.[2]

It is evident from this statement that, as Weber says of the passage in the Mahābhāṣya, we are dealing with a period when the number of Yajur Veda schools is greater than that recognized in the Caraṇavyūha, which gives only eighty-six. Another verse of this book recognizes ten thousand ṛcas: "This ambrosia churned from the wealth of all the dharmākhyānas, the satyākhyāna, and the ten thousand ṛcas," xii,

[1] ṛgvedaḥ padakramavibhūṣitaḥ, xiii, 85, 90; atharvavedapravarāḥ pūgayajñiyasāmagāḥ saṁhitām īrayanti sma padakramayutāṁ tu te, i, 70, 40. Gālava, Bābhravyagotra, Pāñcāla, the grammarian, through the especial grace of the deity and being instructed in the method of Vāmadeva, became a shining light as a krama specialist, xii, 343, 100 ff.; lakṣaṇāni svarāstobhā niruktaṁ surapañktayaḥ, xiii, 85, 91 (together with nigraha and pragraha); svarākṣaravyañjanahetuyuktayā (girā), iii, 297, 26.

[2] The verse translated above is ekaviṅçatisāhasram (ṛgvedam mām pracakṣate). Twenty-one thousand what? Not stanzas, for the Rig Veda has only half so many (Müller, ASL. p. 220). On the other hand, the passage agrees closely with one in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 430), where the corresponding words are "twenty-one fold," after *vartma* (school): ekaçatam adhvāryuçākhāḥ, sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ, ekaviṅçatidhā bāhvṛcyam (a word implied in Mbh. xv, 10, 11, "Sāmba the bahvṛcaḥ"), navadhā ātharvaṇo vedaḥ. The epic text, closely corresponding, is: ekaviṅçatisāhasram ṛgvedam . . . sahasraçākhaṁ yat sāma . . . ṣaṭpañcāçatam aṣṭāu ca sapta triṅçatam ity uta yasmin çākhā yajurvede, so 'ham ādhvaryave smṛtaḥ, pañcakalpam atharvāṇaṁ kṛtyābhiḥ paribṛṁhitam kalpayanti hi māṁ viprā atharvāṇavidas tathā. There can scarcely be a doubt that for the text above we should read ekaviṅçatiçākhaṁ yam, as the parallel suggests, for the text as it stands is unintelligible. I regret that Weber has not noticed the epic passage, so that I cannot cite his opinion.

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247, 14, where the commentator says that this is a general number, implying a fraction over 10,580.[1]

In the account of the later epic we have a parallel to that of the Vāyu Purāṇa, where the latter, lxi, 120 ff., is accounting for the successive editions of the Vedas:

āvartamānā ṛṣayo yugākhyāsu punaḥ punaḥ
kurvanti saṁhitā hy ete jāyamānāḥ parasparam
aṣṭāçītisahasrāṇi çrutarṣīṇāṁ smṛtāni vāi
tā eva saṁhitā hy ete āvartante punaḥ punaḥ
çritā dakṣiṇam panthānaṁ ye çmaçānāni bhejire[2]
yuge yuge tu tāḥ çākhā vyasyante tāiḥ punaḥ punaḥ
dvāpareṣv iha sarveṣu saṁhitāç ca çrutarṣibhiḥ
teṣāṁ gotreṣv imāḥ çākhā bhavantī 'ha punaḥ punaḥ
tāḥ çākhās tatra kartāro bhavantī 'ha yugakṣayāt

The eighty thousand Vedic seers here mentioned are those of the Harivaṅça (loc. cit.): ye çrūyante divam prāptā ṛṣayo hy ūrdhvaretasaḥ mantrabrāhmaṇakartāro jāyante ha yugākṣaye. They are mentioned elsewhere in the Vāyu Purāṇa, viii, 184, and in the epic itself, ii, 11, 54, in the same words:

aṣṭāçītisahasrāṇi ṛṣīṇām ūrdhvaretasām,

a verse found also in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 483).

[1] Compare further the daça pañca (ca) yajūṁsi, learned from Arka by the author of the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in xii, 319, 21. The word caraṇa, in the sense of school, occurs in xii, 171, 2, pṛṣṭaç ca gotracaraṇaṁ svādhyāyam brahmacārikam; xiii, 63, 18, na pṛcched gotracaraṇam. The mantras of the special septs are referred to in the late hymn to the Sun (Mihira), iii, 3, 39: (tvām brāhmaṇāḥ) svaçākhāvihitāir mantrāir arcanti. The commentator cited above gives as his authority for the number of stanzas in the Rig Veda a lame couplet of the Çākalaka: ṛcāṁ daçasahasrāṇi ṛcām pañcaçatāni ca ṛcām açītiḥ pādaç cāi-'tat pārāyaṇam ucyata, iti.

[2] They are referred to, but not as Veda-makers, in Yāj. iii, 186, and in Āp. Dh. S., ii, 9, 23, 3–5 (as being mentioned "in a Purāṇa"). Yājñavalkya calls them the aṣṭāçītisāhasrā munayaḥ punarāvartinaḥ . . . dharmapravartakāḥ. The Purāṇa referred to by Āpastamba may be the one cited above, though in another form, since the words have a different application. There is here a praçaṁsā of the ūrdhvaretasas: *aṣṭāçītisahasrāṇi* ye prajām iṣira ṛṣayaḥ *dakṣiṇenā'ryamṇaḥ panthānaṁ te çmaçānāni bhejire*, etc. Compare Praçna Up. i, 9, ta eva punarāvartante tasmād ete ṛṣaya prajākāmā dakṣiṇam pratipadyante.

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Divisions of Veda.

Reference is seldom made to Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, or Āraṇyaka. The "peruser of Saṁhitā," saṁhitādhyāyin, is alluded to in i, 167, 8, and xiii, 143, 56. The word is used also of the epic, Vyāsa's Saṁhitā, the fifth Veda. In xii, 201, 8, saṅgha may be used in the same sense of collection, but it probably means a quantity. I will give the passage, however, as it enumerates the usual (i, 170, 75, etc.) six Vedāṅgas, though in an order constrained by the metre (they and the Upāṅgas will be discussed below, under Upavedas):

ṛksāmasaṅgāṅç ca yajūṅṣi cā 'pi
cchandāṅsi nakṣatragatiṁ niruktam
adhītya ca vyākaraṇaṁ sakalpaṁ·
çikṣāṁ ca, bhūtaprakṛtiṁ na vedmi,

"Although I have studied collections of hymns and chants and the sacrificial formulas, and also prosody, astrology, etymology, grammar, ritual, and phonetics, I do not know the First Cause of being."

Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in xii, 269, 33–34, as the source of sacrifice, and in iii, 217, 21, "the different Agnis named in the Brāhmaṇas," brāhmaneṣu. In xiii, 104, 137, "rites declared in the Veda by Brāhmaṇas," the word means priests. Possibly Gītā, 17, 23, brāhmaṇāḥ (and vedāḥ) may be works, as the epic is not particular in regard to the gender of these words (purāṇa, itihāsa, and mahābhūta are both masculine and neuter). Yājñavalkya's Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa alone is named, with all its latest additions (kṛtsnaṁ sarahasyaṁ sasaṁgrahaṁ sapariçeṣaṁ ca), xii, 319, 11, and 16. So ib. 24, 25, and 34: "I resolve in mind the Upanishad (BA.) and the Pariçeṣa (the last part), observing also logic, the best science, ānvīkṣikī parā, and declare the fourth transcendental science or science of salvation, sāmparāyikā, based on the twenty-fifth (Yoga) principle."[1] Other Brāhmaṇas may be implied in the

[1] In the expression, loc. cit., çl. 10, vedaḥ sakhilaḥ so 'ttaraḥ, uttara refers to the Upanishads (not to the philosophy). The Khila Supplement is mentioned again in the Harivaṅça (Holtzmann).

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list at xii, 337, 7 ff., Tāṇḍya, Kāṭha, Kaṇva, Tāittiri.[1] As "prose works," gadya, this class of works is perhaps recognized in iii, 26, 3, in the words: "The thrilling sound of yajūṅṣi, ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, and gadyāni" (as they were recited).

Whether pravacana, exposition, means Aṅgas or Brāhmaṇas or perhaps Sūtras, I do not know. The (Upanishad) word occurs in a verse found also in Manu, where the commentator explains it as Aṅga, to which the objection may be made that the Aṅgas have already been mentioned. But the passage is not without importance as showing how the didactic or later epic adds elements to the simpler statement of the earlier law-books. In xiii, 90, 36, the pāṅkteyas, or men who may be invited to sit in the row at a funeral feast, are not only the agryāḥ sarveṣu vedeṣu sarvapravacaneṣu ca of Manu iii, 184, and the list of iii, 185, triṇāciketaḥ pañcāgnis trisuparṇaḥ ṣaḍaṅgavid (v. l. brahmadeyānusantānaç chandogo jyeṣṭasāmagaḥ) in 90, 26, but, among others, the atharvaçiraso 'dhyetā, 29 (a rare word); "those who cause the Itihāsa to be read to the regenerate," 33; those who are "acquainted with commentaries," bhāṣyavidas (or know the Mahābhāṣya?),[2] and are "delighted with grammar," vyākaraṇe ratāḥ, 34; those who "study the Purāṇa and the Dharmaçāstras"; those who "bathe in holy pools," ye ca puṇyeṣu tīrtheṣu abhiṣekakṛtāçramāḥ, 30 (a practice not extolled by Manu, whose view seems to be that of Agastya, asti me kaçcit tīrthebhyo dharmasaṁçayaḥ! xiii, 25, 5). The bhārate vidvān, xiii, 76, 18, is naturally extolled in the epic, and yet even with this latitude we must see in the list above a distinct advance on the position held by the early law-makers, to whom it was not enough for a man to recite the epic (not to speak of grammar and bhāṣya-knowers as being ipso facto pāṅkteyas) to be deemed worthy of invitation. Even Vishnu's Smṛti is here exceeded, and Manu and the Sūtras have nothing in any degree parallel. Even if we say that the list is on a par with

[1] The Tāittiri dispute is referred to in xii, 319, 17 ff.

[2] But bhāṣya may mean any reasoned exposition, bhāṣyāṇi tarkayuktāni, ii, 11, 35.

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Vishnu alone, although it really exceeds it in liberality, we thereby put this epic passage on a par with a law-book later than any that can be referred to the Sūtra period, later than Manu also and probably Yājñavalkya.[1]

Almost as rare as the mention of Brāhmaṇas is that of Āraṇyakas. In the passage cited above, xii, 343, stanza 98 has as elsewhere the singular, gāyanty āraṇyake viprā madbhaktāḥ. So ib. 340, 8: "Hari sings the four Vedas and the Āraṇyaka" (as forest, e. g., ib. 337, 11, āraṇyakapadodbhūtā bhāgāḥ); and in xii, 349, 29–31, the Krishna religion has "mysteries, abstracts, and Āraṇyaka." Compare also v, 175, 38, çāstre cā 'raṇyake guruḥ, "a man of weight in code and esoteric wisdom"; xii, 344, 13, āraṇyakaṁ ca vedebhyaḥ (yathā), where the kathāmṛtam or essence of story of the expanded Bhārata, Bhāratākhyānavistara of 100,000 çlokas,[2] is compared to the Āraṇyaka as the essence of the Vedas (a simile repeated at i, 1, 265). The word is in fact generalized, like Upanishad. But as a literary class it is found in the plural in xii, 19, 17, vedavādān atikramya çāstrāṇy āraṇyakāni ca . . . sāraṁ dadṛçire na te, "they ran over the words of the Vedas, the Çāstras, and the Āraṇyakas, without discovering their inner truth." Here Veda does not connote Āraṇyaka.

Upanishads.

The Upanishads are alluded to in the singular, collectively, or distributively in the plural. They are generally grouped with the Aṅgas and are called Upanishads, rahasyas, mysteries, Brāhma Veda, and Vedānta; while like the Āraṇyakas they are logically excluded from the Veda of which they are supposed in ordinary parlance to form part.[3] The

[1] Vishnu, ch. 83; Manu, loc. cit.; Yāj. i, 219; Āp. ii, 17; Gāut. xv; Vas. xi. I doubt whether the "Atharvaçiras-reader" can imply the Çiras-vow, but even this is a comparatively late touch, Bāudh. ii, 14, 2, in this regard.

[2] Note that the number of verses show that the Harivaṅça already existed when this passage was written. Compare ib. 340, 28.

[3] I mean that in the current phrase vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ or sopaniṣadāḥ the sa should differentiate as much as it does in the parallel phrase ṛgvedaḥ saya-

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word *upaniṣad* has two distinct but current meanings in the epic. It means on the one hand mystery, secret wisdom, essential truth, essence, as in xiii, 78, 4, gavām upaniṣadvidvān, "wise in cow-mysteries," and in iii, 207, 67 = xii, 252, 11, vedasyo 'paniṣat satyam, satyasyo 'paniṣad damaḥ, "truth is the secret wisdom (essence) of the Veda, patience the essence of truth." So in the common phrase, vedāç ca sopaniṣadaḥ, xiii, 85, 92, etc., the word may mean mysteries. This I think is the explanation of the employment of the word mahopaniṣad in vii, 143, 34–35, where Bhūriçravas devotes himself to *prāya* before death in battle. He is a muni here and desires to ascend to the world of Brahman, so he sits down in Yoga contemplation and meditates the "great *Upanishad*," dhyāyan mahopaniṣadaṁ yogayukto 'bhavan muniḥ. On comparing the scene where Droṇa is in the same situation, vii, 192, 52, we find that he says *om*, and this mystery of *om* is probably the meaning of mahopaniṣad, which cannot be a work here, as is mahopaniṣadam in xii, 340, 111. But in other cases Upanishad is clearly a literary work, even standing in antithesis to the mysteries with which it is sometimes identical, as it is in the form upaniṣā in the Pāli scriptures.[1]

jurvedaḥ, or in yad etad ucyate çāstre se 'tihāse ca chandasi, xiii, 111, 42. But it is very likely that the term was used to mean "including" (as part of the Veda). On the use of singular and plural referred to above, compare sa rājā rājadharmāṅç ca brahmopaniṣadaṁ tathā avāptavān, xv, 35, 2; sāṅgopaniṣadān vedān viprāç cā' dhīyate, i, 64, 19, etc. For Vedānta and Vedāntāḥ, meaning Upanishads, compare iv. 51, 10, vedāntāç ca purāṇāni itihāsam (!) purātanam; xiii, 16, 43, (Çiva) yaṁ ca vedavido vedyaṁ vedānte ca pratiṣṭhitam . . . yaṁ viçanti japanti ca; H. 3, 10, 67, purāṇeṣu vedānte ca. I may mention here also the works called Niṣads, which are referred to (or invented) only, if I mistake not, in xii, 47, 26, yaṁ vākeṣv anuvākeṣu niṣatsūpaniṣatsu ca gṛṇanti satyakarmāṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeṣu sāmasu.

[1] Kern, SBE. xxi, p. 317. Compare for the use of the word, xii, 245, 15, where it is said that the Upanishads inculcate the four modes of life, caturthaç cāu 'paniṣado dharmaḥ sādhāraṇaḥ smṛtaḥ; and xiii, 84, 5, where it is said that Vedopaniṣadas inculcate that earth, cows, or gold must be the sacrificial fee. As we find vedāḥ sarahasyāḥ sasaṁgrahāḥ and vedavedāṅgabhāṣyavit, xii, 325, 22–23, so in viii, 87, 42, reference is made to "all the Vedas, with Tales as the fifth Veda, together with Upavedas, Upanishads, mysteries, and abstracts" (saṁgraha). Nārada is said to be vedopaniṣadāṁ vettā itihāsapurāṇajñaḥ . . . ṣaḍaṅgavit and smṛtimān, ii, 5, 2 ff. The use in iii, 251, 23,

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Upavedas and Upāṅgas.

The Upavedas or subsidiary Vedas are three in number, Āyur Veda, Dhanur Veda, and Gāndharva Veda. To these is added in other works Sthāpatya Veda, but this term is not recognized in the epic, and the commentator on vii, 202, 75, recognizes only three, those just given, or Medicine, Archery, and Music; but the fourth, Architecture, is known (only in the epic introduction), as Vāstuvidyā.[1] Authors are assigned to these and other works in xii, 210, 20, Bṛhaspati being the originator of all the Vedāṅgas; Bhṛgu's son, of Nītiçāstra, law; Nārada, of music; Bharadvāja, of the science of arms (particularly archery); Gārgya, of tales of the doings of seers (devarṣicarita); and Kṛṣṇātreya, of medicine (cikitsita). They are all contrasted with other Nyāyatantrāṇi, which like these were created at the beginning of the aeon as an aid in understanding Brahman (expounded by hetu, āgama, and sadācāra, or reason, faith, and common consent of good men, ib. 22). It is noteworthy that Nārada, not Bharata, is found in this connection, and that Kṛṣṇātreya takes the place elsewhere given to Bharadvāja.

Of the first of these subsidiary Vedas, the epic naturally gives little information, though burdened with much medicinal knowledge which may be referred to some uncited work on medicine. Native scholars imagine that the corresponding Upanishad passages imply the circulation of the blood, also thought to be recorded in xii, 185, 15, prasthitā hṛdayāt . . . vahanti annarasān nāḍyaḥ: "The veins convey (all over

would suggest that Upanishad is a sort of Sūtra, for here a spirit is summoned by means of "*mantras* declared by Bṛhaspati and Uçanas; by those declared in the Atharva Veda; and by rites in the Upanishad," yāç co 'panişadi kriyāḥ. I am not certain how to interpret paṭhyase stutibhiç cāi 'va vedopaniṣadāṁ *gaṇāiḥ* xii, 285, 126.

[1] Thus the architect, sūtradhāra, sthapati, is vāstuvidyāviçārada, i, 51, 15 (the sūtrakarmaviçārada of G. ii, 87, 1). Architectural Çāstras are mentioned in i, 134, 10–11. As a fourth to the three is elsewhere set the Arthaçāstra. These as a group are added to the other vidyās (see note below on the sixty-four arts and fourteen sciences). But in the epic, Arthaçāstra is not grouped with the Upavedas.

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the body) the food-essences, starting from the hṛdaya" (heart or chest). But a direct citation is the allusion, under the cover of an "it is said," to the constituents pitta, çleṣman, vāyu (also vāta, pitta, kapha), which make the threefold body, tridhātu, according to the Āryurvedins.[1] In the epic Khila and in the Kaccit and eleventh chapters of Sabhā, both late additions to the epic,[2] the science of medicine is said to have eight branches (ii, 5, 90; 11, 25). Possibly in iii, 71, 27, Çālihotra may represent the veterinary science of iv, 12, 7.

The Dhanur Veda, literally Veda of the bow, is often joined with the regular Vedas, as is to be expected in epic poetry, ix, 44, 21–22, etc. It is called also iṣvastra, weapons, and is said to be fourfold and to have ten divisions. In the Kaccit chapter just referred to it is said to have a Sūtra like other Vedas, and at the time this was written it is very probable that such was the case, though, as I have shown elsewhere, the knight's study of Dhanur Veda consists in practice not in study of books. This Bow-Veda, archery, is opposed sometimes to the four Vedas alone, sometimes to the Upanishads and Brāhma Veda, while on the other hand it is associated with various Sūtras, arts, and Nītiçāstras. The priority of Dhanur Veda in the phrase dhanurvede ca vede ca, found in both epics, is due partly to metrical convenience and partly to the greater importance of this Veda in the warrior's education:[3] na tasya vedādhyayane tathā buddhir ajāyata yathā 'sya buddhir abhavad dhanurvede, "His intelligence was more developed in learning how to use a bow than in perusing holy texts," i, 130, 3; dhanur-

[1] xii, 343, 86–87: pittaṁ çleṣmā ca vāyuç ca eṣa saṁghāta ucyate, etāiç ca dhāryate jantur etāiḥ kṣiṇāiç ca kṣīyate, āyurvedavidas tasmāt tridhātum mām pracakṣate. Compare vi, 84, 41, cited in PW., and also xiv, 12, 3, çitoṣṇe cāi 'va vāyuç ca guṇāḥ . . . çarīrajāḥ, whose equality is health (N. kaphapitte). Some notes on epic anatomy will be given later.

[2] The lateness of the Kaccit chapter I have discussed elsewhere, Am. Journ. Phil., vol. xix, p. 147 ff. A noteworthy statement on disease is that of xii, 16, 9, which attributes all mental disease to the body and all bodily disease to the mind, mānasāj jāyate çārīraḥ (vyādhiḥ), "bodily ailment arises from mental (ailment)."

[3] The same is partially true of atharvavede vede ca, xiii, 10, 37, etc.

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vedaparatvāt, ib. 4.[1] It is the Kṣatra Veda or knightly science par excellence, R. i, 65, 23 (with Brahma Veda).

The science of music, Gāndharva Veda, consists according to iii, 91, 14, in the knowledge of singing, dancing, chanting, and playing on musical instruments, gītaṁ nṛtyaṁ ca sāma ca vāditraṁ ca, not including apparently the Naṭasūtra or manual for actors mentioned by Pāṇini. The seven musical scales, vāṇī saptavidhā, ii, 11, 34, are a branch of study. The three notes of the drum are spoken of[2] and the names of the notes of the regular scale, gamut, are given. Further citations in this regard will be made hereafter.

These Upavedas are associated with the chief Vedas (vedāḥ, and upavedāḥ, vii, 202, 75, etc.), much as are the Vedāṅgas, Upanishads, and Tales, and are distinguished as well from the Çāstras and Sūtras mentioned in the passage already noticed, ii, 11, 32–33, though Çāstra is a general term including Upaveda. The Aṅgas are the customary six mentioned above, and are generally referred to as in i, 104, 12, vedaṁ ṣaḍaṅgaṁ pratyadhīyata; or without number, as in i, 156, 5, brāhmaṁ vedam adhīyānā vedāṅgāni ca sarvaçaḥ, nītiçāstraṁ ca sarvajñāḥ.[3] These again have their subsidiary branches, Upāṅgas, vedāḥ sāṅgopāṅgāḥ savistarāḥ, iii, 64, 17; Uçanas' and Bṛhaspati's çāstra with Aṅgas and Upāṅgas, i, 100, 36–38. The similarity of phrase in iii, 99, 26 and elsewhere, vedāḥ sāṅgopaniṣadāḥ, might suggest that Upāṅgas were Upanishads, but they are more probably a species of Upavedas. The term is

[1] This Veda is constantly mentioned, e. g. i, 130, 21; 221, 72; iii, 37, 4; ix, 6, 14, daçāṅgaṁ yaç catuṣpādam iṣvastraṁ veda tattvataḥ, sāṅgāṅs tu caturo vedān samyag ākhyānapañcamān. The phrase dhanurvede ca vede ca occurs, for example, in i, 109, 19. In R. v, 35, 14, Rāma is described as "trained in the Yajur Veda . . . and skilled in dhanurvede ca vede ca vedāṅgeṣu ca (the Yajur Veda only, to which Vālmīki belonged, is here mentioned). Elsewhere the science takes its proper place, as in M. iii, 277, 4, vedeṣu sarahasreṣu dhanurvedeṣu pāragaḥ, where the plural is noteworthy.

[2] iii, 20, 10, triḥsāmā hanyatām eṣā dundubhiḥ. The vīṇā madhurālāpā, sweet-voiced lyre, is spoken of as gāndharvaṁ sādhu mūrchatī (= mūrchayanti), iv, 17, 14. The gāndharvam is the third note of the seven, xii, 184, 39 = xiv, 50, 53.

[3] Compare brāhme vede ca pāragaḥ contrasted with astrāṇāṁ ca dhanurvede, vii, 23, 39. So Brahma Veda, R. i, 65, 23 (above), not as AV.

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one associated with Jain rather than early Brahmanic literature, and is not explained by the commentator.[1] Vedas, Purāṇas, Aṅgas, and Upāṅgas are sometimes grouped together, as in xii, 335, 25 (vedeṣu sapurāṇeṣu sāṅgopāṅgeṣu gīyase, the prior pāda found again, e.g. in 342, 6). The Aṅgas commonly mentioned in particular are the calendar-knowledge, Jyotiṣa, and etymology, Niruktam. The latter word, indeed, generally means only an explanation of the meaning of a word, but it occurs also as the title of a specific literary work in xii, 343, 73, where we find mentioned not only "Yāska's Nirukta," together with Nāighaṇṭuka, but vocabularies and lexicographies.[2] A curious contemplation of Krishna as the divine sound in xii, 47, 46 analyzes him grammatically, "with joints of euphony and adorned with vowels and consonants."[3]

Astronomical similes are not infrequent. Thus Arjuna storms about "like Mars in his orbit."[4] An indication that one science as a specialty is not much regarded is seen in the

[1] The later Upāṅgas are the Purāṇas (and upa-); Logic, nyāya and vāiçeṣika; Philosophy (including Vedānta), mīmāṁsā; and Law-books (including Sāṁkhya-yoga and epics), dharmaçāstra. The epic use, as will be seen from the citation above, differentiates Purāṇas from Aṅgas and Upāṅgas. For the later meaning, see Weber IS. i, p. 13.

[2] ib. 83, 88: nāighaṇṭukapadākhyāne, niruktaṁ vedaviduṣo vedaçabdārthacintakāḥ. The common meaning, "explanation," may be surmised in xii, 340, 50, caturvaktro niruktagaḥ (in both editions), where the avagraha is certainly required, "inexplicable," despite Tāitt. Up. ii, 6.

[3] In xiii, 17, 111 (where siddhārtha, according to Nīlakaṇṭha, is siddhānta), Çiva is siddhārthakārī siddhārthaç chandovyākaraṇottaraḥ. Kalpa and Jyotiṣa are united, kalpaprayoga and jyotiṣa, in xiii, 10, 37. In ii, 4, 18, Kālāpa and Kaṭha are mentioned; in R. (not G.) ii, 32, 18, the Kaṭhakālāpās (after the ācāryas tāittirīyāṇāṁ in 15). M. and G. (only) have Çāṇḍilya and Kāuçika (with Gārgya in G.) in the same list, and M. has Tittiri (with Yājñavalkya). In M. they are vedavedāṅgapāragāḥ; in R., vedapāragāḥ. R. calls Trijaṭa (Piṅgala) a Gārgya in 29 (Āṅgirasa in G.; cf. R. 33).

[4] viii, 19, 1, vakrātivakragamanād aṅgāraka iva grahaḥ. Compare budhāṅgārakayor iva (a battle-phrase). The Vedāṅgas and Upavedas are often grouped together, as in i, 1, 67, where çikṣā, phonetics, is grouped with nyāya, rules, and cikitsā, medicine. In i, 70, 40–44, the same passage where pada and krama are mentioned (above), çabda (saṁskāra), çikṣā, chandas, nirukta and kālajñāna are found with philosophy. A priest who is çikṣākṣaramantravit gets gold niṣkas, etc., iii, 23, 2; 36, 42.

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fact that the cultivator of the Upaveda medicine and of the Aṅga astrology are both excluded from society, although it should be added that the man intended is one who "lives by the stars," nakṣatrāir yaç ca jīvati. Such a fortune-teller is classed with rhapsodes and physicians, xiii, 90, 11. The difficulty of reconciling the data of astrology (fortune-telling) and the theory of Karma is alluded to in iii, 209, 21: "Many are seen to be born under the same lucky star, but there is a great difference in their fate." The most surprising astronomical statement in the epic is to the effect that stars are really very large and only appear small on account of their distance.[1] The kālajñāna or "knowledge of time," already mentioned, is attributed especially to Garga, who, as Weber, Lectures, p. 237, has noticed, is associated with Kālayavana: "Kālayavana who is endued with Garga's (brilliancy or) power," xii, 340, 95. This same Garga is credited not only with having kālajñānagati and jyotiṣāṁ vyatikrama, "thorough knowledge of times and mastery of science of stars," ix, 37, 14–16, but also with kalājñāna, or the fine arts. That the epic has a different order of planets from that of the third century A. D. has already been observed by Jacobi.[2]

The Upavedas, however, pass the Vedic stage. There remains a word to say on the older Sūtras, to which may be added an account of those more frequently mentioned Sūtras and other treatises which are quite beyond the Vedic pale.

Sūtras.

A Vedasūtra, apparently a Çrāutasūtra, but perhaps only Veda in general,[3] is mentioned once, in xii, 341, 63. Gṛhyasūtras are not mentioned by name, but may be implied in the word Veda, as will be seen in the quotation given below. The Dharmasūtras are apparently implied in one passage of

[1] dīpavad viprakṛṣṭatvāt tanūni sumahānty api (tārārūpāṇi), iii, 42, 34.

[2] ZDMG. vol. xxx, p. 307; Holtzmann, Das Mbh. vol. iv, p. 114.

[3] The Supreme Lord says that the god who gives him a share gets by the Lord's grace a corresponding (Veda-arranged) sacrificial share in (i. e. according to) the Vedasūtra.

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the thirteenth book, where a Sūtrakāra in one verse corresponds to Vedas in the next, in a passage cited from the Māit. Saṁhitā and Law-books (see below); and in another, where açaknuvantaç caritum kiṁcid dharmeṣu sūtritam, "unable to do what is *sutrified* in the laws," xii, 270, 36, must refer to the general class of legal Sūtras. The Gītā, 13, 4, mentions the Brahmasūtra, which is probably nothing but an equivalent of Vedasūtra, that is, equivalent to Veda in general; but it may be one of the late marks of this poem (the Brahmasūtra being otherwise unknown before the Harivaṅça) and mean the philosophical Sūtra.[1] Sūtrakāras and Sūtrakartars, "who will arise," are mentioned prophetically a few times in the didactic epic.[2]

Profane Sūtras are jumbled together in one of the latest stanzas of the Kaccit chapter, ii, 5, 120, to which I have alluded before: "Dost thou understand the Sūtras on elephants, horses, chariots, catapults, and the Dhanurveda Sūtra?"

As early as Pāṇini there were Sūtras of all sorts and the mention of such works has only the special value of indicating that the epic belongs to a time when Sūtra meant works which were probably popular and not written in aphoristic style. They were doubtless the same as the various Çāstra and other treatises to which reference is often made. Some of these works are called Çāstras and are grouped with the fine arts mentioned above as known to Garga. Arthaçāstra and Kāmaçāstra, by-names of the epic itself, are mentioned in the late introduction to the whole work. The fine arts, kalās, are mentioned or implied in three places. First the slave-girls of Yudhiṣṭhira are said, at ii, 61, 9–10, to be "versed in dancing and songs," sāmasu, and "skilled in the

[1] In xii, 327, 31, there is mentioned a Mokṣaçāstra, inspired by gāthāḥ purā gītāḥ, a treatise which is based on verses recited (by Yayāti) in regard to proper behavior, and it is partly philosophical.

[2] xiii, 14, 101–104, granthakāra, sūtrakartā (bhaviṣyati), granthakṛt; 16, 70, sūtrakartar. In xii, 245, 30, svaçāstrasūtrāhutimantravikramaḥ, sūtra may be the thread (a brahma-sūtra as elsewhere), but in the connection seems more likely to mean Sūtra.

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sixty-four," which must imply the sixty-four kalās. Then Garga, who knows kālajñāna and omens, utpātas, is also acquainted with kalājñāna catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅga, xiii, 18, 38, which shows that the fine arts were not exclusively for women and slaves; as is also indicated by the passage xiii, 104, 149 ff., where, as befitting a king to know, are mentioned treatises on logic (or behavior?), on grammar, on music, and the fine arts; and to hear, Legends, Tales, and adventures of the saints.[1] It is interesting to see that these "sixty-four arts," still typical of culture, are proverbial in India to-day. A Marathi proverb says caudā vidyā va causaṣṭa kalā, "fourteen sciences and sixty-four arts."[2]

Dharmaçāstras.

But if Sūtra literature, except in the few instances cited above, is practically ignored, all the more fully is Çāstra[3] and particularly Dharmaçāstra literature recognized; which I may say at the outset shows that the later epic was composed under the influence of Dharmaçāstras rather than of Dharmasūtras.

The general term Nītiçāstra, code of polity, has already been noticed. A number of such codes is recognized, xii, 138, 196, and Dharma(çāstras) are cited not infrequently;

[1] yuktiçāstraṁ ca te jñeyaṁ çabdaçāstraṁ ca, Bhārata, gāndharvaçāstraṁ ca kalāḥ parijñeyā, narādhipa; purāṇam itihāsāç ca tathā 'khyānāni yāni ca, mahātmanāṁ ca caritaṁ çrotavyaṁ nityam eva te. The yuktiçāstram is not explained. According to PW., it is a manual of etiquette, but perhaps logic; possibly the unique system of logic and rhetoric developed by Sulabhā in xii, 321, 78 ff.

[2] Manwaring, Marathi Proverbs, No. 1175. This is late. Cf. Yājñ. i, 3; and Vāyu Purāṇa, lxi, 78–79. In the latter passage, the four Vedas, six Aṅgas, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Dharmaçāstra and Purāṇa make the "fourteen vidyās" or "eighteen" including the three Upavedas and the Arthaçāstra.

[3] Or Smṛti, but this word seems of wide bearing. Just as āgama (above) includes more than Veda, so Smṛti includes all tradition. In xii, 200, 30, mahāsmṛti and anusmṛti seem to be interpreted by the commentator as Saṁhitās and Vedāṅgas (with Manu and others) respectively, but his first words may refer to the inferred Veda of the preceding japaka (the reciters of both go ipso facto to heaven). Besides Manu (above), Yama, Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati, Uçanas, and Parāçara are specially cited as law-givers.

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while a general rule is given as a Dharma-çāsana, e. g., i, 72, 15:

Three fathers have we, for e'en thus
Law's statute says, 't is meet
To call our sire, and who saves life,
And him whose food we eat.

Manu's Dharmaçāstra is referred to under that name only in one of the latest books of the pseudo-epic. In the early books his Rājadharmas are once mentioned, iii, 35, 21, which might imply a chapter of our present code, but otherwise only his Dharmas are referred to, though generally merely an ipse dixit of Manu is cited, which, however, is often a dictum opposed to the actual words of the extant Manu text. The epic poets do not always recognize Manu as in any wise supreme, often not even as prominent. A typical example is furnished by iii, 150, 29: "Gods are upheld by Vedic sacrifices; men are upheld by the laws (not of Manu but) of Uçanas and Bṛhaspati."[1] But in xii, 336, 39–45, a primeval code, anuçāsana, of 100,000 çlokas, gives rise to the "laws which Manu the self-existent will declare and Uçanas and Bṛhaspati," where there is a clear reference to the code of Manu; as in the next stanza, where are mentioned the "laws of the Self-existent, the Çāstra made by Uçanas and the opinions of Bṛhaspati" (a çāstram sāṅgopaniṣadam, 54).[2]

The mere order of names, however, is no more indicative of priority than in the case of the Vedas mentioned above. Another list of Rājaçāstra-praṇetāras at xii, 58, 1–3, 13, begins with Bṛhaspati and Uçanas (Kāvya, cited with two gāthās at xii, 139, 70), and then follows Prācetasa Manu, Bharadvāja, and Gāuraçiras, with the gods between. So in the next section, 59, 81 ff., Çiva reduces Brahman's work,

[1] So in iv, 58, 6, Bhāradvāja was "equal to Uçanas in intelligence, to Bṛhaspati in polity," naya; ix, 61, 48: "Have you not heard the instructions, upadeça, of Bṛhaspati and Uçanas?"; xii, 122, 11: "You have perused the opinions, matam, of Bṛhaspati, and the Çāstra of Uçanas," as the authorities generally recognized. Bharadvāja has three *rôles* in the epic, as archetypical jurist, physician, and teacher of arms, according to the passage.

[2] Compare xii, 59, 80, ff.

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which in turn is reduced by Indra, as the bāhudantaka, and then by Kāvya Yogācārya, a work which embraces Itihāsas, Vedas, and Nyāya (141) or laws.

More important is the fact that references to Manu's laws in the early books are seldom verifiable in our present code, while references in the didactic epic more often than not correspond to passages of the extant text.[1] Hence it may be inferred that that part of the epic which agrees most closely in its citations with our code is later than that portion which does not coincide, or, conversely, that the text of Manu was shaped into its present form between the time of the early epic and that of the didactic epic. In the first period, when Manu's Dharmaçāstra was unknown, Manu was merely a name to conjure with. The verses thus ascribed to Manu were not all put into the code when it was formed and for this reason the earlier citations are not generally found in our text. Some of them were adopted, however, and the later epic writers therefore agree more closely with the Çāstra as it is to-day; though no one who understands how works are enlarged in India will expect to find all the quotations verified, even in the later epic, for there is no reason to suppose that the code was exactly the same two thousand years ago as it is to-day. But in fact, out of eleven quotations from Manu in the thirteenth book, there is only one which does not correspond with our Manu text, and this is of a general character, to the effect that a çrāddha with tila is undecaying, "said Manu."

[1] So in the Rāmāyaṇa there are two evidently interpolated chapters at iv, 17 and 18. Rāma in the subsequent chapters is incidentally charged (with great truth) with having violated every knightly rule in slaying Vāli. To offset this clear case of sin on the part of the divine hero, a formal charge and defence is inserted (just the procedure in the Mahābhārata!) in chapters which metrically belong to the classical period, so close is the adherence to vipulā rule. Just here it is that *Manunā gītāu çlokāu* are cited, viz., Manu, viii, 318 and 316 (inverted order), almost verbatim. Elsewhere Manu is a sage merely, not a cited law-giver, as here, iv, 18, 30–31 (without reference to Manu in G.). These chapters need no further proof than the reading to show their true character. They are simply banal, especially Rāma's speech, as well as contradictory in substance to the preceding and following chapters.

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In a previous discussion of this subject in the Journal Am. Or. Soc. xi, p. 239 ff. (where will be found more data on the subject of legal literature in the epic),[1] in order not to force my argument I included as unverified a quotation at xiii, 65, 3, "Manu said that the highest gift is something to drink," pānīyam paramaṁ dānam, because it was in connection with Tīrthas. In this I was certainly over-scrupulous, for the words could easily refer to the passage I there cited from Manu, iii, 202, vāry api çraddhayā dattam akṣayāyo 'pakalpate, "even water given with faith fits for immortality." I can now add to this another quotation, xiii, 67, 19, toyado . . . akṣāyān samavāpnoti lokān ity abravīn Manuḥ, "a giver of water obtains imperishable worlds." Further, I rejected as unverifiable the statement that Manu said the king gets a fourth part of the sin of the people (instead of the usual sixth), although, as I pointed out, this proportion actually occurs in Manu, only it is for a specific occasion. Nevertheless as Manu, viii, 18, says pādo rājānam arhati (or ṛcchati), it is clear that the quotation caturtham etc. in xiii, 61, 34 cannot be said to be "unverifiable." It is simply a free rendering verbally of a statement actually found in Manu.[2]

We have here the incontrovertible fact that, while the other books of the epic before the thirteenth in giving quo-

[1] For example, the fabulous books of divine origin of xii, 59, 80 ff. (like the origin of Nārada's law-book), called Bārhaspatya, etc., according to the diadochos; the "law and commentary," savāiyākho dharmaḥ, of xii, 37, 10, etc. (pp. 254 and 248), and other points to which I may refer the reader without further remark than the references already given.

[2] Besides the quotation given above from the thirteenth book and verifiable in our present code, I may add iii, 92, 10: "By Manu and others (it is said that?) going to Tīrthas removes fear," manvādibhir mahārāja tīrthayātrā bhayāpahā, if this be the meaning, which is rather doubtful. In any case it only adds one more to the unverified citations from the early books, but it may mean only that Manu and others have journeyed to Tīrthas. Compare also xii, 266, 5, sarvakarmasv ahiṁsā hi dharmātmā Manur abravīt, "Manu the righteous proclaimed that one should not injure (animals) at any ceremony." From the context, killing cattle at a sacrifice is here reprobated. This is a perversion for sectarian purposes of Manu's rule v, 43, nā 'vedavihitāṁ hiṁsām āpady api samācaret, to which perversion some color might be given by the following verses, which speak harshly of all injury to living creatures. I think no other quotations from Manu will be found in the epic.

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tations from Manu agree with our present text of Manu only in one third to one half the instances, the thirteenth book has eleven citations, of which ten agree with the statements of our code. To this must be added the fact that only the thirteenth book recognizes "the Çāstra declared by Manu." I do not know any other literature where such facts would not be accepted as of historical importance, and they have been so regarded here by competent scholars. In the opinion which I first set forth in 1885, the late Professor Bühler in general concurred, though inclined to believe that the authors of the twelfth and thirteenth books did not know the identical Çāstra which we have to-day. As Professor Bühler's position has not always been cited with the reservations made by him, I will cite his own words: "It remains indisputable that the author or authors of the first, twelfth, and thirteenth Parvans of the Mahābhārata knew a *Mānava Dharmaçāstra* which was closely connected but not identical with the existing text," Manu p. lxxix, and again: "The answer which we are thus obliged to give to the question whence the author of our Manu-Smṛti took his additional materials agrees very closely with Professor Hopkins' hypothesis," p. xci. Nevertheless, despite this admission, Professor Bühler, by a line of argument which is based chiefly on the lack of absolute identity, assumes finally that the authors of the epic "knew only the Dharmasūtra," ib. p. xcviii. The arguments other than the lack of total identity are, first, that Manu shows an acquaintance with the epic because he says that in a former kalpa the vice of gambling has been seen to cause great enmity; in regard to which Professor Bühler says: "This assertion can only point in the first instance to the match played between Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana," p. lxxx. But why not to the story of Nala, as Professor Bühler himself suggests, or any other story of dicing resulting in "enmity" which may have preceded our epic? Another argument is, that legends referred to in the Çāstra are found in the epic, ib. But it is of the very character of the epic that it contains many ancient legends, gathered from all sources. It does not follow in the

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least that Manu took them from the epic. On the other hand it is important to observe that in no such passage does Manu refer a single one of them to an epic source. Thirdly, it is claimed that the passages parallel in epic and Çāstra often have verses in a different order, with omissions, etc., that, in short, they are not actual copies one of the other. But Professor Bühler himself has shown that "the existing text of Manu has suffered many recasts," p. xcii, so that we do not know the form of the Çāstra to which the epic explicitly refers and from which it cites as the Çāstra set forth by Manu. For my part, it still is impossible for me to believe that when the pseudo-epic, in particular the Anuçāsana, refers to Çāstras,[1] and cites correctly from "Manu's Çāstra," it really knows only Sūtras.

A Mānava Dharmaçāstra, specifically, must from the evidence be regarded as older than the later epic but later than the early epic, which knew only a mass of royal and general rules, dharmas, generally ascribed to Father Manu but different from those in our extant Çāstra. With this result too agrees the fact that the metrical form of the extant code is distinctly earlier than that of the later epic. Not unimportant, finally, is the circumstance that the extant code only vaguely refers to epic Tales, but recognizes neither of the epics, only legends that are found in the epics. In all probability the code known to the later epic was not quite our

[1] In xii, 341, 74, are mentioned "teachers in Dharmaçāstras," ācāryā dharmaçāstreṣu; in xiii, 61, 34, Manu's anuçāsana; in xiii, 47, 35, "the Çāstra composed by Manu," manunā 'bhihitaṁ çāstram; in xiii, 45, 17, "those that know law in the law-books," dharmaçāstreṣu dharmajñāh, in reference to the subject discussed in Manu iii, 52–53; iv, 88. Similarly, xiii, 19, 89. In most cases here Çāstras are the authority, which in iii, 313, 105, are set beside the Vedas as two standard authorities. In the face of these citations it is difficult to understand Bühler's words, "the authors . . . knew only the Dharmasūtras," especially as the words contradict what he says in the same essay on a different page, "the authors . . . knew a Mānava Dharmaçāstra" (loc. cit. above). It has seemed to me that the great scholar was unduly influenced in his final word by his general desire to put back the epic as far as possible. Professor Holtzmann, who has collected the material, loc. cit., p. 115 ff., is of the opinion that "our Mānavaadharmaçāstra is certainly much later than the older parts of the Mahābhārata."

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present code, but it was a code much like ours and ascribed to Manu, a Çāstra which, with some additions and omissions, such as all popular texts in India suffer, was essentially our present text.

Vedic Citations in the Epic.

We have now reached and indeed already passed, in the notice of some of the works mentioned, the point where the epic impinges on the earlier literature. Before going further I will illustrate the statement made at the outset that the epic cites freely or parodies Vedic documents. The free rendition in Veda-like verse of the older hymnology is not uncommon. Thus in v, 16, the opening hymn is not strictly Vedic, but it is very like a collection of Vedic utterances put into popular form and these verses are called brāhmā mantrāḥ, çl. 8. Apart, however, from such instances of more or less exact imitation of general Vedic verses,[1] we find a number of verses plainly imitative of extant Vedic passages or almost exactly reproducing them. This applies to reproductions or imitations[2] of the chief Vedic literature from the Rig Veda to the Sūtras, as will be seen from the following examples:

Rig Veda x, 117, 6,

mogham annaṁ vindate apracetāḥ

[1] There are, of course, also a vast number of verses such as gāur me mātā vṛṣabhaḥ pitā me, introduced, as here, with the fiat imāṁ çrutim udāharet, xiii, 76, 6–7; or with the more usual tag, iti crutiḥ, as for example, agnayo māṅsakāmāç (starred in pw.) ca ity api çrūyate çrutiḥ, iii, 208, 11; or with smṛta, as in açvināu tu smṛtāu çūdrāu, xii, 208, 24; as well as such phrases as that of xiv, 51, 26, yas taṁ veda sa vedavit, all of which reflect the literature of the earlier periods.

[2] The Vedic work most frequently referred to is the Yajur Veda Hymn, trisāuparnam brahma yajuṣāṁ çatarudriyam, xii, 285, 138; sāṁvedaç ca vedānāṁ yajuṣāṁ çatarudriyam, xiii, 14, 323; tad brahma çatarudriyam, vii, 81, 13; vede cā 'sya samāmnātaṁ çatarudriyam uttamam, vii, 202, 120; gṛṇan brahma paraṁ Çakraḥ çatarudriyam uttamam, xiii, 14, 284. It is imitated over and over again, and some of the epic hymns call themselves by the same name, a fact alluded to in the words: vede cā 'sya vidur viprāḥ çatarudrīyam uttamam, Vyāseno 'ktaṁ ca yac cā 'pi upasthānam, xiii, 162, 23.

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Mbh. v, 12, 20,

mogham annaṁ vindati cā 'py acetāḥ

Böhtlingk, Spruch 4980.

Rig Veda vii, 89, 2,

dṛtir na dhmāto, adrivaḥ

Mbh. iii, 207, 47; xii, 95, 21,

mahādṛtir ivā 'dhmātaḥ

(pāpo bhavati nityadā, iii, 207, 47)

Rig Veda i, 10, 1,

gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo arcanti arkam arkiṇaḥ
brahmāṇas tvā çatakrato ud vaṅçam iva yemire

Mbh. xii, 285, 78,

gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo arcanti arkam arkiṇaḥ
brahmāṇaṁ tvā çatakratum ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire

Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 12; also for the following parallel, p. 13:

Rig Veda x, 129, 1–3,

nā 'sad āsīn no sad āsīd tadānīm . . .
no rātriā ahna āsīt praketaḥ . . .
tama āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre

Mbh. xii, 343, 8,

(nidarçanam api hy atra) nāsīd aho na rātrir āsīn na sad āsīn nā 'sad āsīt, tama eva purastād abhavad viçvarūpam

Compare also with Rig Veda, i, 13, 4, asi hotā manurhitaḥ, Mbh. ib. 10–11,

tvam agne yajñānāṁ hotā viçveṣāṁ hito devānām mānuṣānāṁ ca jagata iti, nidarçanaṁ cā 'tra bhavati, viçveṣām agne yajñānāṁ tvaṁ hote 'ti, tvaṁ hito devāir manuṣyāir jagata iti

Rig Veda x, 14, 1,

vāivasvataṁ saṁgamanaṁ janānām

Mbh. xiii, 102, 16,

vāivasvatī saṁyamanī janānām

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Further, with Rig Veda i, 164, 46, ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti, and x, 114, 5, viprāh . . . ekaṁ santam bahudhā kalpayanti, may be compared Mbh. (v, 16, 2, and) i, 232, 13, manīṣiṇas tvāṁ jānanti bahudhā cāi 'kadhā 'pi ca. In xv, 34, 11, devayānā hi panthānāḥ çrutās te yajñasaṁstare [1] is an allusion to Rig Veda x, 18, 1; while in xii, 312, 5, dyāvāpṛthivyor iti eṣa . . . vedeṣu paṭhyate, the citation of a Vedic phrase is acknowledged; whereas in the epic phrases mā rīriṣaḥ and bhuvanāni viçvā, vii, 201, 77, no indication of Vedic origin is given.

Tāitt. Saṁhitā i, 16, 11, 1; Çat. Br. i, 5, 2, 16,

ye yajāmahe

Mbh. iii, 180, 33,

idam ārṣam pramāṇaṁ ca ye yajāmaha ity api

Compare iii, 31, 22, yasya nā 'rṣam pramāṇaṁ syāt, etc. Aufrecht, *apud* Muir, OST. i, 137. Also Tāitt. S. ii, 5, 1, 1 is repeated verbatim Mbh. xii, 343, 28, as shown by Weber, Ind. Stud. i, p. 410.

Māit. Saṁhitā i, 10, 11,

stry anṛtam

Mbh. xiii, 40, 12 and 19, 6–7,

striyo 'nṛtam iti çrutiḥ; anṛtāḥ striya ity evaṁ vedeṣv api hi paṭhyate; anṛtāḥ striya ity evaṁ sūtrakāro vyavasyati.

Compare Bāudh. Dh. S. ii, 3, 46, with Bühler's note, and Manu ix, 18, striyo 'nṛtam iti sthitiḥ (v. l. çrutiḥ). The double reference in the epic, Sūtrakāra and Vedāḥ, may point to the same place, or the writer may have had in mind a Sūtra passage parallel to Bāudhāyana, if not Bāudhāyana himself, whose text here is corrupt.

[1] In the preceding verse is cited an açvamedhaçruti, apropos of the açvasaṁjñapana: lokāntaragatā nityam prāṇā nityaṁ çarīriṇām. With the text cited above, compare dvāv etāu pretya panthānāu, etc., xii, 329, 30. The Upanishads would suffice to explain some of these phrases.

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Atharva Veda? Mbh. xiii, 98, 30,

oṣadhyo raktapuṣpāç ca kaṭukāḥ kaṇṭakānvitāḥ çatrūṇām abhicārārtham ātharveṣu nidarçitāḥ; viii, 69, 83–86, tvam ity atra bhavantaṁ hi brūhi . . . tvam ity ukto hi nihato gurus bhavati . . . atharvāṅgirasī hy eṣā çrutīnām uttamā çrutiḥ . . . avadhena vadhaḥ prokto yad gurus tvam iti prabhuḥ.[1]

Ait. Brāh. i, 1,

agnir vāi sarvā devatāḥ

Mbh. xiv, 24, 10 (read vedasya?),

agnir vāi devatāḥ sarvāḥ, iti devasya çāsanam

Mbh. xiii, 84, 56,

agnir hi devatāḥ sarvāḥ, suvarṇaṁ ca tadātmakam

Holtzmann, *loc. cit.* p. 14.

Çat. Brāhmaṇa in Mbh. xii, 343, 13–15,

yajñās te devāṅs tarpayanti devāḥ pṛthivīm bhāvayanti, Çatapathe 'pi brāhmaṇamukhe bhavati, agnāu samiddhe juhoti yo vidvān brāhmaṇamukhenā 'hutiṁ juhoti, evam apy agnibhūtā brāhmaṇā vidvāṅso 'gnim bhāvayanti.

On this and other citations from Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, compare Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 14 ff., with especial reference to verses cited by Weber, Lectures, p. 137–138; IS. i, p. 277. To these I may add a passage reflecting the Bṛhad Āraṇ. Up. of this Brāhmaṇa, Up. 1, 5, 14 (where the chief verbal identity is in ṣoḍaçayā kalayā), expressly said to be from the Ṛṣi's "more extended" exposition of the subject: viddhi candramasaṁdarçe *sūkṣmayā kalayā* sthitam, *tad etad ṛṣiṇā proktaṁ vistareṇā 'numīyate*, Mbh. xii, 242, 15–16 (compare ṣoḍaçakalo dehaḥ; and 305, 4). The commentator refers the passage to this Upanishad, as cited.

[1] According to xiii, 163, 53, tvaṁkāra (to superiors) is vadha, and is employed only in speaking to equals, inferiors, pupils, etc. Compare Chānd. Up. vii, 15, 2. Echo arose in the mountains (compare Callimachus, Ep. xxviii) from the care with which Çuka addressed his superior Vyāsa with *bho, bho*, xii, 334, 25–26.

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The citations in the Rāmāyaṇā I have not examined, but have noted by chance two; Rig Veda i, 22, 20; Kaṭha Up. iii, 9; Māitri, vi, 26: tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam (sadā paçyanti sūrayaḥ); G. vi, 41, 25, tad viṣnoḥ paramam padam (nihato gantum icchāmi); and satye sarvam pratiṣṭhitam in Mahānār. Up. 22, 1; satye lokaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ, R. ii, 109, 10.

Upanishads in the Epic.

Sporadic parallels between the epic, generally the Gītā, Anugītā, and Çānti, and various Upanishads have often been noticed. As illustrative material all these passages are valuable, but they give no evidence that the epic has copied, if the mutual resemblance is only of general content or is given by similar or even identical verses, when these are not connected as in the supposed model. As this material has been put together by Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 21 ff., I may refer the reader to his parallels,[1] while pointing out that it is historically of little importance whether the oldest Upanishads are cited if we can satisfy ourselves that the epic draws on Upanishads of the second and third period, not only sporadically but connectedly. In regard to the earliest works, it is enough to refer to the passage condensed from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and cited above. This is the only one of the oldest Upanishads certainly cited, though the Chāndogya, Āitareya, and Kāuṣītaki have many parallels with the epic, as have among the later works of this class the Kena, Muṇḍaka, Praçna, and a few others. Oddly enough, the Māitrāyaṇa has been scarcely compared,[2] but I purpose to show that this and the earlier Kāṭhaka were certainly copied by the later epic poets.

[1] Not all the "Vedic" verses are here verified, *e. g.*, Tāitt. iii, 7, has prāṇo vā annam. This is cited in the epic as Vedic: annam prāṇā iti yathā vedeṣu paripaṭhyate, xiii, 95, 22. The Gītā distributes older material, *e. g.*, Çvet. iii, 17 = Gītā, 13, 14, but the following pāda, navadvāre pure dehī, is found in Gītā, 5, 13, etc.

[2] The verse dve brahmaṇī (as duly recorded by Holtzmann) was located by Hall, and Bühler has compared two more verses with xii, 330, 42–43 (Manu, p. 212), while Telang has illustrated the Gītā with general parallels.

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The Çvetāçvatara Upanishad.

This may be loosely copied, but, except for one parallel, the mutual passages are common to this and other sources. I cite as exemplifying a possible copy (though the Upanishad itself is a copy of the older Kāṭhaka):

Upanishad.	Epic.
iii, 8 = V. S. 31, 18, tamasaḥ parastāt; nā 'nyaḥ panthā vidyate ayanāya.	v, 44, 29 and 24, tamasaḥ parastāt; nā 'nyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate.
iii, 10, tato yad uttaratarāṁ tad arūpam anāmayam, ya etad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti.	v, 44, 31, anāmayaṁ tan mahad udyataṁ yaço (Kaṭha, vi, 2, mahad bhayaṁ vajram udyatam) vāco vikāraṁ kavayo vadanti yasmin jagat sarvam idam pratiṣṭhitaṁ ye tad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti (compare BAU. i, 5, 1; Chānd. iii, 12, 2; Kaṭha, vi, 9).
iii, 13, aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣaḥ, see below.	
iii, 18, navadvāre pure dehī haṁsaḥ, see below.	
iii, 19–20, sa vetti vedyam . . . aṇor aṇīyān, etc.	v, 43, 53; 46, 31 (Gītā, 10, 15), yo veda vedyaṁ na sa veda satyam; aṇor aṇīyān (Kaṭha i, 2, 20). In 44, 29, aṇīyo rūpaṁ kṣuradhārayā samam (Kaṭha, iii, 14).
iv, 2 and 19, tad eva çukraṁ tad brahma; yasya nāma mahad yaçaḥ, see below.	
iv, 5, ajām ekāṁ lohitaçuklakṛṣṇām.	v, 44, 25 and 26, ābhāti çuklam iva lohitam ivā kṛṣṇam (followed by āyasam arkavarṇam with v. l., athā'ñjanaṁ kādravaṁ vā); Mahānār., ix, 2; also Chānd. viii, 6, 1. On account of the varied reading in the same verse the three first colors may be the only original, but even here the reference is to Prakṛti in the Upanishad and to Brahman in the epic.
iv, 6, Birds and pippal, see the passage from Droṇa, cited hereafter.	
iv, 17 and 20, na saṁdṛçe; hṛdā manīṣā, see below.	

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These are the best examples of sporadic parallels to be found in the Upanishads. I turn now to the Kāṭhaka.

The Kāṭhaka or Kaṭha Upanishad.

From the Kaṭha, iii, 10, indriyebhyaḥ parā hy arthā, arthebhyaç ca param manaḥ, manasas tu parā buddhir, buddher ātmā mahān paraḥ, and ii, 19, nā 'yaṁ hanti na hanyate, the Gītā, 3, 42, has indriyāṇi parāṇy āhur indriyebhyaḥ param manaḥ, manasas tu parā buddhir, yo buddheḥ paratas tu saḥ (the Sa is higher than intellect); and in 2, 19–20, it inverts and modifies the na jāyate and hantā cen manyate hantum stanzas. Less precise in rendering, but important on account of the Gītā modifications, are two other stanzas. Kaṭha i, 22, has vaktā cā 'sya tvādṛg anyo na labhyaḥ, etc., a triṣṭubh, whereas Gītā, 6, 39, has tvad anyaḥ saṁçayasyā 'sya chettā na hy upapadyate, a çloka (compare M. ii, 15, 1, saṁçayānāṁ hi nirmoktā tvan nā 'nyo vidyate bhuvi, addressed to Krishna). The Kaṭha is older also in the stanza ii, 15,

> sarve vedā yat padam āmananti, tapāṁsi sarvāṇi ca yad vadanti
> yad icchanto brahmacaryaṁ caranti, tat te padaṁ saṁgraheṇa bravīmi,

as compared with Gītā, 8, 11,

> yad akṣaraṁ vedavido vadanti, viçanti yad yatayo vītarāgāḥ
> yad icchanto brahmacaryaṁ caranti, tat te padaṁ saṁgraheṇa pravakṣye.

Other parallels will be found between Kaṭha ii, 7,

> āçcaryo vaktā kuçalo 'sya labdhā, āçcaryo jñātā kuçalānuçiṣṭaḥ,

and Gītā, 2, 29,

> āçcaryavat paçyati kaçcid enam, āçcaryavad vadati tathāi 'va cā 'nyaḥ, etc.;

between Kaṭha vi, 1 and Gītā, 15, 1 (the idea developed in xii, 255, 1 ff.); and in a few more instances, such as tasya

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bhāsā sarvam idaṁ vibhāti, Kaṭha v, 15, and ekaḥ sūryaḥ sarvam idaṁ vibhāti, Mbh. iii, 134, 8.[1]

But it is not necessary to dwell upon these, as the third chapter of the Upanishad is epitomized in a section of Çānti. The later feature begins at the start, xii, 247, 1 ff. The vikāras, modifications of Prakṛti, do not know the kṣetrajña, or spirit, but he knows them. Then follows the image of the Upanishad iii, 2 ff. The senses are subservient steeds, and the spirit is the driver who controls them, saṁyantā. After this general imitation follow the three stanzas of Kaṭha iii, 10, 11, 12, one of which appears in the Gītā (above),[2] but with the substitution of amṛta for puruṣa in the second stanza, and evam for eṣa in the third. Then a general likeness follows between the Upanishad's next stanza ("restrain mind in knowledge, in self") and the epic, which says "sinking the senses with mind as the sixth in the inner self," "endowing the mind with wisdom," "one that is not mastered (by the senses) gets the immortal place." The instruction is a mystery, to be repeated to Snātakas (compare Kaṭha, iii, 17), and besides containing the gist of former wisdom, "is recited in the Upanishads" vedānteṣu ca gīyate, 247, 16, 19, 21. I think there can be no doubt that the epic section is an abbreviation of Kaṭha iii, perhaps under the influence of the Māitrāyaṇa, as shown below. A preceding section may be compared with Kaṭha v, 1–2, where the city of eleven doors is followed by a reference to the haṁsa, lord, R. V. iv, 40, 5. The epic (see under the "group of seventeen"), like the later Upanishad, admits only "nine doors," and says in xii, 240, 32, the haṁsa lord, īça, and controller, vaçī, enters the city of nine doors, because it is controlled, niyataḥ, by the senses.

Other stanzas reflecting the last chapters of this Upanishad

[1] Compare in the Up., ib. 9 and 12, agnir yathāi 'kaḥ and ekaṁ rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti, with eka evāgnir bahudhā samidhyate, just preceding in the epic. Gītā, 13, 30, may be a modification of Kaṭha vi, 6. The Gītā stanza, by the way, is repeated verbatim in xii, 17, 23.

[2] The last of the three verses is cited again in Vana in a copy of the Māitrāyaṇa Upanishad, which substitutes bhūtātmā for gūḍho 'tmā, and jñānavedibhiḥ for sūkṣmadarçibhiḥ. See the next paragraph.

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are found mingled with copies from other Upanishads in the last chapter of the Sanatsujāta Parvan. In every case where evidence exists it points to the epic being a copy of the Upanishad. Thus in BAU. v, 1, we read pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idaṁ pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate, pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evā 'vaçiṣyate, which in the epic, v, 46, 10, appears as pūrṇāt pūrṇāny uddharanti pūrṇāt pūrṇāṇi cakrire haranti pūrṇāt pūrṇāni pūrṇam evā 'vaçiṣyate. Again the stanza of Kaṭha vi, 9,

> na *saṁdṛçe* tiṣṭhati rūpam asya, na cakṣuṣā paçyati kaçcanāi 'nam
> hṛda *manīṣā* manasā 'bhiklṛpto, ya etad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti

is modernized already in Çvet., iv 17 (idem) and 20, hṛdā *hṛdiṣṭham* manasā ya enam evaṁ vidur amṛtās te bhavanti, and this in the epic, v, 46, 6, appears as

> na *sādṛçye* tiṣṭhati rūpam asya, na cakṣuṣā paçyati kaçcid enam
> *manīṣayā* 'tho manasā hṛdā ca, ya *enaṁ* vidur amṛtās te bhavanti,

or, as ib. 20,

> na darçane tiṣṭhati rūpam asya . . ,
> ye pravrajeyur amṛtās te bhavanti.

The section begins with an explanation of the çukram brahma which is mahad yaçaḥ and tad vāi devā upāsate, a phrase, prior pāda, metrically borrowed from the licence of the Upanishads, where the epic usually writes upāsante to avoid diiambus.[1] Here çukram brahma and mahad yaçaḥ are from Kaṭha v, 8; vi, 1; Çvet. iv, 19 (yasya nāma mahad yaçaḥ). Below, çl. 9, the Açvattha and its birds may be drawn from Kaṭha vi, 1, and, after the pūrṇam stanza cited above, çl. 11,

[1] The later Upanishads resort to a similar device. Thus in the Yogatattvop. i, 6 (alle gute Dinge sind drei): trayo lokās trayo vedās trayaḥ saṁdhyās trayaḥ surāḥ, trayo 'gnayo guṇās *trīṇi* (sthitāḥ sarve trayākṣare).

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tasmād vāi vāyur āyataḥ . . . tasmiṅç ca prāṇa ātataḥ, is a parallel to Kaṭha vi, 2.[1] Then follows, in the epic, çl. 15:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo 'ntarātmā, liṅgasya yogena
sa yāti nityam
tam īçam īḍyam anukalpam ādyam, paçyanti mūḍhā
na virājamānam,

which appears ib. 27 as:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo mahātmā, na dṛçyate 'sāu
hṛdi saṁniviṣṭaḥ
ajaç caro divārātram atandritaç ca, sa taṁ matvā
kavir āste prasannaḥ,

with which Kaṭha iv, 4 (matvā dhīro na çocati) may be compared, and especially iv, 12:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo madhya ātmani tiṣṭhati
īçāno bhūtabhavyasya na tato vijugupsate,

and Kaṭha vi, 17:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo 'ntarātmā, sadā janānāṁ
hṛdaye saṁniviṣṭaḥ
taṁ svāc charīrāt pravṛhen muñjād iva-iṣīkāṁ dhāir-
yeṇa (taṁ vidyāc chukram)

The last words are found in the epic, 44, 7, as:

ta ātmānaṁ nirharantī 'ha dehān, muñjād iṣīkām iva
sattvasaṁsthāḥ,

while just before 46, 27, is found in çl. 25:

evaṁ yaḥ sarvabhūteṣu ātmānam anupaçyati
anyatrā 'nyatra yukteṣu kiṁ sa çocet tataḥ param,

which is like Īçā 6–7 in contracted form.

[1] There is here a general resemblance, noticeable chiefly because of the correlation of one idea with the next following, interrupted in the epic by the pūrṇa stanza. With 44, 27, "His form is not in stars, lightning, clouds, wind, moon, sun," compare Kaṭha v, 15, "Not there the sun shines, moon, stars, nor lightnings."

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The Māitri Upanishad in the Epic.

Especially instructive is the form in which the Māitri or Māitrāyaṇa Upanishad appears in the epic. In the case of many of the Upanishads there is lacking any characteristic mark sufficiently peculiar to identify the Upanishad when it appears in epic form. But the Māitri, as is well known, contains some special stanzas and above all some special terms not found elsewhere except in still later Upanishads. It is, therefore, more easily identified, and the possibility that we are dealing with material common to the age of the older Upanishads is not so great. In all probability it is a later Upanishad. Deussen, Sechzig Upanishads, p. 312, successfully maintains this view, and in his Geschichte der Philosophie i², p. 24, groups it with the Praçna and Māṇḍūkya as belonging to the group of "later Prose Upanishads," regarding it not only as later than the old prose, but even as later than the metrical Upanishads, from both of which earlier groups I have given epic parallels in the list above.

This Māitri Upanishad is found reflected in the epic at iii, 213, and in a later imitation in the twelfth book. The former epic section is based entirely on the Upanishad, and the preceding sections appear to be due to an expansion of the same material. The order followed is in general that of the Upanishad.

The teaching is called brāhmī vidyā, iii, 210, 15. There is an introductory systematization, the assumption of the universe (as Brahman) consisting of five elements,[1] earth, water, light, wind, air, which have as their characteristics (in inverted order), sound, touch, color, taste, smell, so related that earth has all five; water, four; light, three; wind, two; air, one (sound), making altogether fifteen in combination in all created things (210, 17; 211, 8). With these five "guṇas" begins a group of seventeen: cetanā or manas, mind,

[1] In 210, 17, these are given in reverse order, but in 211, 3, in their usual epic order, bhūmir āpas tathā jyotir vāyur ākāçam eva ca (reversed, kham vāyur agnir āpas tathā ca bhūḥ).

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as sixth; intellect as seventh; egoism as eighth; the five senses; ātman, soul, the fourteenth; and the three guṇas, rajas, sattvam, tamas. This is "the group of seventeen," which has as its designation the Unmanifest (avyakta); to which are added objects of the senses and the manifest and unmanifest, making the category of twenty-four.[1]

This is the introductory chapter of the discourse, and its likeness to the Māitri Upanishad consists in the initial discussion of the elements (which, however, are not called fine elements, tanmātra, as they are in the Upanishad, iii, 2, mahābhūtāni and guṇas),[2] and the statement that this is a brāhmī vidyā, like MU. ii, 3, brahmavidyā. As an indication of the age of the discourse, it may be observed in passing that, in 211, 9, the fifteen guṇas are said to be properly correlated in the remarkable verse:

anyonyaṁ nā 'tivartante samyak ca bhavati, dvija

where the use of bhavati for bhavanti (subject, pañcadaça guṇāḥ), though declared by the commentator to be an archa-

[1] Otherwise the commentator. Objects of sense and action-organs are not included in the seventeen: ity eṣa saptadaçako rāçir avyaktasaṁjñakaḥ, sarvāir ihe 'ndriyārthāis tu vyaktāvyaktāiḥ susaṁvṛtāiḥ caturviṅçaka ity eṣa vyaktāvyaktamayo guṇaḥ (210, 20–21). Guṇa is obscure. The entirely different group of seventeen in xii, 276, 28, casts no light on the subject, but in xii, 330, 46, a similar verse has (in B) sarvāir ihe 'ndriyārthāiç ca vyaktāvyaktāir hi saṁhitaḥ (v. l. saṁjñitaḥ) caturviṅçaka ity eṣa vyaktāvyaktamayo gaṇaḥ, which gives the needed gaṇaḥ for guṇaḥ and makes the construction somewhat clearer, though the latter passage is such a careless imitation of the one above that in making up the previous list of seventeen, ātman, ahaṁkāra, and manas are all omitted from the list (buddhi being represented by mahad yat param āçrayāt) and 5 + 1 + 5 + 3 = 17! The first group is similar to the group of seventeen in the Vedānta-sāra, though there the organs of action and the breaths are included with the organs of sense, buddhi and manas. The formal definition of vyakta and avyakta in iii, 211, 12, repeated in xii, 330, 49, with gṛhyate for sṛjyate and with slight v. l. in xii, 189, 15, is that vyakta, the manifest, is what is comprehended by the senses, while avyaka is what is supersensuous, comprehended only by the "fine organs" (liṅgagrāhyam atīndriyam). If the reading guṇa be retained above, it will imply the interpretation of all the constituents as guṇas.

[2] That is, here, as synonym of dhātu or the elements, which after the dissolution of the universe appear in every newly formed body, dhātavaḥ pāñcabhāutikāḥ, iii, 211, 11; xii, 184, 1.

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ism, is really a late carelessness. It is further to be observed that though in this introduction, and incidentally in a preceding section, iii, 207, 72, the organs of sense are given as five, yet in iii, 211, 24, they are spoken of as six,[1] in a figure which not only reproduces the exact language of the Gītā, 2, 60 and 67, but contains the imagery of the Māitri Upanishad (ii, 6, rathaḥ çarīram, mano niyantā, prakṛtimayo 'sya pratodah):

> saṇṇām ātmani yuktānām indriyāṇām pramāthinām
> yo dhīro dhārayed raçmīn sa syāt paramasārathiḥ
> indriyāṇām prasṛṣṭānāṁ hayānām iva vartmasu
> . . . indriyāṇāṁ vicaratām, etc.

This image of the senses to be kept under control like horses held in check by a charioteer is indeed too general to have any bearing on the relation of the epic to the Upanishad (it occurs, as said above, in the Kaṭha Upanishad, for instance, and again in the epic in purely Buddhistic form at i, 79, 2–3 = Dhammapada 222–223) and might pass unnoticed, were it not that the corresponding section of the twelfth book brings the two into somewhat closer relationship. As already observed, the teaching of the Vana in 210 and 211 is more or less closely reproduced in xii, 330, which, however, omitting the stanzas in regard to the six senses, condenses them in the statement that one is "tossed about" by the effects of evil actions, but then closes with a stanza, 58, which has direct reference to transmigration and is in turn omitted from the end of iii, 211, paribhramati saṁsāraṁ cakravad bahuvedanaḥ,

[1] So both groups of organs, those of sense and of action, are sometimes counted as making not ten but eleven, including the thinking faculty, as in xiv, 42, 12. Compare the same image and number in xii, 247, 2 (above), manaḥṣaṣṭāir ihe 'ndriyāiḥ sudāntāir iva saṁyantā, etc. In the passage above, iii, 211, 13, the sense-organs, indriyāṇi, are defined as apprehenders of objects of sense, grāhakāny eṣāṁ çabdādīnām. The word is derived from Indra, xii, 214, 23, tribijam (apapāṭha nṛbijam), indradāivatyaṁ tasmād indriyam ucyate, with a preceding description of the seeds, the ten chief dhamanyaḥ, the three humors, vāta, pitta, kapha, and other medicinal intelligence, with especial weight on the heart-artery, manovahā, and its action as known to Atri.

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that is, "like a wheel he revolves through transmigrations." Just so the Maitri Upanishad, ii, 6, says first that the senses are horses and then, after developing the figure, concludes with anena (pratodena) khalv īritaḥ paribhramatī 'daṁ çarīraṁ cakram iva mṛtpacena, "thus goaded he revolves in bodily form like a potter's wheel."

The next chapter of the teaching, iii, 212, discusses the three guṇas as (in general) in Maitri, iii, 5. The section before this in the Upanishad, iii, 4, is a close prose prototype of the Çanti verses (omitted in iii) just preceding the group of seventeen (the rest of the section, xii, 330 being parallel to iii, 211). This (xii, 330, 42) verse begins asthisthūṇaṁ snāyuyutam . . . carmāvanaddham (just as in the Upanishad, carmaṇā 'vanaddham), and in 28–9, koṣakāra iva suggests (against the commentator and Deussen) that in the Upanishad, the ending koṣa iva vasunā should be interpreted accordingly, "filled like a cocoon with (deadly) wealth." The next chapter of Vana, the special chapter under consideration, begins with the question how the vital flame can combine with earth-stuff to make the incorporate creature, and how air causes activity. To which the answer is that the flame enters the head and directs the body, while air acts by being in the head and in the vital flame. This is like the opening of the Upanishad where it says, ii, 6, that the spirit is fire. The answer continues: "All is established upon breath;" which is identified with spirit, Purusha, intellect, buddhi, and egoism. Then follows a disquisition upon the different kinds of bodily airs or breathings. These are named as the usual five, but are incidentally referred to as ten, which makes it necessary to understand with the commentator that the other five are those called nāga, kūrma, kṛkala (sic), devadatta, and dhanaṁjaya, besides the usual (in-) breathing, with-breathing, off-breathing, up-breathing, and through-breathing, which are specifically mentioned.[1]

[1] iii, 213, 16, daçaprāṇapracoditāḥ. The ten are named as above in the Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda, 99, Böhtlingk's Chrest. p. 264. The (usual) five are prāṇa, samāna, apāna, udāna, vyāna. The same thing occurs in xii, 185,

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This also corresponds to Māitri ii, 6, where the five breaths are associated with the vital flame (Agni Vāiçvānara as Puruṣa).

After the breaths are discussed, there is a passing reference to the eleven (not sixteen) vikāras, or transformations by which the spirit is conditioned like fire in a pot;[1] just as Māitri iii, 3, has first yathā 'gninā 'yaspiṇḍo 'nyo vā 'bhibhūtaḥ, etc., and then the transformations, guṇāni (=vikāras). The corresponding passage in Çānti, here 242, 17, has karmaguṇātmakam for nityaṁ yogajitātmakam, but then both passages continue with the stanza:

devo[2] yaḥ saṁsthitas (v. l. saṁçritas) tasminn, abbindur iva puṣkare
kṣetrajñaṁ taṁ vijānīhi (v. l. °tyāt) nityaṁ yogajitātmakam,

"Know that the divine being who stands in the body like a drop of water on a lotus, is the spirit eternal but overcome by its association." The epic texts vary in the next stanza, but the sense is the same, to the effect that the individual life-spirit, jīva, though conditioned by the three guṇas, has the characteristics (guṇas) of the ātman, while ātman again is one with the Supreme Ātman (parātmakam, 213, 21). The third version of the passage, found in xii, 187, 23–25, explains the individual spirit, ksetrajña, as ātman conditioned by the guṇas of Prakṛti, and as Supreme Ātman when freed from

15, where the phrase above reappears in a copy of this section. In xii, 329, 31 ff. (and elsewhere) the prāṇas are seven personified creatures, Udāna born of Samāna, etc., as winds, pra, ā, ud, sam, vi, pari, and parā (vahas). Compare also xii, 184, 24, below.

[1] ekādaçavikārātmā kalāsambhārasambhṛtaḥ mūrtimantaṁ hi taṁ viddhi nityaṁ yogajitātmakam, tasmin yaḥ saṁsthito hy agnir nityam sthālyām ivā'hitaḥ ātmānaṁ taṁ vijānīhi nityaṁ yogajitātmakam, 213, 18–19.

[2] In xii, 246, 29, deva may be jīva, devaṁ tridhātuṁ trivṛtaṁ suparṇaṁ ye vidyur agryām paramātmatāṁ ca, but on the other hand there may be a textual error here of devo for dehe. Compare xii, 187, 24, tasmin yaḥ saṁçrito dehe hy abbindur iva puṣkare. The Supreme Spirit is devo (nirguṇaḥ), xii, 341, 101, as in Çvet. Up. i, 8 (here called, 99, yajñeṣv agraharaḥ).

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them;[1] with a varied reading of nityaṁ lokahitātmakam and viddhi jīvaguṇān in the following verses; 26, however, being almost the same as iii, 213, 22:—

sacetanaṁ jīvaguṇaṁ vadanti
sa ceṣṭate ceṣṭayate ca sarvam
(t)ataḥ paraṁ kṣetravido vadanti
prākalpayad (v. l. prāvartayad) yo bhuvanāni
sapta,

"They say that the individual spirit is characterized by intelligence; it moves and causes all to move.[2] The wise say, that he who caused the many creations to form is still higher (or the Highest)."

The reading in xii, 187, 23 brings the passage into still closer connection with the Upanishad. The latter, at iii, 2, has ātmā *bindur iva puṣkare* followed by sa vā eṣo *'bhibhūtaḥ prākṛtāir guṇaiḥ*, while the epic has *abbindur iva puṣkare* preceded by ātmā kṣetrajña ity uktaḥ *saṁyuktaḥ prākṛtāir guṇaiḥ*, where the Vana version keeps (what is here lost) the image of the fire in the pot. Then the stanza above, sacetanam, etc.,[3] closely reproduces the words as well as the thought of the Upanishad, ii, 5: cetanene 'daṁ çarīraṁ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā vāi 'ṣo 'py asya (compare acetanaṁ çarīram, ii, 3). The fact that the epic Vana is not based on the lotus-phrase of earlier Upanishads but is following the Māitri is shown even more clearly in the phraseology of the following stanza, 213, 23, which at this point does not correspond to Çānti above, but to a later chapter,

[1] For the text, see the end of the last note. A passage in xii, 316, 15–17 combines freely the two traits mentioned above: "The fire is different from the pot, ukhā; the lotus is different from the water, nor is it soiled by touch of water," etc.—a fact which is said to be "not understood by common people," as in the example below.

[2] The commentator says that as individual soul the ātman is active, and as the Lord-soul causes activity (compare xii, 47, 65, yaç ceṣṭayati bhūtāni tasmāi vāyvātmane namaḥ); but the Highest is above both these. In xii, 242, 20, jīvayate takes the place of ceṣṭayate.

[3] C. has acetanam in the Vana passage, but both texts in both the Çānti passages have sacetanam, xii, 187, 26; 242, 20.

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xii, 247, 5. The Vana passage says: "Thus in all beings appears the *bhūtātman* (conditioned spirit), but it is seen only by the subtile intellect;" whereas the Çānti passage has not bhūtātmā samprakāçate, but gūḍho 'tmā na prakāçate, "concealed it is not apparent," that is, it has the text of the Kāṭhaka.[1] But in Vana there is the characteristic *bhūtātman* of the Upanishad, which says at iii, 3: "(Pure) spirit is no more overcome (by environment) than fire is overcome when the mass of iron (enclosing it) is hammered; what is overcome is the *bhūtātman*, which is abhibhūta, overcome, because it is bound up with (the transformations);" and further, iii, 5: "Filled with the effect of the guṇas (which condition it) the bhūtātman is abhibhūta (the same etymological tie), overcome, by them, and so enters different forms."[2] A few more passages contain this word bhūtātman. Of these, two

[1] See the analysis above, p. 30, note 2.

[2] The etymological connection between abhibhūta and bhūtātman may have suggested to the commentator his explanation of bhūtātman as an epithet of mahātman in xiii, 34, 15, where he says that mahātmans are called bhūtātmans because they have overcome or controlled their thoughts (bhūta = vaçīkṛta). In the epic, bhūtātman appears as incorporate spirit in xii, 201, 1, where "how can I understand bhūtātman?" is to be thus interpreted; and as intellect, buddhi, in the reabsorption process described at xii, 313, 12, mano grasati bhūtātmā. Differently employed, the combination appears in Gītā, 5, 7, where one is said not to be contaminated by action if one is sarvabhūtātmabhūtātmā, which, as is shown by parallel passages, is not to be divided into sarvabhūtātma and bhūtātmā, but into sarvabhūta, ātmabhūta, ātmā, where sarvabhūtātmabhūta means one with all, or the All-soul. Compare xii, 240, 23, sarvabhūtātmabhūtasya vibhor bhūtahitasya ca devā 'pi mārge muhyanti; xii, 47, 82, sarvabhūtātmabhūtāya . . . namaḥ. Bhūtātman means also elemental spirit, as in xii, 298, 17–19, where it is said that before the disembodied jīva, or spirit, secures a new resting place (āyatana, body), it wanders about as a bhūtātman, "like a great cloud." So in xii, 254, 7, the bhūtātman of Yogins wanders through space and has seven subtile guṇas (according to the commentator, the fine elements, intellect and egoism), like sattvātman, ib. 6; but here, too, it is the bhūtātman, "standing in the heart," ib. 12. I observe, by the way, that the citation above, "the gods are confounded at the track of him who is identical with all created things" (compare the anirdeçyā gatiḥ, "indescribable course, which the mokṣiṇaḥ foresee," xii, 19, 15), shows, as does xiii, 113, 7, apadasya padāiṣiṇaḥ, that in xiii, 141, 88, padaṁ tasya ca vidyate should be changed to na vidyate, as in C. 6477 (sattvaṁ sarvabhūtātmabhūtastham is found in xii, 210, 36). Compare Dhammapada 420, yassa gatiṁ na jānanti devā.

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or three deserve particular attention. In xii, 240, 21, it appears in a stanza like one to be cited presently, where another Māitri word is found, but here the text says merely that the bhūtātman (ceases to be conditioned and) enters Brahman, where it "sees self in all beings and all beings in self." In çl. 11 of the same chapter the bhūtātman appears as the controller of mind in the same simile of the wild horses noticed above, but with a different turn: "Mind, as a charioteer his horses, directs the senses; and the bhūtātman which is seated in the breast directs mind; as the mind, restraining and letting out the senses, is their lord, so the bhūtātman in respect to the mind." In xiv, 51, 1, on the other hand, the mind itself is called bhūtātman, because it rules the mahābhūtas. Finally the same term is used of Vishnu in xiii, 149, 140, where it is said:[1]

eko Viṣṇur mahad bhūtam pṛthag bhūtāny anekaçaḥ
trīn lokān vyāpya bhūtātmā bhuṅkte viçvabhug
avyayaḥ,

"Vishnu as one is a great spirit (bhūta), and separately is all beings; he, permeating, enjoys the three worlds as bhūtātman, he the all-enjoyer, indestructible."

It is clear from these passages that bhūtātman is not used in one strict sense in the epic, but its signification varies according to different passages. In one case it is a free spirit of elements,[2] but in another the conditioned spirit in the

[1] The quotation here given may be the one cited in PW. from ÇKDr. s. bhūtātman I, 1. But compare also xii, 207, 8, where the Lord Govinda is bhūtātmā mahātmā. In the "Secret of the Vedāntas" (Upanishads) the Intelligence as Lord bhūtakṛt, maker of elements, is called Bhūtātman, xii, 194, 7 = 248, 4, and 14 as Buddhi.

[2] Hence called sūkṣma, fine. This seems to be the sense in xii, 203, 6–7: "As no one has seen the back of Himālaya or of the moon, but cannot say it is non-existent, so the fine bhūtātman which in creatures has a knowledge-soul, jñānātmavān, cannot be said not to exist because it has not been seen." With this jñānātman compare, by the way, what is said of the soul, ib. 240, 22, yāvān ātmani vedātmā tāvān ātmā parātmani (just after the verse cited in the text 240, 21, above, on bhūtātman): "The soul is as much in the All-soul as there is knowledge-soul in itself."

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body.[1] It is the latter meaning which applies both in the Upanishad and in the epic imitation of it. In these cases bhūtātman is the ātman, spirit, not as being pure Puruṣa, but as being in connection with and conditioned by bhūta, that is, imprisoned in matter. It is apparently a popular (not philosophical) term for spirit in general, and when used in philosophy answers to the ordinary philosophical jīva, incorporate spirit. It is not found in other (old) Upanishads.

But there is still a closer parallel between the epic and the Upanishad. After the verse cited above, it is said, iii, 213, 24–27, that salvation is attained by peace of mind and by perceiving self in self, and that this purified spirit by the aid of the lighted lamp (of knowledge), seeing self as *free of self*, becomes released.[2] Here again we have a peculiarly Māitri word in *nirātman*, "free of self," that is, free from the delusion of subjectivity. But the two works are here evidently identical. First, just as the epic says that one must have peace of mind, prasāda, and be pure, and then becomes nirātman, so in ii, 2–4, the Upanishad, after an allusion to samprasāda, the same peace of mind, says that one becomes pure and *nirātman* (çuddhaḥ pūtaḥ çūnyaḥ çānto 'prāṇo nirātmā). The sign of this peace is explained as when one sleeps sweetly, iii, 213, 25 = xii, 247, 11.[3] In the epic the word nirātman occurs again in much the same way, xii, 199, 123, çāntībhūto nirātmavān, like the collocation above in the Upanishad.

[1] Compare what is said, Māit. Up. iii, 2. "The bhūtātman is affected by ignorance, and so gives itself up to objects of sense," it is said in xii, 204, 5.

[2] "For self is the friend of self, and even so self is the foe of self," V, 34, 64; Gītā, 6, 5.

[3] Samprasāda is suṣupti, unconscious slumber. Unconscious existence is the goal of the soul, for the conditioned spirit, jīva, "glorious, immortal, ancient" is a part of this unconsciousness, and on becoming pure enters it. In a preceding section this samprasāda, or unconscious existence, is declared to be the body of the universe: Yaḥ samprasādo (am, C.) jagataḥ çarīram, sarvān sa lokān adhigacchatī 'ha, tasmin hitam (hi sam, C.) tarpayatī 'ha devāṅs, te vāi tṛptās tarpayanty āsyam asya, xii, 246, 33, where the sense seems to be that the reabsorption of the universe pleases the mouth of unconsciousness; that is, the mouth of Time as Lord of all, a metaphor from the preceding verses. So samprasāda is a spirit at peace, in Chānd. Up., cited on the next page.

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Another passage reads: "The spirit (ātman, but conditioned) knows not whither it goes or whence, but the inner-spirit, antarātman, is different; it sees all things; with the lighted lamp of knowledge[1] it sees self in self. Do thou, too, seeing self in (or with) self, become freed from self, become all-wise" (nirātmā bhava sarvavit, xii, 251, 9–10). This verse, is in fact, only a different version of the "lighted lamp" verse above. This latter, in turn with its environment, must be compared in the original with the Upanishad to see how close are the two. But for this purpose I take, not the samprasāda passage referred to above, which is parallel to Chānd. Up. viii, 3, 4, but one from the sixth book, where the Upanishad, vi, 20, has

tadā *'tmanā 'tmānaṁ dṛṣṭvā nirātmā* bhavati,

whereupon follows a stanza cited, ity evaṁ hy āha, as:

cittasya hi prasādena hanti karma çubhāçubham
prasannātmā 'tmani sthitvā sukham avyayam açnute

In the epic, iii, 213, 24, this whole stanza (çloka) appears, cittasya hi prasādena, etc., *in exactly the same words*,[2] and then, after the definition of prasāda and the injunction that one must be viçuddhātmā, of purified soul, as explained above, come the words, çl. 27, *dṛṣṭvā 'tmānaṁ nirātmānaṁ* sa tadā vipramucyate.

When this stanza is repeated in the Upanishad at vi, 34, it is preceded by the verse yaccittas tanmayo bhavati, so that together we have:

yaccittas tanmayo bhavati guhyam etat sanātanam

(i. e., the guhyam of Dhammapada 1, mano seṭṭhā manomayā; compare Praçna Up. iii, 10, yaccittas tenāi 'ṣa prāṇam āyāti)

[1] Here jñānadīpena (compare Gītā, 10, 11) dīptena; above, pradīptene 'va dīpena manodīpena. Compare dīpavad yaḥ sthito hṛdi, Māitri, vi. 30 (and 36).

[2] In the corresponding Çānti chapter, in which I pointed out above the simile of the six senses as horses, and gūḍho 'tmā for bhūtātmā, this verse is found in a different form, cittaprasādena yatir jahātī 'ha çubhāçubham, vii, 247, 10.

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cittasya hi prasādena hanti karma çubhāçubham

which the Anugītā takes up xiv, 51, 27, and 36, in inverse order:

27, yaccittaṁ tanmayo 'vaçyaṁ, guhyam etat sanātanam
36, prasāde cāi 'va sattvasya prasādaṁ samavāpnuyāt

If all these points be compared, first the general order of discussion, then the peculiar words which are used in the same way in both texts, and finally the identical passage just given, it is clear that one of these texts must have followed the other. The dispersion of the epic chapter over different books certainly makes it seem more likely that it is a copy than an original. This opinion is strengthened by the late features added in the epic, the freedom in metre, almost exclusively characteristic of the later epic, and the late Vedānta grouping of seventeen at the beginning. For this group is not the old Sāṁkhya group, which occurs often enough elsewhere in the epic, but a modification of it as in the Vedāntasāra.

The citation in the Māitrāyaṇa of the stanza cittasya hi prasādena from some source might be referred to the epic, but it seems more likely that this, like a dozen other "some one says" verses in the same Upanishad, is a general reference, and it is quite counterbalanced by the fact that the Vana version in the epic adds a hidden reference to its source in the words *māitrāyaṇa-gataç caret*, a strange expression, which is found only in this verse and in its repetition in the twelfth book;[1] while the speaker in the last verse of the Vana chapter confesses that what he has been teaching "is all a condensed account of what he has heard."[2]

[1] iii, 213, 34; xii, 279, 5; with a slight varied reading in xii, 189, 13.

[2] yathā çrutam idaṁ sarvaṁ samāsena . . . etat te sarvam ākhyātam, iii, 213, 40. I suppose no one will lay any weight on the statement of xii, 247, which copies Vana here (see above), that (12–14) this is a "secret not handed down by tradition," anāitihyam anāgamam (ātmapratyayikaṁ çāstram), but an ambrosia "churned from dharmākhyānas, satyākhyāna, and the ten

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It is perhaps worth noting further that in the Upanishad vi, 20–21, one sees the real soul and becomes isolated (where the goal is kevalatva), whereas in iii, 211, 15 of the epic, the result of this same seeing of self truly is brahmaṇaḥ saṁyogaḥ, union with Brahman; which carries on the antithesis already noticed between the Sāṁkhya tanmātras of the Upanishad and the omission of the same in the epic. This special designation of tanmātra in iii, 2 is complemented by the viçeṣas mentioned in vi, 10, and is important as showing that the Upanishad, as a Upanishad, is late, for none of the older Upanishads has either of these terms. Its priority to the epic, however, may be urged on still another ground than those mentioned above. The Upanishad quotes stanzas freely, and it is scarcely possible that if the epic and Manavic verse cited above on p. 27 had existed in verse the prose form of the Upanishad would have been used. As Müller says in his note on the Upanishad passage: "Part of this passage has been before the mind of the author" (of Manu together with the epic poet). So perhaps, too, with the recognition of the eleven (vikāras) in v, 2. The epic has both groups, eleven vikāras and also the system's sixteen, as I shall show in a later chapter. As compared with the epic, moreover, the Upanishad is distinctly earlier in knowing Yoga as "sixfold," vi, 18, whereas the epic makes it "eightfold," xii, 317, 7 ff. as does Patañjali, ii, 29.

I think another circumstance may point to the fact that the epic refers directly to the sixth chapter of the Upanishad. The word *tatstha* is not, indeed, used in a pregnant sense in the Upanishad. It is simply an ordinary grammatical complex in the sentence vi, 10, puruṣaç cetā pradhānāntaḥsthaḥ, sa eva bhoktā . . . bhojyā prakṛtis, tatstho bhuṅkte, "Prakṛti is food; when *standing in it* (Prakṛti), the Puruṣa enjoys." But in the epic, xii, 315, 11, we read sa eṣa (puruṣaḥ) prakṛtistho hi *tatstha* ity abhidhīyate, "Purusha is designated as tatstha when he is in Prakṛti." As the expression tatstha

thousand Ṛks," for this applies only to paçyaty ātmānam ātmani, seeing self in self, not to the exposition.

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occurs only in this Upanishad, according to Col. Jacob's Concordance, it seems very likely that the epic verse alludes to the tatstha = prakṛtistha of the Upanishad, where Puruṣa is expressly puruṣaç cetā, and the epic also follows, 14, with cetanāvāṅs tathā cāi 'kaḥ kṣetrajña iti bhāṣitaḥ.[1]

In Up. vi. 15 and Mbh. xi, 2, 24 occurs Kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni; and in the companion-piece to the image of the body as a house, cited above from Up. iii, 4, as the same with xii, 330, 42, namely, Up. i, 3, occurs aniṣṭasamprayoga = Mbh. xi, 2, 28, but I do not think that these universal expressions taken by themselves are of any significance.

On the other hand I cannot regard as unimportant the following stanzas, beginning with the extraordinary, unsyntactical, verse found in the epic, xii, 241, 32,—

ṣaṇmāṣān nityayuktasya çabdabrahmā 'tivartate

compared with 237, 8 (Gītā 6, 44, jijñāsur api yogasya, etc.),

api jijñāsamāno 'pi çabdabrahmā 'tivartate

and with xiv, 19, 66,

ṣaṇmāsān nityayuktasya yogaḥ, Pārtha, pravartate

and with Māitr. Up. vi, 28,

ṣaḍbhir māsāis tu yuktasya nityayuktasya dehinaḥ
anantaḥ paramo guhyaḥ samyag yogaḥ pravartate

and with Māitr. Up. vi, 22 = Mbh. xii, 233, 30,

dve brahmaṇī veditavye çabdabrahma paraṁ ca yat
çabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ paraṁ brahmā 'dhigacchati.

The last stanza occurs only here and in this Upanishad (excepting later copies).[2] The first is a meaningless compound of

[1] It may be noticed here also that in *cāitanya* the vocabulary of the pseudo-epic is that of the Upanishad in its later part, vi, 10 and 38 (the word is found else only in late Upanishads). Compare: acāitanyaṁ na vidyate (the tree has a jīva), xii, 184, 17; cetanāvatsu cāitanyaṁ samam bhūteṣu paçyati, "the sage sees one and the same soul in all conscious creatures," xiv, 18, 33. The term is unknown to the Gītā and early epic.

[2] With the var. lec., dve vidye veditavye, Muṇḍ. Up. i, 4; Brahmabindu Up. i, 17. Compare a sort of parody in xii, 100, 5, ubhe prajñe veditavye ṛjvī vakrā ca, Bhārata. The dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe of BAU. ii, 3, 1, are perhaps the first pair, though there it is higher and lower Brahman in a metaphysical sense.

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the "six months" stanza and the "two brahman" stanza. The second is a theoretical advance on the latter, which says that when one is thoroughly conversant with the word-brahman he gets to the highest Brahman. The later Yogin does not think this necessary, and emends to "even one desirous of knowledge (of Yoga, in Gītā) surpasses the word-brahman," while the "six months" stanza in the epic is adjusted to the occasion (nityayuktasya of the MSS. is to be read in the Upanishad as in the epic). Here again, the Māitrāyaṇa alone has this stanza, nor does nityayukta occur elsewhere except in the same way in the Gītā, 8, 14, nityayuktasya yoginaḥ.

In my opinion these parallels together with the cittasya hi prasādena stanza above indicate that the epic has copied from the sixth chapter of the Upanishad as well as from the earlier portions.[1]

The Vedic period, then, is represented in the epic down to a pretty late stage of Upanishads. The tanmātra era of philosophy, the trinitarian era of philosophy, these are represented by the Upanishad and by the epic; but only the latest philosophical and religious chapters of the epic recognize tanmātras (the name) and the trinity, as only the later Upanishads recognize them.

Of still later Upanishads, it is possible that the pseudo-epic may know

The Atharvaçiras Upanishad.

The title is applied to Nārāyaṇa, xii, 339, 113, and the commentator explains it as referring to the Upanishad.[2] But we must, I think, rest content with the certainty that the epic cites (*a*) the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up., (*b*) the Kāṭhaka, (*c*) the

[1] The general lateness of the Upanishad is shown by its recognition, v, 2, of the trinity (Muir *ap.* Holtzmann), which is also recognized in the later epic.

[2] On this and on i, 70, 39–40 in the Çakuntalā episode, bhāruṇḍasāmagītābhir atharvaçiraso 'dgatāiḥ . . . atharvavedapravarāḥ, compare Weber, IS., vol. i, pp. 383–4. See also above, pp. 8 and 9 (note 1).

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Māitrāyaṇa, or, in other words, copies at least one of each of the three kinds of Upanishads, old prose, metrical, and later prose.

Āçvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.

In this Sūtra i, 15, 9, occurs a stanza which is found also with varied readings in the Kāuṣītaki and BA. Upanishads (ii, 11; vi, 4, 9, respectively) as a single stanza. This is cited in the epic as Vedic, the reading following that of the Sūtra and adding one stanza, which clearly belongs to the citation, i, 74, 63–64:

vedeṣv api vadantī 'mam mantragrāmaṁ dvijātayaḥ
jātakarmaṇi putrāṇāṁ tavā 'pi viditaṁ tathā
aṅgād aṅgāt sambhavasi hṛdayād adhi jāyase
ātmā vāi putranāmā 'si sa jīva çaradaḥ çatam
jīvitaṁ tvadadhīnam me santānam api cā 'kṣayam
tasmāt tvaṁ jīva me putra susukhī çaraḍaṁ çatam [1]

The general conclusion to be drawn from these citations is twofold. First, the epic, synthetically considered, post-dates the latest Vedic works. Second, the final redactors were priests, well acquainted with Vedic literature. Of these points there can be no doubt; nor is a third open to serious objection, namely, that the restriction of philosophical citation to philosophical chapters does not prove anything in regard to the date of the epic that preceded the insertion of these chapters.

Purāṇas and Itihāsas.

Whether the Purāṇas, ascribed to Romaharṣa (*sic*) in xii, 319, 21, precede or follow epic literature, is not a question that can be answered categorically. Nothing is commoner than the statement made by some epic character that a story was heard by him long ago in a Purāṇa.[2] But most of the

[1] Āçvalāyana is mentioned only in the pseudo-epic, xiii, 4, 54. On this and his mention of the epic, see below, and Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 27, with other supposed references to Sūtras.

[2] For example, xiii, 84, 59, mayā çrutam idam pūrvam purāṇe. For the relation between the extant Purāṇas and the epic, compare Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 29 ff. There is no earlier allusion to an extant Purāṇa (SBE. ii. p. xxviii)

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extant Purāṇas are in their present shape certainly later than the epic. Nevertheless, before the great epic was completed the eighteen Purāṇas were known, since they are mentioned as a group xviii, 5, 46 (not in C.) and 6, 97. Further, a Vāyu Purāṇa is referred to in iii, 191, 16:

> etat te sarvam ākhyātam atītānāgataṁ tathā
> Vāyuproktam anusmṛtya Purāṇam ṛṣisaṁstutam.

This statement, however, implying that the Purāṇa treats of future events, though illustrated in this instance by the epic's account of later ages, scarcely tallies with the early epic use of the word, which regularly connotes atīta, the past, but not anāgata, (account of) things to be; yet it corresponds exactly to the ordinary contents of the later Purāṇas. On the other hand, the pseudo-epic contains this later sort of Purāṇa, known as Purāṇa as well as ākhyāna and mahopaniṣada, where future events are described.[1] It is to be remarked, moreover, that this reminiscence of Vāyu's Purāṇa, a work which is referred to again in the Harivaṅça, is contained in the Mārkāṇḍeya episode, which long interpolation is itself virtually a Purāṇa. That some of the verses in the extant Vāyu are like some in the epic proves nothing in regard to the relative age of either.[2] There is no real iden-

than that in Āp. Dh. S., ii, 9, 24, 6, where a Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa is cited, the words having an epic strain, perhaps to be filled out with vījārthāḥ svarge (jīvanti *yāvad*) ābhūtasamplavāt. See also above, p. 6. On the Purāṇas as depositories of Vedic Çruti, see the quotation above, p. 4, and compare H. 3, 33, 5, etat te kathayiṣyāmi purāṇam brahmasaṁmitam nānāçrutisamāyuktam.

[1] xii, 340, 95–125, future avatars, conquest of Kālayavana, etc., called mahopaniṣadam (sic, neuter), in çl. 111, purāṇam in 118 and 124, ākhyānam in 125. Closely united are "praise and Purāṇas" (known to Sūtas) in xii, 53, 3 (not like the stutiçāstra, praise-treatises, of the late passage, ii, 452, where, however, B. 11, 35, has *stutiçastrāṇi*).

[2] Even the Garuḍa and Vārāha Purāṇas may precede the final revision of the whole epic, though the evidence for references is far from conclusive; but on the other hand our present Purāṇas may have been so changed as not to agree in any detail with Purāṇas that once bore these names. The arguments are given by Holtzmann, loc. cit. The epic passages supposed to refer to the Purāṇas are H., 3, 33, 5 (above) and i, 31, 3. The epic declaration i, 2, 386, that it is the base of all Purāṇas, presupposes a goodly number already in existence; but this statement is as late an addition to the poem

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tity in the account cited from the Vāyu Purāṇa and the extant Vāyu Purāṇa. In the description of the Kali age, for instance, where the epic (in the part said to be from the Vāyu Purāṇa) has, 190, 64, Çūdrā dharmam pravakṣyanti, brāhmaṇāḥ paryupāsakāḥ, the Vāyu, lviii, 41, says Çūdrācāryāç ca brāhmaṇāḥ, and where the epic, ib. 97, has utsādayiṣyati mlecchaganān, the Vāyu, ib. 78, has mlecchān hanti, but here there is nothing characteristic. On the other hand, the most striking features in the epic account, the edūkas, and Kalki, with the heavy taxes laid upon priests, çl. 62, 65–67, 93 ff., are not found in the Vāyu at all. Noticeable also is the fact that the epic account not only has more than the Vāyu, but has contradictory statements. Thus in çl. 58, the Vāyu declares one of the signs of the evil age to be that girls less than sixteen will bear children; while in the epic the sign is that girls of five or six will bear and boys of seven or eight will beget children: pañcame vā 'tha ṣaṣṭe vā varṣe kanyā prasūyate, saptavarṣā 'ṣṭavarṣāç ca prajāsyanti narās tadā, 190, 49. Taken altogether, the epic account seems to be an extended and exaggerated reproduction of that in the Vāyu Purāṇa, but it is impossible to say whether it is really based on the extant text or not. The Puranic version, however, does not seem to be taken from the epic account, and as the latter is expressly said to be from the Purāṇa it is reasonable to suppose that the Mārkāṇḍeya episode was inserted into the epic after the Vāyu Purāṇa was written, though this must remain only a supposition.

Another long intrusion in the same third book of the epic, this time in the Tīrtha stories, iii, 110 ff., leads to a result somewhat more definite in respect of the relation between the particular story intruded into the epic and the Padma

as is the mention of the eighteen. I suppose most scholars will accept the "eighteen Purāṇas" as actually referring to eighteen, and I am inclined to do so myself. At the same time the number is more or less conventional in the epic (see the groups of eighteen spoken of below), and even in the period of the Upanishads literary works may have been grouped in eighteens: yajñarūpā aṣṭādaçoktam avaram yeṣu karma, with Deussen's remark on *ukta* and attempt to explain the number, Muṇḍ. Up. i, 2, 7.

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Purāṇa. Here, according to the acute investigation of Dr. Lüders, Die Sage von Ṛṣyaçṛṅga, the epic account in its present form is based upon that of the Purāṇa. Dr. Lüders thinks indeed, p. 103, that there was an earlier epic form of the story which antedated the Puranic account. But it is at least certain that the present epic form is subsequent to the present Puranic form, and that the tale is drawn from popular sources that antedate in all probability all the literary versions in Sanskrit.

Leaving the modern Purāṇa, as it is described, e. g., in Vāyu Purāṇa, iv, 10,

> sargaç ca pratisargaç ca vaṅço manvantarāṇi ca
> vaṅçānucaritaṁ ce 'ti purāṇaṁ pañcalakṣaṇam,

and turning to the meaning of the word in the epic, there is no essential difference between atīta, ākhyāna,[1] purāṇa and itihāsa. Together with the more general kathā, all these words mean ordinarily an old tale, story, legend or incident. Rarely is Purāṇa itself used of cosmogony, but a case occurs in xii, 201, 6, where the phrase tad ucyatām purāṇam refers to the origin of earth, heaven, creatures, wind, sky, water, etc. The birth of Asuras and Suras is a Puranic topic in i, 65, 38. When not an adjective to ākhyāna, which is a common function of the word, it is an equivalent substantive. Thus the Nandinī tale is an ākhyānam purāṇam, i, 175, 2, while in xii, 343, 2, hanta te vartayiṣyāmi purāṇam, the word in the phrase takes the place of Itihāsa; as it does in i, 196, 14, çrūyate hi purāṇe 'pi Jaṭilā nāma Gāutamī.

From remote antiquity these Purāṇas or tales of old were associated with Itihāsas, legends, whether cosmological or not (the distinction is quite artificial). They were narrations, kathās, composed partly in prose and partly in verse, gāthās. Kathā itself is entirely non-specific, and may be a causerie rather than a tale, as in ix, 38, 16, where are mentioned reli-

[1] Synonymous with this is the word upākhyāna. Thus the Çakuntalā episode and Namuci myth, ix, 43, 33, bear the name upākhyāna, and in v, 18, 16, and 19 it is synonymous with ākhyāna. The Fowler's tale is a dharmākhyāna, iii, 216, 36 (compare a reference to many such, p. 5, above).

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gious conversations,[1] citrāḥ kathā vedam prati. A legend, such as that of Agastya, is a kathā divyā, iii, 100, 2. The mahopaniṣadam alluded to above is a kathāmṛtam, the essence, sāra, of hundreds of upākhyānas, xii, 340, 127. So the Çvetadvīpa story is a kathāsāra, xii, 336, 16.

But the especial characteristic of the old legend is that it relates the story of great kings or gods[2] and their acts in the past. In iii, 298, 7, Dyumatsena is solaced "by the help of tales of former kings," citrārthāiḥ pūrvarājñām kathāçrayāiḥ, according to the recommendation in the epic itself: "Comfort those afflicted in mind with tales of the past," yasya buddhiḥ paribhavet tam atītena sāntvayet, i, 140, 74; an instance being the story of Nala, kīrtana, itihāsa, itihāsaḥ purāṇaḥ, as it is indifferently called, iii, 79, 10, 11, 13, 16.

The word itihāsa may also have the meaning "saying," rather than "legend." Thus in iii, 30, 21:

> atrā 'py udāharantī 'mam itihāsam purātanam
> īçvarasya vaçe lokās tiṣṭhante nā 'tmano yathā,

where itihāsa is equivalent to pravāda, a proverbial saying (in this instance repeated in çl. 25 and in other parts of the epic). But ordinarily the word means a tale, of which the hemistich just cited is the stereotyped introduction, as in iii, 28, 1 and passim.[3] It is important to notice that, as itihāsa is used for proverb and gītā gāthā is also used in the same way,

[1] So a philosophical discourse of religious content, mokṣadharma, is an Itihāsa, xii, 334, 42; and the tale of a good Brahman is a kathā on duty, xii, 354 ff.

[2] The tale of Atharvan finding Agni when the latter disappeared is an Itihāsa purātana, iii, 217 and 222. In iii, 183, 46, purāvṛttāḥ kathāḥ puṇyāḥ, are "tales of kings, women, and seers." With purāvṛtta as adj. compare kathayanti purāvṛttam itihāsam, xii, 18, 2; as a noun it is not uncommon, rājñām purāvṛttam, "a tale of kings," etc., as is illustrated sufficiently in PW. (compare vṛttānta). Khāṇḍava's burning is a pāurāṇī kathā ṛṣisaṁstutā, i, 223, 16. "Men, snakes, and demons" is the subject of a "divine tale," kathā divyā, in iii, 201, 4.

[3] A word of analogous formation is āitihya, equivalent to traditional report, Veda. It is found, e.g., in xii, 218, 27 and 247, 13, and G. v, 87, 23, as one of a group of sources of knowledge besides anumāna and pratyakṣa. Compare itivṛtta, as legend, in i, 1, 16.

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for example, the na jātu kāmaḥ proverb, i, 75, 49–50, so the phrase to introduce a tale, Itihāsa, may substitute gāthās, as in iii, 29, 35, atrā 'py udāharantī 'mā gāthāḥ . . . gītāḥ. Such gāthās refer to action or to ethical teaching (compare the same formula for both, loc. cit. and ii, 68, 65). A difference may be imagined in the element of song of the gāthā, but this is illusory. The gāthās are indeed said to be sung, as in the case just cited (çl. 34–44 are the gītā gāthāḥ), but singing is too precise a translation. As shown above, even the Āraṇyakas are "sung," and in point of fact the gāthās are synonymous with çlokas and are recited. Stanzas of Purāṇas are thus said to be sung.[1] Conversely, gāthās are not always sung, iii, 135, 45, atrā 'py udāharantī 'mā gāthā devāir udāhṛtāḥ; while ib. 54 is another illustration of the word gāthā meaning only a current proverbial çloka. But in this case it is woven together with the legend of Dhanuṣākṣa, whose direct curse not succeeding in slaying his enemy, he destroyed the mountain, in the life of which was bound up the life of the invulnerable foe. Hence they say "man can never escape his fate:"

ūcur vedavidaḥ sarve gāthāṁ yāṁ tāṁ nibodha me
na diṣṭam artham atyetum īço martyaḥ[2] kathaṁcana
mahiṣāir bhedayāmāsa Dhanuṣākṣo mahīdharān

Such gāthās[3] are even incorporated into the law-books: "Verses recited by Yama" are cited (by those that know antiquity and the law) "in the law-books" on the sin of selling a son or daughter, xiii, 45, 17.[4]

[1] Compare Tīrtha gāthā and Tīrtha çloka, iii, 88, 22; 89, 17; 90, 6; "the çloka sung in a Purāṇa," purāṇe çrūyate gītaḥ çlokaḥ, v, 178, 47; purāṇaḥ çloko gītaḥ, iii, 300, 33 (a proverb on fame); Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 29 ff.

[2] The reading amartyaḥ in B. would require api. C. has martyaḥ. The proverb appears in a different form, v, 40, 32, na diṣṭam abhyatikrāntuṁ çakyam bhūtena kenacit.

[3] In the Rāmāyaṇa also, eti jīvantam ānando naram varṣaçatād api is given as a kalyāṇī or pāurāṇī gāthā lāukikī, v, 34, 6; vi, 126, 2 (G. 110, 2).

[4] atra gāthā Yamodgītāḥ kīrtayanti purāvidaḥ dharmajñā dharmaçāstreṣu nibaddhā dharmasetuṣu, yo manuṣyaḥ svakam putraṁ vikrīya dhanam icchati kanyāṁ vā jīvitārthāya yaḥ çulkena prayacchati, saptāvare, etc.

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The best known example of the last case, gāthās recited by a divinity, is found in the Harigītās (plural), xii, 347, 11, that is the Bhagavad Gītā (Upanishad).[1] Here the "singing" is that of the Āraṇyakas. As Vedāntas are Upanishads (above, p. 9), so we find in xii, 247, 21, yat tan maharṣibhir dṛṣṭam (= Veda), vedānteṣu ca gīyate, "what is revealed in the Veda and sung in the Upanishads."

Such tales and legends are said to be the epic itself, which is called indifferently an Itihāsa, a Purāṇa, or Kṛṣṇa's Veda.[2] As the Chāndogya Upanishad applies the title "fifth Veda" to the Itihāsapurāṇa, so the epic claims the same title:

itihāsapurāṇaḥ pañcamo vedānām, Chānd. Up., vii, 1, 2, 4
(So each is a Veda in Çat. Br. xiii, 4, 3, 12–13.)
adhītya caturo vedān sāṅgān ākhyānapañcamān, vii, 9, 29
sāṅgopaniṣadān[3] vedāṅç catur ākhyānapañcamān, iii, 45, 8
vedān adhyāpayāmāsa Mahābhāratapañcamān, i, 63, 89 and xii, 341, 21.[4]

In the opening stanzas[5] of the great epic it is described as a Saṁhitā, collection, a grantha, book, a Purāṇa, an ākhyāna, an Itihāsa, a Kāvya, a poem containing various Çāstras, full of Vyākhyās (vāiyākhya) or narrations, and Upanishads. It is true that it is also called a Dharmaçāstra, yet this represents but one side of its encyclopædic nature, as it is besides Arthaçāstra, Dharmaçāstra, and Kāmaçāstra, i, 2, 383. When the character of the work as a whole is described, it is in

[1] bhagavadākhyānam, ib. 2; here a recitation about the Lord, not by the Lord. But the Gītā is a recitation by the Lord, gītā bhagavatā svayam, ib. 349, 8.

[2] i, 62, 16–18, idam purāṇam . . . itihāsam . . kārṣṇam vedam vidvān. So the imitation of the Gītā in the twelfth book is called "Kṛṣṇa's Religion," Sātvato dharmaḥ (see below).

[3] The other form occurs, e. g., iii, 206, 2, sāṅgopaniṣado vedān adhīte.

[4] Compare also v, 43, 41; ix, 6, 14 (as above), and vedāṅç cā 'dhijage sāṅgān setihāsān, i, 60, 3; itahāsapurāṇeṣu nānāçikṣāsu bodhitaḥ vedavedāṅgatattvajñaḥ, i, 109, 20; vedeṣu sapurāṇeṣu ṛgvede sayajurvede . . . purāṇe sopaniṣade tathāi 'va jyotiṣe āyurvede tathāi 'va ca, xii, 342, 6–9; ye 'dhīyate setihāsam purāṇam, xiii, 102, 21; yad etad ucyate çāstre setihāse cā chandasi, xiii, 111, 42.

[5] i, 1, 16, 49, 55, 61, 72.

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terms of epic story, not of didactic code. Even the Harivaṅça poet does not fail to distinguish the two elements. He boasts that the epic is an ākhyānam bahvartham çrutivistaram, but still says that it is the Bhāratī kathā, Bhārata story, the root of which is the dramatic episode of the Rājasūya, which led to the development of the story (H. 3, 2, 13 ff.). So another poet proclaims: "I will relate the great good fortune of that great-hearted king the Bhārata, whose brilliant Itihāsa, story, is called the Mahābhārata," i, 99, 49. The reason that Kṛṣṇa Dvāipāyana spent three years in making the epic was not only that he wished to do a good thing but that he wished to "extend the glory of the Pandus and other warriors."[1]

Constituting a small but important part of the various tales told in the epic are found genealogical verses, anuvaṅça-çlokas (or gāthās), which commemorate the history of the race of valiant kings and great seers of the past. I shall speak of them again hereafter. Here it suffices to say that such verses are either sung by professional rhapsodes, or recited by narrators. The rhapsodes, however, were quite distinct from the Brahmans, who recited the epic stories. For a priest to be a professional story-teller or a rhapsode was as bad for him as to be a juggler or a physician.[2]

Drama.

There remains only one class of literature which may doubtfully be included under the head of literature known to the epic poets, the drama. Whether there was already a literary drama is, however, chiefly a matter of definition. It is conceivable that the story-tellers and rhapsodes may have developed dramatic works before any such works were written, that is, became literature in a strict sense, and that

[1] i, 62, 27–28.

[2] xiii, 23, 15, gāyanā nartakāç cāi 'va plavakā vādakās tathā kathakā yodhakāç cāi 'va rājan nā 'rhanti ketanam; ib. 90, 11, among apāṅkteyas are kuçilavas, rhapsodes, and idol-makers (above, p. 15). A priest is insulted on being called a professional eulogist, bandin, i, 78, 9–10.

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the ākhyāna may have been dramatically recited. But it is also true that the early epic does not mention the play or drama. Nevertheless a kind of drama existed before the epic was ended. Compare iv, 16, 43:

akālajñā 'si, sāirandhri, çailūṣī 'va virodiṣi

From the expression "thou weepest like an actress" one might hastily conclude that we have here a reference to real drama. But pantomime expresses weeping, and no mention of real drama occurs in the epic except in the passage ii, 11, 36, where Drama is personified:

nāṭakā vividhāḥ kāvyāḥ kathākhyāyikakārikāḥ,

which is anything but an early verse.[1] In the Harivaṅça, on the other hand, which probably dates from a time posterior to our era, we find not only pantomime, abhinaya, but even the dramatic representation of the "great Rāmāyaṇa poem," in which the vidūṣaka, or stage-jester of the regular drama, takes part, H. 2, 89, 72; 92, 59.

But even abhinaya, or pantomime, is not mentioned in the epic proper under that name and no technical dramatic term is found anywhere in it. This is the more surprising as the manner in which the epic is told gives abundant opportunity to introduce both the terms and allusions to dramatic representation. Shows of dances are frequently mentioned, but the spectators never hear the players even when mentioned as naṭas, a doubtful word which might be actor and may be pantomimist. Not to speak of the absence of çāubhikas and

[1] Dramatic *recitations* are of course another matter, and pantomime must be separated from drama. According to Fick, Sociale Gliederung, p. 188, the same relation exists in the Jātakas, where also naṭa and naṭaka do not yet mean actors but pantomimes, as "dramatic performances are nowhere described." This is, in my opinion, the state of affairs in the epic prior to the writing of the late additions (see the allusion below). ii, 11, 36, belongs clearly to an interpolated scene, and the fact that real drama, nāṭaka, is mentioned only here in the whole epic till the Harivaṅça, should show its age. He who refers the passage to 500 B.C., must ignore its uniqueness and the fact that the rest of the epic knows no such word. See my Ruling Caste, p. 329, and also Professor Rhys Davids' interesting note on the Brahma-jāla Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, p. 7 (with my note below, p. 57, on prekkhā).

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others elsewhere mentioned as actors, and of the dramatic viṭas, çakaras, and vidūṣakas, when groups of people of this grade are given,[1] even the granthika appears only as a rhapsode processional singer, and the characters are described merely as "seeing," paçyanto naṭanartakān, ii, 33, 49; i, 218, 10, etc. The expression "stage" and the various vague terms for actors can be referred to mimes with perfect propriety and in the absence of everything that would indicate real drama ought perhaps to be so referred. In the expression "God treats men as men do a doll on a string," iii, 30, 23, the reference must be to the sort of Punch and Judy show which is still performed in town and village. Even in xii, 36, 25, raṅgastrī, "stage-woman," may perhaps most reasonably be explained as the equivalent of the actress mentioned above. Like the Harivaṅça, the Rāmāyaṇa speaks of theatrical exhibitions, nāṭakāny āhuḥ (or cakruḥ), R. ii, 69, 4; G. 71, 4. Rhapsodic drama is alluded to also in the Mahābhāṣya, where, as Weber has shown, the actors are seen and heard and tragedies are presented in costume. But the Mahābhārata neither alludes to such dramatic plays nor does it notice the Naṭasūtra.[2] All that is heard seems to be songs and instru-

[1] Such groups are frequently found in lists of persons who are not eligible, and are generally regarded as vulgar or dangerous, but in all these groups among dancers, singers, rhapsodes, etc., no technical word of the regular drama is found.

[2] Compare Weber, IS. xiii, p. 487; Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 78 ff. The latter scholar says "die ganze dramatische Literatur ist später als das Mahābhārata." He means therewith, I presume, the received drama of Kālidāsa and others. There is certainly in the epic nothing like the nāṭakīkṛta Rāmāyaṇa of the Harivaṅça. The chronological value of the Mahābhāṣya data would be greater if one knew to which century they reverted, but Weber himself warns against taking them as of certain worth for any time earlier than the end of the eighth century A. D., loc. cit., p. 320. A Punch and Judy show is implied in v, 39, 1, sūtraprotā dārumayī 'va yoṣā. The Sūtradhāra appears only in i, 51, 15, where he is a sthapati, or architect, and a Sūtaḥ pāurāṇikaḥ. The application of the name here is apparently to the sūtra, lines or plans, drawn up by the architect (xii, 10,983, but B. has mudrā for sūtra, 299, 40). Lists of naṭānartakagāyanas are found in iii, 15, 14; xii, 69, 60; raṅgāvataraṇa, ib. 295, 5. In i, 184, 16, though naṭas and Sūtas come with dancers and praisers and boxers, niyodhakas, only praisers are heard (Sūtas, 188, 24). So

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ments: "The musicians sounded their instruments together; the dancers danced also; the singers sang songs," nanṛtur nartakāç cāi 'va jagur geyāni gāyanāḥ, i, 219, 4.

The conclusion seems inevitable that the technical nāṭaka with its vidūṣaka, etc., that is, the drama in its full form, was unknown to the epic proper. What was known was clearly pantomime. Dramatic recitation like that of the Bhāṣya may be inferred only if one ignores the facts mentioned above, which is possible if the (non-hearing but) seeing of shows be taken as a general expression. On the other hand, the ākhyāna-reciters may have been dramatic without the setting noticed in the Bhāṣya. They are heard rather than seen. I have already noticed the fact that Nārada is the representative of Bharata as the genius of music, and that the latter is not known to the epic in his later capacity.[1]

in ii, 4, 7, (with vāitālikas); and in the dānamahākratu at xv, 14, 17, which is naṭanartakalāsyāḍhyaḥ. A dance-hall, nartanaçālā, nartanāgāra, is mentioned in iv, 22, 3, 16, and a prekṣāgāra, "hall for seeing," is made according to Çāstra rule in i, 134, 10–11, a temporary affair for a joust, helped out with mañcas; a samājavāṭa (more elaborate) in 185, 16; while "spectators at an arena," prekṣakāḥ . . . raṅgavāṭa iva, iii, 20, 27, are alluded to. Other stage-words, raṅgabhūmi, etc., occur occasionally without specific application to acting. The use to which prekṣā and samāja are put, when they are explained in the epic, should make one hesitate to translate the same words in Manu more specifically than "shows and meetings," and the same is true of prekkhā in Pāli.

[1] The pseudo-epic, xiii, 33, 12, says that some priests are thieves, some are liars, and some are naṭanartakas, which the commentary illustrates by saying that Vālmīki and Viçvāmitra are examples of the thief, while Bharata and others are examples of naṭanartakas (Nārada is an example of the liar, as he is kalahapriyaḥ). Here, and in the quotation above, naṭanartaka is one, "actor-dancer." For the part played by dolls in the early Hindu drama, see Professor Pischel's illuminating essay, Die Heimat des Puppenspiels (1900). He also gives references to previous literature on the drama.

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CHAPTER TWO.

INTERRELATION OF THE TWO EPICS.

Of the two early epics of India, the Mahābhārata, the great epic, is traditionally attributed to a distributor, vyāsa, who is also credited with the distribution or editing of the Vedas and of several other works. Different editions and former declarers are also noticed. In other words, there was no one author of the great epic, though with a not uncommon confusion of editor with author, an author was recognized, called Vyāsa. Modern scholarship calls him The Unknown, or Vyāsa for convenience.

But if the great epic lacks an author with a real name, the little epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, is the work of a definite personality. Here there is no question of disputed authorship, only of more or less plainly marked interpolation and addition. The great, mahā, Bhārata-epic is really, as it is designated, a collection, Saṁhitā, the reputed author of which, corresponding generally to the parallel figure in Greece, yet out-Homers Homer; while beside the huge and motley pile that goes by Vyāsa's name stands clear and defined the little Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, as (in this respect) besides Homer's vague Homerica stands the distinct Argonautika of Apollonius.

As the relation between the two Hindu epics, especially in point of age, has often been discussed, I do not purpose to repeat all the details here, but to take up the study of the great epic from a new point of view. For the reason why so much theorizing in regard to relative age has been spent on the epics without satisfactory result — adhuc sub judice — is that hitherto there has been no recognition of the underlying unity of epic speech. Hence discussions in regard to the possibility of totally different origins of the two epics and the

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different ages they represent, while their common base has been ignored.

In regard to the final growth of each, it may be said at once that neither epic was developed quite independently of the other. The later Rāmāyaṇa implies the Mahābhārata, as the later Mahābhārata recognizes the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. It is not, then, a question of absolute separation, but only of the length we may go in separating.

Neither epic has a definitive text. The question therefore naturally arises whether there is any use in arguing about the original form of either poem. In regard to the Mahābhārata, this question has been answered negatively by Dr. Winternitz, who holds that all work on the epic is useless till we have the text of the Southern recension, of which he has lately published, in the Indian Antiquary, some interesting specimens. But it is doubtful whether the publication of the whole Southern version would result in a text any more definitive than that of the Rāmāyaṇa. At most we should have two versions, more or less independent of each other, each showing omissions and interpolations as viewed in the light of the other. This would be of considerable value indeed, as proving that the text has been freely altered, a conclusion inevitable even without this support, but based with its aid on objective reality. Nevertheless, though the Southern recension would be thus valuable, its absence does not preclude the possibility of obtaining provisional data of importance from the Northern recension alone, either in regard to its relation to the Rāmāyaṇa or in respect of its own development. Such data must finally be checked in detail by a comparison with those of the alternate text; but as a whole they suffice to cast much light on several moot points, and in themselves are useful in demonstrating that the great epic is the result of the labors of different writers belonging to different schools of style and thought; a result diametrically opposed to the view of the method calling itself synthetic, and likely to be rather twice-

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proven than disproven by the eventual publication of the Southern text.

In regard to the texts of the Rāmāyaṇa, I need only refer to the invaluable essays of Professor Jacobi, seconded by the recent analyses of Dr. Wirtz and Dr. Lüders,[1] especially as this epic is not the chief object of consideration in this volume. It is, however, obvious that exactly the same conditions obtain here as in the case of the great epic, and it may be added that if there were a third epic the same conditions would obtain there. There is no fixed epic text because Hindu epic poetry was never fixed. All epic poems were transmitted at first orally, and the various rewriters treated them exactly as the rhapsodes had previously done, altered and added as they pleased. Reconstruction of the original text is therefore out of the question. All that can be done is to excise the most palpable interpolations in each traditional rendering.

Neither of the epics, as such, is recognized before the late period of the Gṛhyasūtras, and the first epic recognized here and in other Sūtras is the Bhārata. The question has often been raised which epic is the older. In our present state of knowledge it may be said that this question cannot now and probably never can be answered in one word. In the first place, it will always be idle to speak of either epic as the older without specifying whether one means the present text or the original text; for that these, in the case of either epic, are convertible terms is an idea refuted by even a superficial acquaintance with the poems. Assuming, however, that the question implies priority of epic *qua* epic as a new genus of literature, and whether this form first arose as Rāmāyaṇa or (Mahā) Bhārata, this too cannot be answered categorically, because parts of the latter are older than the former, and the former is older than the mass of the latter, as will be shown. Personally I have no doubt that the Pandu (pāṇḍava) form of the great epic is later than the Rāma epic; but, since one was

[1] Das Rāmāyaṇa (together with special studies mentioned hereafter), by Professor Jacobi; Die Westliche Rezension des R., by Dr. Hans Wirtz; Die Sage von Ṛṣyaçṛṅga, by Dr. Heinrich Lüders, Gött. Nachr. 1897, p. 87.

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a slow outgrowth from a Puñjâb Kuru epic, and the other, of unknown antecedents, was developed far to the East, in much more polished form, while only the Bhārata is recognized in Vedic literature, I have as little doubt that there was a Bhārata epic before there was a Rāmāyaṇa; whereof also I shall speak again in a subsequent chapter. Here I wish merely to notice, in passing, the ridiculous claim that the Rāmāyaṇa dates from the "twelfth or thirteenth century" B. C. This claim has been made not only by Hindus but by Occidental scholars. Whether there was a Rāma story at that period or (just as well) twelve or thirteen centuries earlier no man can know. But that Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa can lay claim to no such age the slightest historical consideration will show, not to speak of an examination of the almost classical metre of the poem.

The Mahābhārata, besides giving the Rāma story as an episode, Rāma-upākhyāna, has four direct references to the Rāmāyaṇa (apart from an allusion to Great Itihāsas). The first is the citation of a verse actually found, as Professor Jacobi has shown, in the extant poem of Vālmīki, api cā 'yam purā gītaḥ çloko Vālmīkinā bhuvi, vii, 143, 67 (R. vi, 81, 28).[1] The second is the citation of a verse from Bhārgava's Rāmacarita (Bhārgava being, as Professor Weber has shown, a title of Vālmīki), which agrees in sense and words closely enough with R. ii, 67, 11, to indicate that the Mahābhārata poet of this passage, xii, 57, 40, had in mind this or the original form (for it is to be noticed that the name is not fixed) of this verse in the Rāmāyaṇa,[2] and to make improbable the synchronous collection of the former epic at xii, 67, and 68 (cf. çl. 15):

M. çlokaç cā 'yam purāgīto Bhārgavena mahātmanā
ākhyāte Rāmacarite nṛpatim prati, Bhārata,
rājānam prathamaṁ vindet tato bhāryaṁ tato dhanam
rājany asati lokasya kuto bhāryā kuto dhanam

[1] na hantavyāḥ striya iti, "Women may not be slain." The general rule is found also in R. ii, 78, 21, avadhyāḥ sarvabhūtānām pramaḍāḥ kṣamyatām iti.

[2] Rather than a common source, as I thought previously, AJP. xx, p. 34.

R. arājake dhanaṁ nā 'sti nā 'sti bhāryā 'py arājake
idam atyāhitaṁ cā 'nyat kuto 'satyam arājake

The third and fourth cases refer to the Rāmāyaṇa without mention of the poet: iii, 147, 11, "Hanumat is very renowned in the Rāmāyaṇa;" xviii, 6, 93 (repeated in the Harivaṅça): "In the Veda (which is) the beginning (of literature), in the holy Rāmāyaṇa (which is) the end, and in the Bhārata (which is) the middle, in all (literatures), Vishnu is besung."[1] The Harivaṅça adds three more references, two to Vālmīki, and one to a dramatic representation of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki in these passages and perhaps in i, 55, 14, as Professor Holtzmann surmises, is credited with being a poet. This is also implied in xiii, 18, 8–10. Everywhere else, and he is mentioned several times, ii, 7, 16; iii, 85, 119; v, 83, 27; xii, 207, 4, he is recognized only as a saint.

In this material, which I recapitulate here only for a view of the chief data,[2] the most striking fact is the antithesis between the notices of the Rāmāyaṇa as found in the early and later Mahābhārata. The Rāma story is referred to over and over, and the whole tale is told independently at iii, 273, ff., but until we come to the much expanded Droṇa and the didactic epic, references to the poem are merely to the Rāma tale, references to the reputed author are merely to a saint recognized as an ascetic but not as a poet. Even as a saint the evidence is conflicting, for, though usually a Vishnu adherent, in the passage cited above from the Anuçāsana, Vālmīki is a Çivaite. The individual allusions prove, therefore, nothing in regard to the general priority of Vālmīki as the first epic poet. They prove only that the Mahābhārata was not completed before Vālmīki wrote, just as the mention of the

[1] vede Rāmāyaṇe puṇye (may go with the next word) Bhārate, Bharatarṣabha, ādāu cā 'nte ca madhye ca, Hariḥ sarvatra gīyate. The last clause may be taken more indefinitely, "in V., R., and M.; in the beginning, end, and middle, everywhere." But such correlation is common (e. g., vede loke çrutaḥ smṛtaḥ, R. ii, 24, 28) and seems to me to be implied here.

[2] Weber, Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa, first collected it; Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, added to it; Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 60 ff., has briefly summed it, with other references (omitted here) and independent additions.

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Vāyu Purāṇa in the Mahābhārata shows only that there was a Purāṇa of that name not before the Bhārata's beginning but before its end. They show also that no antipathy or wish to suppress Vālmīki's name influenced the Bhārata poets, who, therefore, had they simply retold or epitomized a poem recognized as Vālmīki's would probably (as it seems to me) have mentioned his name in connection with the Rāma-upākhyāna.

Professor Jacobi is of the opinion that a verse of inferior form in the episode points to borrowing because it is inferior. But a great poet is more apt to take a weak verse and make it strong than is a copyist to ruin a verse already excellent. Further, the subject-matter of the Kāvya and episode is treated differently in several particulars (details, loc. cit.), which points to different workings-over of older matter rather than to copying or condensing. Professor Jacobi also emphasizes the fact that the great epic cites Vālmīki but Vālmīki does not cite or refer to the Bhārata. This holds good for the great epic only from a "synthetic" point of view, which Professor Jacobi of course rejects. The normal attitude of a Hindu toward his sources is silence. He is rather careful not to state than to proclaim that he is treating old material, so that there is nothing surprising in Vālmīki's not speaking of a predecessor. Moreover, in the later Rāmāyaṇa, which unquestionably betrays acquaintance with the Mahābhārata, there is no more recognition of the latter than there is in the earlier part of the poem; a fact which weakens considerably the argument of silence as applied to that earlier part.

Apart from vii, 143, 67, the Mahābhārata knows the poet Vālmīki only in the twelfth and thirteenth books; whereas it knows everywhere the Rāma tale, a poem called the Rāmāyaṇa, and a saint known not as a poet but as an ascetic called Vālmīki. It gives the Rāma-episode as it gives other ancient tales handed down from antiquity without having been assigned to a specific author. The Rāma-upākhyāna stands to the Rāmāyaṇa somewhat[1] as the Nala-upākhyāna stands to

[1] Emphatic, of course, as the example is a great exaggeration in difference of age and style.

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the Nāiṣadha, in that it is an early tale of unknown authorship which a poet made his own. Long before there is any allusion to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, the base of the great epic, the substance of the Bhāratī Kathā, is recognized in Hindu literature; while the latest addition to the great epic refers to Vālmīki himself as a man who is to be, that is, who is already, famous, yaças te 'gryam bhaviṣyati, xiii, 18, 8–10. Between these extremes lies the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Rāmāyaṇa recognizes Janamejaya as an ancient hero, and knows Kurus and Pāñcālas and the town of Hāstinapur (ii, 68, 13). The story of the Pandus, the gist of the present epic, is presumably later than the story of Rāma; the former everywhere recognizing the latter as an ancient tale.[1] We must therefore on these data make the following distinctions:

(1) The story of Rāma is older than the story of the Pandus.

(2) The Paṇḍu story has absorbed the Bhāratī Kathā.

(3) The Bhāratī Kathā is older than Vālmīki's poem.

Although we have but two ancient Sanskrit epics, there is no reason to suppose that epic poetry began with the extant poems in our possession. As was remarked above, the Mahābhārata alludes to the "Great Itihāsas," which may perhaps imply other poems of epic character and considerable extent.[2] Nor can it be supposed that epic poetry was suddenly

[1] ii, 76, 5, asambhave hemamayasya jantos tathā 'pi Rāmo lulubhe mṛgāya; iii, 11, 48, Vāli-Sugrīvayor bhrātror yathā strīkāṅkṣiṇoḥ purā; ix, 31, 11, Rāvaṇo nāma rākṣasaḥ, Rāmeṇa nihato rājan sānubandhaḥ sahānugaḥ; so ix, 55, 31; sometimes interpolated, as when Rāvaṇa and Indrajit are mentioned in i, 155, 44, but not in C., which omits all 41–44 (after 6081). Other references will be found in iii, 25, 8; 85, 65, etc. Compare Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 62 ff. According to xii, 340, 85 ff., Rāma comes at the beginning of the last era; Krishna, at the beginning of the present era (Rāma's two adjutant monkeys are here Ekata and Dvita). Rāma is recognized here as an incarnation of Vishnu, and also in iii, 99, 40.

[2] I say perhaps only, for "great" is a word often used without reference to extent. Thus the mahad ākhyānam of xiii, 2, 1, is only a philosophical fable (about a snake and Karma), 83 çlokas long.

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invented by one poet. The numerous "ancient tales" of epic character must have furnished a large body of epic phrase as well as fable, out of which and on the basis of which arose our present epics. This is rendered probable also by the fact that such brief epic verses as are preserved in other works, although not always from the extant epics, yet have the same character as the verses of the Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. Furthermore, as said above, the epic itself admits that the present text is not an original work.[1]

We cannot suppose then, even if one epic could be shown to be prior to the other, that this prior epic was the first work in epic versification. We must let pass the statement of the Rāmāyaṇa itself that Vālmīki invented the çloka verse, for, though Vālmīki may have been the first to set out to write an epic in çlokas, it is scarcely worth while to discuss such a palpable bit of self-glorification as that in which the later Rāmāyaṇa here indulges.[2] As the two Greek epics were both based to a certain extent on the general rhapsodic phraseology of the day, so the two Hindu epics, though there was without doubt borrowing in special instances, were yet in this regard independent of each other, being both dependent on previous rhapsodic and narrative phraseology.

I cannot, in short, think that such a very large number of identical phrases as I shall enlist below can owe their identity simply to one poet's copying of another. For the similarity goes too deep, into the very grain of the verse. The exposition, I fear, will be tiresome in its study of minute detail, but it is necessary to a full understanding of the conditions of the problem.

[1] i, 1, 26: ācakhyuḥ kavayaḥ kecit sampratyācakṣate pare ākhyāsyanti tathāi 'vā 'nye itihāsam imam bhuvi (cited by Holtzmann).

[2] So with the tale of the two rhapsodes who "sang" the poem with musical accompaniment, after it had been composed and taught to them (so that in the first instance it was recited as a narrative). But all this is the product of a later age making up its own fictions and myths, such as the singing sons Kuça and Lava made out of *kuçilava*, an ordinary word for rhapsode. That Vālmīki could not have "invented the çloka" is shown by the presence of an earlier form of çlokas in the Brahmanic literature retained in Mbh.

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A characteristic of the common basis of epic verse may be traced back to the Rig Veda. This consists in a rhetorical duplication of a dissyllabic iambic noun, which favors the diiambic close of the octosyllabic pāda or verse, as in these first three examples, or of the twelve-syllable pāda, as in the last example:

ṛtāvānā jane-jane, RV. v, 65, 2
yac cid dhi tvaṁ gṛhe-gṛhe, ib. i, 28, 5
haskartāraṁ dame-dame, ib. iv, 7, 3; vii, 15, 2
sa darçataçrīr atithir gṛhe-gṛhe
vane-vane çiçriye takvavīr iva
janaṁ-janaṁ janio nā 'ti manyate
viça ā kṣeti viçio viçam-viçam, ib. x, 91, 2

With the last, compare also RV. i, 123, 4, where gṛhaṁ-gṛham, dive-dive, agram-agram stand at the start, not at the end. Sometimes a whole pāda consists of only such composita, as in x, 97, 12, aṅgam-aṅgam parus-parus (cf. v, 53, 11; x, 163, 6). In the Rig Veda, again, pure adverbs thus duplicated are never found at the end of the pāda; only such nominal adverbs as those above, the nearest approach to pure adverbs so used being idam-idam, a pronominal adverb closing a pāda at vii, 59, 1.[1] In the epic, however, the forms are usually adverbs, usually at the end,[2] usually in çlokas; in the Rig Veda, never pure adverbs, usually at the beginning or in the middle, seldom at the end of the pāda, and usually not in çlokas, but in gāyatrī and especially in jagatī or triṣṭubh verses. The first examples given above are, therefore, rather the exception than the rule as far as their position goes. But I think we may see in them the precursors of the epic formulæ used in closing the hemistich. The Veda puts the form where it best shows the iterative intensity; the epic puts it where it best helps the metre. Thus:

[1] Compare the list of such composita in Professor Collitz's paper, Abhandl. d. V. Orient. Congress, 1881, p. 287.

[2] Exceptions of course occur, as in M. vii, 7, 53, punaḥ punar abhajyanta siṁhene 've 'tare mṛgāḥ; R. iv, 43, 53, ahany ahani vardhante. So upary upari sarveṣām and sānūnām, Nala 1, 2; and R. v, 13, 10, respectively.

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punaḥ-punar mātarā navyasī kaḥ, RV. iii, 5, 7
punaḥ-punar jāyamānā purāṇī, RV. i, 92, 10
niḥçvasya ca punaḥ punaḥ R. i, 54, 5
(niḥçvasya) pratyavekṣya punaḥ punaḥ, M. ix, 29, 49

The epic uses this metrical convenience constantly, sometimes too often, as in ix, 32, 6, 8, 9, where punaḥ punaḥ is repeated three times. Other adverbs of the same sort in both epics are pṛthak pṛthak, muhur muhuḥ, çanāiḥ çanāiḥ. In a word, both epics close the hemistich in this antique Vedic manner, though the epic style has somewhat changed the relation of the phrase to the pāda.[1]

Like these stereotyped terminals in their epic application is the countless number of verses ending with the same diiambic form, vocative, nominative, or oblique case, of one compound, and the less frequent (because less needed) common form of the prior pāda's pathyā ending, such as mahābala, paraṁtapa, ariṁdama (prior, mahābāho, °prājña, °vīrya, mahārāja, rājendra); pratāpavān, paravīraha, mahāmṛdhe, raṇājire, raṇamūrdhani, raṇakarkaçaḥ, the oblique cases of mahātman (constantly used), and such diiambic phrases as balād balī, suto balī. All of these are used in the same way in both epics, most of them repeatedly. In some, the word passes back of the diiambus and leads us toward the whole pāda-phrase though not quite reaching it. Of such sort are raṇakarkaçaḥ (above), yuddhadurmada, saṁgrāmamūrdhani, (Varuṇaḥ) satyasaṁgarah, nāma nāmataḥ, çatruniṣūdana, akutobhayāḥ, krodhamūrcchitaḥ. In others, the word falls short, but the position of the adjective is fixed and it is generally preceded by the same combination as in (cāpam, gadām, or dhanur) udyamya vīryavān, and the common final mānada.[2]

[1] And also extended it in the form gate gate (instead of the noun) in daçāhe vāi gate gate, xiii, 107, 43. Of epic phrases, I have noted also gṛhe gṛhe, M. ii, 15, 2; R. v. 26, 20; and (passim) pade pade, yoge yoge, raṇe raṇe, and in M., jane jane and, in the more unusual initial position, māsi māsi (Vedic and M. ix, 37, 4), kāle kāle, ix, 37, 23. Of the phrases quoted above, muhur muhuḥ occurs often; çanāiḥ çanāiḥ, e. g., M. ix, 29, 104; R. ii, 40, 22 and G. vi, 111, 13; pṛthak pṛthak, e. g., M. ix, 37, 23; G. vi, 54, 59; 77, 1.

[2] Among those mentioned, paravīrahā is converted into hantā in triṣṭubh,

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From these compounds, not only in form but in fixed position common to both epics, we may pass to cases like (svatejasā, often) svena tejasā, where the pāda ends with two words which take in more than the diiambus, for example, bibhratīṁ svena tejasā, jvalantīṁ svena tejasā, the former in M. xii, 325, 2; the latter in R. vi, 107, 11 and G. 80, 33.

The fixed form is shown most conspicuously in similes that are common to both epics, and are of the mechanical form instanced in the last two sorts of examples, namely in diiambic or more than diiambic terminals. Thus there are fixed phrases which are different except for the terminal, which again is common (as a fixed terminal) to both epics, for example:

daṇḍāhata ivo 'ragaḥ,	in M. and	in R.
pañcaçīrṣā ivo 'ragaḥ,	"	"
daṇḍahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ,	"	"
pāçahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ,	"	"
vyāttānanam ivā 'ntakam,	"	"
jvalantam iva pāvakam,	"	"
didhakṣur iva pāvakaḥ,	"	"
vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ,	"	"
pataṁgā iva pāvakam,	"	"
çalabhā iva pāvakam,	"	"

Such phrases are common not only to the two epics but to outside literature. Thus the iva pāvakaḥ formula appears in the Dhammapada, 71, as bhasmācchanno va pāvako (epic, bhasmapanno ivā 'nalaḥ), and the same is true of a limited number of whole pāda-phrases, not only in pure proverbs, but

R. iv, 31, 5 (°ghna is a common side-form); pratāpavān is perhaps least common in R., but it serves with vīryavān; for example, in R. vi, 69, 109; 76, 21, 27, ff., where follow a quantity of mahābalas. Like vīryavān is vegavān with vegitaḥ (vegena in the prior pāda). M. has ativīryavān, as in iii, 283, 7. The simple form is rare in any other position, e. g., G. v, 2, 23; 3, 71. As a terminal it occurs in R. about forty times in the sixth book, uncounted often in M. The common Mahābhārata terminal *māriṣa*, I have not noticed in the Rāmāyaṇa. It appears to belong to later diction and indicates an epic recasting, as does, e. g., the late tatrabhavant of R. ii, 106, 30.

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in current similes and metaphors, like kalāṁ nā 'rhanti ṣoḍaçīm, xii, 277, 6; Manu, ii, 86; and Buddhistic, Dh. P., 70, kalaṁ nā 'gghati soḷasim; or māṁsaçoṇitalepanam, Dh. P., 150; Manu, vi, 76; Mbh. xii, 330, 42 (Māit. Up. iii, 4).[1]

In some cases the variety of pādas constructed on a common terminal is very large, such as the various forms of what appears most simply as gantā 'si Yamasādanam, yāto 'si Yamasādanam. Thus both epics have yiyāsur Yamasādanam and anayad Yamasādanam, along with other forms more peculiar, Yamasya sădanam prati, R. vii, 21, 1; prāhiṇod Yamasādanam, prāhiṇon mṛtyulokāya,[2] çarāir ninye Yamakṣayam, M. ix, 26, 29, ninye vāivasvatakṣayam, M. vii, 26, 53, gato vāivasvatakṣayam, G. vi, 82, 183, yāmi vāiçravaṇālayam, G. vi, 82, 167; nayāmi lokam (with Yamasya omitted, triṣṭubh), M. viii, 85, 31; nayāmi Yamasya gehābhimukham, R. vii, 68, 20; gamiṣyāmi Yamasya mūlam, R. v, 28, 17; mṛtyupathaṁ nayāmi, G. vi, 36, 118; mṛtyumukhaṁ nayiṣye, M. viii, 42, 11; mṛtyumukhāgatām (āneṣyāmaḥ), G. iv, 45, 9. Evidently in these cases the ancient phrases Yamasādanam, Yamakṣayam, are built upon in several ways, and then the desire for variety leads to the pulling away of the base of the old-fashioned phrase, and the superstructure is shifted to a new base, generally in the later epic, the double meaning of kṣaya helping in anayat kṣayam, ix, 27, 48. Like changes occur in the

[1] There are also clear traces of dialectic influence in the adaptation of some of these standing phrases. On this subject I shall speak more fully below. Here I will illustrate what I mean by one example from the Rāmāyaṇa. There is a common phrase which begins tam āpatantaṁ sahasā, or some similar final word, the first two referring to a masculine noun (weapon). When we find, in R. vi, 67, 47, this same phrase used of a neuter noun, tad āpatantam, we are justified neither in assuming that the poet was wholly indifferent to grammar nor in agreeing with the commentator that the masculine form is an archaism countenanced by Vedic usage, puṁstvam ārṣam. It is simply a case of borrowing a convenient grammatical form (not Sanskrit, but Prākrit), for āpatantam is a regular patois neuter participle. Forms of this sort are adopted into the epic merely for metrical reasons, showing that they were borrowed from the common speech of the day when convenient; which shows again that the epics (both are alike in this particular) were written in Sanskrit and not made over from Prākrit originals.

[2] See for references, Appendix A, s. v.

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sutumulaṁ yuddham phrases, generally ending with lomaharṣaṇam, but occasionally in a new setting, Yamarāṣṭravivardhanam, as in M. vi, 79, 60; ix, 10, 61; 11, 5, etc.; in triṣṭubh, °vardhanaḥ, vii, 145, 97.

Especially is the monotony varied in the conventional phrases of conversation. Both epics have etac chrutvā tu vacanam, tasyāi 'tad vacanaṁ çrutvā, idaṁ vacanam abravīt, çrutvā tu vacanaṁ tasya; and again the phrases are shifted, tatas tad vacanaṁ çrutvā, tad etad vacanaṁ çrutvā (old and rare), G. iv, 38, 46; çrutvā tāsāṁ tu vacanam, M. ix, 35, 52; idaṁ vacanam uktavān, G. v, 68, 24; and in many other ways, too tedious to recount.

Herewith we come to the pāda phrase, which fills the whole half-verse with the same locution, as in palāyanaparāyaṇaḥ, parasparajighāṁsavaḥ. In the Am. Journal of Philology, xix, p. 138 ff., I cited verses of the Mahābhārata which are full of such phrases. Such passages are also easily found in the Rāmāyaṇa, of which I will give but one instance, vi, 71, where çl. 67 alone contains four such phrases: tam āpatantaṁ niçitaṁ çaram āçīviṣopamam, ardhacandreṇa ciccheda Lakṣmaṇaḥ paravīrahā (with others following). Here the whole çloka with the exception of the proper name consists of iterata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, too, we find, as often in the Mahābhārata, two iterata enclosing a verse that is new, as in iv, 11, 18, where the independent verse is sandwiched between the iterata tasya tad vacanaṁ çrutvā and krodhāt saṁraktalocanaḥ, which arrangement is found again, ib. 73. In G. iii, 57, 15, the hemistich consists of two whole phrases, roṣasaṁraktanayana idaṁ vacanam abravīt. In G. vi, 27, there are nine iterata in the first eighteen çlokas. I mention this that there may not seem to be any distinction in this regard in the two epics. Both have many chapters which teem with verbal or whole pāda-iterata, the later the more.[1] Noticeable are their

[1] The cumulative style is characteristic, naturally, of later sections. So, for instance, in the late fourteenth chapter of the thirteenth book, within the compass of about thirty çlokas, 249 ff., we find sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam, sarvabhūtabhayāvaham, çakratulyaparākramaḥ, triçikhāṁ bhrūkuṭiṁ kṛtvā,

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extent and variety. There is hardly a field in which Vyāsa and Vālmīki do not echo the same words. General descriptive epithets and phrases that paint the effect of grief and anger, or the appearance of city and forest; the aspect of battle and attitude of warriors, with short characterization of weapons and steeds, are all as frequent as the mass of similes found in both epics in the same words. In the last category, identical similes are drawn from gods, men, animals, and physical phenomena. Again, both poets, as shown above, use the same phrases of speech, as they do also of noises, and of the course of time; and finally there are many didactic verses, almost or quite the same in both epics.

In the list of parallels given elsewhere [1] I have incorporated such examples as I have noticed of identical or nearly identical phrases and verses. Illustrative additions are occasionally added, not to add weight to the general effect, for the number of cases of actual identity is sufficiently large, but to supply material for fuller treatment of this whole subject eventually. The three hundred examples here registered include also some cases where verbal identity is not quite complete, such as

M. iv, 19, 29,

prabhinnam iva mātaṅgam parikīrṇaṁ kareṇubhiḥ

G. v, 14, 28,

kareṇubhir mahāraṇye parikīrṇo yathā dvipaḥ

and I have not perhaps been thoroughly logical in the admission or exclusion of such cases; but in general I have sought to establish an equation not only in the thought but in the expression of the thought, and for the most part have omitted such parallels as did not tend to bring out the verbal identity.[2]

pāçahastam ivā 'ntakam, dvitīya iva pāvakaḥ (to which one text adds vidhūmam iva pāvakam) all common iterata of both epics, but far in excess of the usual number; as in G. vi, 27 (above).

[1] Appendix A.

[2] I have omitted, for example, such cases as iii, 30, 42, karmaṇā tena pāpena lipyate nūnam īçvaraḥ; G. vi, 62, 22, vidhātā lipyate tena yathā pāpena karmaṇā (R. vi, 83, 23 quite otherwise), though I have no doubt that the tirades against God and duty (G. 15 ff.) in each epic (as in this case) belong together. Some few proverbs are also entered.

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Those I have collected were gleaned incidentally from a field which I traversed with other objects in view, and I have no doubt that these parallels could be largely increased by a close and systematic comparison of the two epics throughout. The alphabetical arrangement followed is merely for convenience of reference. I should have been glad to group the examples according to their content also, that I might have shown more fully the varied fields they occupy, but, as this would have taken too much space, the remarks made above on this subject and the former grouping made in a preliminary study of the question two years ago [1] must suffice.

I will suppose that the reader has now read Appendix A. He will have noticed in so doing that, just as the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa, as well as the real poem of Vālmīki, is recognized in the pseudo-Bhārata,[2] so in the expressions āsīd rājā Nimir nāma, ekāntabhāvānugatāḥ, and yasya prasādaṁ kurute sa vāi taṁ draṣṭum arhati, we have a direct copy on the part of the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa[3] not only of the early epic but of the pseudo-epic's episode of the White Country and even of the very words employed in the description of the Whites (Islanders, to retain the usual name, though only country is really meant; Kashmere, I think). There are several such passages in the Uttara reflecting the great epic in its earlier

[1] AJP. xix, p. 138 ff., 1898.

[2] Thus the story of Rāma çūdraghātin, as told in R. vii, 75–76 (G. 82–83), killing Çambaka or Çambūka is recognized with an "I have heard," çrūyate, xii, 153, 67 (where Jambūka takes the place of Çambūka).

[3] So in the prakṣipta passage after R. iii, 56, where Sītā demands signs of the god Indra, and he appears with the devaliṅgāni: "He touched not earth with his feet, winked not, had dustless garments and unfaded garlands," as in Nala 5, 12–24, which the prakṣipta clearly copies. So, too, in the same book, iii, 60, not in G., evidently an artistic improvement on the preceding sarga, in çl. 26, Rāma says: (dṛṣṭā 'si) vṛkṣāir ācchādya cā'tmānaṁ kim māṁ na pratibhāṣase, as Damayantī says (Nala 11, 9: dṛṣṭo 'si) āvārya gulmāir ātmānaṁ kim māṁ na pratibhāṣase; and in çl. 17, Rāma cries out: açoka çokāpanuda . . . tvannāmānaṁ kuru kṣipram priyāsaṁdarçanena mām, as Damayantī, 12, 104, and 107: viçokāṁ kuru māṁ kṣipram açoka priyadarçana satyanāmā bhavā 'çoka açokaḥ.

parts as well. Compare for instance the division of Indra's sin as related in M. v, 13 with R. vii, 85 and 86. It will be necessary only to cite M. v, 13, 12,

rakṣārthaṁ sarvabhūtānāṁ viṣṇutvam upajagmivān

and from ib. 13–15,

teṣāṁ tad vacanaṁ çrutvā devānāṁ Viṣṇur abravīt
mām eva yajatāṁ Çakraḥ pāvayiṣyāmi vajriṇam
puṇyena hayamedhena mām iṣṭvā pākaçāsanaḥ
punar eṣyati devānām indratvam akutobhayaḥ

as compared with R. vii, 85, 18, 20–21, which give exactly the same words.

But this correlation exists not only in the later parts of both epics and in the later part of the Rāmāyaṇa and an earlier part of the Bhārata. It is just as easy to reverse the positions, as for instance in the account of creation at R. iii, 14 (G. 20) and M. i, 66. This passage is instructive as an example of the way complete passages were roughly remembered and handed down with shifting phrases, omissions, and insertions:

M. 66, 58,

dhṛtarāṣṭrī tu haṁsāṅç ca kalahaṁsāṅç ca sarvaçaḥ

R. 14, 19,

dhṛtarāṣṭrī tu haṁsāṅç ca kalahaṁsāṅç ca sarvaçaḥ

M. ib.

cakravākāṅç ca bhadrā tu janayāmāsa sāi 'va tu

R. ib.

cakravākāṅç ca bhadraṁ te vijajñe sā 'pi bhāminī

G. 20, 20,

dhṛtarāṣṭrī tv ajanayad dhaṁsān jalavihāriṇaḥ
cakravākāṅç ca bhadraṁ te sārasāṅç cāi 'va sarvaçaḥ

M. 59,

çukī ca janayāmāsa çukān eva yaçasvinī
kalyāṇaguṇasampannā sarvalakṣaṇapūjitā

G. 21,

çukī çukān ajanayat tanayān vinayānvitān
kalyāṇaguṇasampannān sarvalakṣaṇapūjitān

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[R. 20,

çukī natāṁ vijajñe tu natāyāṁ vinatā sutā]

M. 60,

navakrodhavaçā nārīḥ prajajñe krodhasambhavāḥ
mṛgī ca mṛgamandā ca harī bhadramanā api

R. 21,

daçakrodhavaçā, *Rāma*, vijajñe 'py ātmasambhavāḥ
mṛgīṁ ca mṛgamandāṁ ca harīm bhadramadām api

G. 22,

tathā krodhavaçā nāma jajñe sā cā 'tmasambhavān
mṛgīm mṛgavatīṁ cāi 'va çārdūlīṁ kroṣṭukīṁ tathā

M. 61,

mātaṅgī tv atha çārdūlī çvetā surabhir eva ca
sarvalakṣaṇasampannā surasā cāi 'va bhāminī

R. 22 (and G.) a, do., but acc.; b,

sarvalakṣaṇasampannā surasāṁ kadrukām api

M. 62 = R. 23 almost exactly, and the following verses agree much in the same way, until one passage which I will cite entire, as follows:

MAHĀBHĀRATA (i, 66, 67–68):	RĀMĀYAṆA (iii, 14, 27–28):
tathā duhitarāu rājan	tato duhitarāu, *Rāma*,
surabhir vāi vyajāyata	surabhir devy ajāyata
rohiṇī cāi 'va bhadraṁ te[1]	rohiṇīṁ nāma bhadraṁ te
gandharvī tu yaçasvinī	gandharvīṁ ca yaçasvinīm
vimalām api bhadraṁ te	
analām api, *Bhārata*,	
rohiṇyāṁ jajñire gāvo	rohiṇy ajanayad gāvo
gandharvyāṁ vājinaḥ sutāḥ	gandharvī vājinaḥ sutān
sapta piṇḍaphalān vṛkṣān	(see 31, below)
analā 'pi vyajāyata	
(70, *b*) surasā 'janayan nāgān	surasā 'janayan nāgān,
kadrūḥ putrāṁs tu pannagān	*Rāma*, kadrūç ca pannagān
	(29) manur manuṣyān janayat
	(31) sarvān puṇyaphalān vṛkṣān
	analā 'pi vyajāyata

The last verse in R. gives the origin of the four castes (Ruling Caste, p. 74, note), where G. has manur manuṣyān . . .

[1] bhadrā tu, in C.

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janayāmāsa, Rāghava. G. has virtually the same text, inserting Rāma and omitting the mention of Analā's birth, giving only her progeny. In the last verse G., like M., has sapta piṇḍaphalān vṛkṣān (but) lalanā (sic) 'pi vyajāyata. There is here the same substitution of Rāma and Bhārata observable in the late Kaccit chapter.[1]

In my Proverbs and Tales[2] I have shown that a scene of the Rāmāyaṇa is exactly duplicated in the Harivaṅça. Another similar case is found in H. 13,666 ff.; G. vi, 19, 12 ff. (both full of iterata):

HARIVAṄÇA:	RG.:
(see verses below)	turaṁgakhuravidhvastaṁ rathanemisamuddhatam vartamāne, etc. (= M.).
vartamāne mahāghore saṁgrāme lomaharṣaṇe mahābherīmṛdaṅgānāṁ paṇavānāṁ tathāi 'va ca çaṅkhānām paṭahānāṁ ca sambabhūva mahāsvanaḥ hatānāṁ svanatāṁ tatra dāityānāṁ cā 'pi nisvanaḥ	tato bherīmṛdaṅgānāṁ paṭahāṇāṁ ca nisvaṇaḥ also, hatānāṁ stanamānānāṁ rākṣasānāṁ ca ṇisvanaḥ
also, turaṁgamakhurotkīrṇaṁ rathanemisamuddhatam	(see the first verse, above)
and further, çastrapuṣpopahārā sā tatrā 'sīd yuddhamedinī durdarçā durvigāhyā ca māṁsaçoṇitakardamā	and further, çastrapuṣpopahārā sā (v. l. ca) tatrā 'sīd yuddhamedinī duṣprekṣyā durviçā cāi 'va māṁçaçoṇitakardaṃā

R. here (sarga 44) has samutthitam in çl. 10, but in the following, paṇavānāṁ ca ni(ḥ)svanaḥ, as in H., and hayānāṁ stanamānānām (with ca for sā in the first pāda of the last stanza). The only important variant is in the last verse, 15, where, instead of the stereotyped pāda of G. and H., stands:

durjñeyā durniveçā ca *çoṇitāsrāvakardamā*

[1] AJP. vol. xix, p. 149.

[2] ib., vol. xx, p. 35. I showed here a score of proverbs common to both epics, most of which had been previously noticed. Another, not noticed, is ahir eva aheḥ pādān vijānāti na saṁçayaḥ, R. v, 42, 9; ahir eva hy aheḥ pādān paçyati 'ti hi naḥ çrutam, M. xii, 203, 13. See also the note below, p. 83, note 2.

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HB. has a few slight changes, 3, 58, 66 ff., with samutthitam like R. (*R.* indicates the Bombay text only.)

The identity of R. iv, 40, 20 ff., with the geographical passage H. 3, 46, 42 ff. = 12,825 ff., can be established on sight: G. 19, nadīm bhāgarathīṁ cāi 'va sarayūṁ kāuçikīm api = H., where R. 20, has ramyām for cāi 'va in G. and H.; but for api, R. and H. have tathā. The next stanza, G. 20, mekalaprabhavaṁ çoṇam, agrees only in this text with H. 44. The next verse in H., gomatī gokulākīrṇā tathā pūrvā sarasvatī is in G. 24 (in acc.); ib. b in G. reads: nadīṁ kālamasīṁ cāi 'va tamasāṁ ca mahānadīm, where HC. and R. both have mahī(ṁ) kālamahī(ṁ) cā 'pi (cāi 'va, HB. kālanadī). So R. and HC. give the Māgadhas the epithet mahāgrāmāḥ and add pāuṇḍrā vaṅgās tathāi 'va ca, where G. has māgadhān daṇḍakūlāṅç ca vaṅgān aṅgāṅs tathāi 'va ca (12,831, G. 25), and HB., çl. 49, Māgadhāṅçca mahāgrāmān aṅgān vaṅgāṅs tathāi 'va ca. G. 26, a, b, c are identical with H. 12,830, c, d, and 12,831, a; with a slight v. l. in HB. 48. There are here the usual aberrations from any fixed text, but on the whole the two passages are identical.

Another passage, G. i, 24, 9, 11–12, appears to be one with (M. iii, 52, 15 and) M. iv, 70, 10–12 (after the first verse, it agrees with R. 21, 10–12):

MAHĀBHĀRATA:	RĀMĀYAṆA (G.):
	anṛtam mā vacaḥ kārṣīr
mā dharmyān nīnaçaḥ pathaḥ[1]	mā dharmyān nīnaçaḥ pathaḥ
eṣa vigrahavān dharma	eṣa vigrahavān dharma
eṣa vīryavatāṁ varaḥ	eṣa vedavidāṁ varaḥ
eṣa buddhyā 'dhiko loke	eṣa vīryavatāṁ çreṣṭho
tapasāṁ ca parāyaṇam (v. l. °aḥ)	vidyājñānataponidhiḥ
eṣo 'straṁ vividhaṁ vetti	divyāny astrāny açeṣeṇa
trāilokye sacarācare	vedāi 'ṣa *Kuçikātmajaḥ*
na cāi 'va 'nyaḥ pumān vetti	devāç ca na vidur yāni
na vetsyati kadācana	kuto 'nye bhuvi mānāvāḥ
na devā nā 'surāḥ kecin	
na manuṣyā na rākṣāsāḥ	
gandharvayakṣapravarāḥ	
sakiṁnaramahoragāḥ	

[1] This pāda alone appears in iii, 52, 15. iv, 70, 10 has the following verses; G. has both. R. omits G.'s 9 entirely.

Here R. in the Bombay edition has in general the reading of M., but it omits the first verse and Kuçikātmajaḥ, while it has the late astrān for astrāṇi, with other variations:

eṣa vigrahavān dharma eṣa vīryavatāṁ varaḥ
eṣa vidyā 'dhiko loke tapasaç ca parāyaṇam
eṣo 'strān vividhān vetti trāilokye sacarācare
nāi 'nam[1] anyaḥ pumān vetti na ca vetsyanti kecana
na devā na 'rṣayaḥ kecin nā 'marā na ca rākṣasāḥ
gandharvayakṣapravarāḥ sakiṁnaramahoragāḥ

Besides these parallels I have previously[2] compared the extended identity of H. 3, 60, 2 ff., and R. vi, 58, 24 ff.; and three passages already noticed by others, where the great epic seems to have an older form, viz., i, 18, 13 and G. 1, 46, 21; iii, 9, 4 and R. ii, 74 (G. 76); i, 175 and R. i, 54 (compare Holtzmann, loc. cit.) Other parallels noticed by Holtzmann are: the creation, xii, 166 and R. ii, 110; Ganges, iii, 106 and R. i, 39 (later); Ilvala, iii, 96, 4, and R. iii, 11, 55; Ṛṣyaçṛṅga, iii, 110 and R. i, 19 (see now Lüder's essay); also a couple of passages in both later epics, origin of poem, i, 1, 57 and R. i, 2, 26; Skanda, xiii, 85 and R. i, 37, which approximate closely with i, 136, 1 and R. vii, 65, 10, and a few more less striking cases in both later epics.[3]

A review of these parallels, proverbs and tales, shows that whereas the former may be said to occur universally, in any part of either epic, of the latter (apart from the Rāma tale itself), as far as formal identity goes, by far the greater part is found where either one or both versions occur in later additions to the poem (R. i and vii, M. i and xii ff.), thus:

M.	R.	M.	R.
i, 1, 57, and	i, 2, 23	v, 13 and	vii, 85
i, 18 and	i, 46 (G.)	v, 141 and	i, 2

[1] Here enam is astra(gaṇam) understood (?).

[2] AJP. xx, p. 34 ff. Holtzmann's Das Mahābhārata, already cited, both adds to and is complemented by the matter given there and here.

[3] I do not include parallel tales without parallel phraseology, as, for example, the allusion in xii, 57, 9, to the tale of Asamañjas told in iii, 107, 39 ff. and in R. ii. 36, 19 ff.

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M.	R.
i, 66 and	iii, 14
i, 175 and	i, 54
(ii, 105 and	ii, 100, Kaccit)
iii, 9 and	ii, 74
iii, 53 and	vii, 55
iii, 96 and	iii, 11
iii, 106 and	i, 39
iii, 110 and	i, 19
iv, 70 and	i, 24 (G.)

M.	R.
xii, 127 and	vii, 37
xii, 153 and	vii, 76
xii, 166 and	ii, 110
xiii, 85 and	i, 37

H.	R.
Khila	iv, 40
	vi, 19
	vi, 44
	vi, 58

That is, parallel tales are rare in the older, three times as frequent in the later books of each. The additions to one epic are thus on a par with the additions to the other in their mutual obligations.[1] This illustrates again the facts previously observed in regard to the two epics by Jacobi and myself respectively, namely that the Uttarakāṇḍa has many tales of the middle district (Jacobi, R. p. 205), and that the early Mahābhārata shows familiarity with the customs of the Puñjâb, while the didactic parts show no familiarity with the holy land, but all the numerous tales with scarcely an exception are laid in Kosala and Videha and on the banks of the lower Ganges (AJP., xix, p. 21). In other words, the two epics in their later development belong to the same locality and probably to about the same time. It is in this later development, then, that the two epics copy each other.[2] The common tales that remain, apart from this phase of the poems, are few, and such as may be easily attributed to the general stock of legendary tradition.

[1] It must not be forgotten, however, that the Rāmāyaṇa, apart from the first and last books, refers to episodes known only from the Mahābhārata. For example, when Sītā says she is as devoted to Rāma "as Damayantī Bhāimī to Nāiṣadha," Nāiṣadhaṁ Damayantī 'va Bhāiṁī patim anuvratā, R. v, 24, 12. Then when, ib. 34, 28–30, Rāma is described as satyavādī, āditya iva tejasvī, and kandarpa iva mūrtimān (all in one description, as in Nala), which is probably the borrower?

[2] So the later G. agrees more closely with M. in many of the cases in Appendix A. But there is no uniformity in this regard, and R. has parallels enough to refute the idea that similarity is due solely to G.'s later copying.

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When we have peeled off the outer layer (and in it are included with one exception, if it be an exception, all the references to Vālmīki in the great epic), we have left two epics, one of which is a complete whole, the other a congeries of incongruous stories grouped about a central tale; both built on the same foundation of phrase and proverb and in part over the same ground of literary allusion; both with heroes of the same type (whose similarity is striking);[1] and both arranged on the same general plan, a court-scene, where the plot is laid, a period of banishment in a forest-scene, followed by a city-scene,[2] where an ally is gained, and then by battle-scenes. One of these epics claims priority, but the claim after all is not that the great poet invented epic poetry, but that he first wrote an epic in çloka verse in a Kāvya or artistic style. As the Rāmāyaṇa is mainly in çlokas of a more refined style than the Mahābhārata and the Kāvya or artistic element is really much more pronounced, and as, further, it is highly probable that epic poetry was first written in the mixture of rougher çloka and triṣṭubh characteristic of the Mahābhārata, this claim, so stated, may in general be allowed, without impugning the relatively greater age of the other epic.

Professor Jacobi admits that the metre of the Rāmāyaṇa is more refined, but the explanation he gives is that it was a product of that East where poetic art was first developed. In a subsequent chapter I shall show that those parts of the great epic which from a metrical point of view agree most closely with the Rāmāyaṇa are the later parts. Here I would merely raise the question whether the dictum that poetic art was refined in the East before the great epic arose, is not based on the style of the Rāmāyaṇa alone? Products of the same part of the country are Buddhistic and Upanishad verses, with which agrees the versification of the Mahābhārata much more closely

[1] Not merely as being central figures. See for details the article by Professor Windisch, cited in Das Mahābhārata iv, p. 68. The similarity of exploits is increased as we take the whole epics, which plainly have influenced each other in their final redaction.

[2] Owing to Rāma's oath he does not actually enter the city, but he finds his ally there, as do the Pandus at Virāṭa's town.

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than does that of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Purāṇas also are eastern and their versification is in general rather that of the great epic. The distinction then is not sufficiently explained by geographical relations. On the other hand the metrical refinement of U. the Upanishads, B. the early Bhārata, B.^{2} the late Bhārata, R. the Rāmāyaṇa, and K. Kālidāsa is in the order U., B., B.,^{2} R., K., with B.^{2} = R. in some cases, which looks to a progressive development.[1]

Another moot point in connection with this geographical inquiry is whether the Rāmāyaṇa was written by a poet who really knew anything about Ceylon, where Laṅkā, the seat of action in the Rāmāyaṇa war, is usually supposed to be. Professor Jacobi has expressed the opinion that Laṅkā is not Ceylon, and that, further, Vālmīki did not know the littoral at all, but he was a riparian poet. Unless the allusions in the poem are all interpolations, I cannot accept this view. In the first place, the language of both poems on this point is identical, the images are the same, and they are couched in the same words. If, then, they are all later additions to Vālmīki's poem, they must be copied from the Māhābhārata; which opens a vista (of later Rāmāyaṇa imitating an earlier epic) which Professor Jacobi would scarcely accept. But accepting some copying, there still remains enough sea-scape in the Rāmāyaṇa to show that no poet who did not know ocean could write as does Vālmīki. In both texts, for example, occurs this splendid onomatopoetic description of the rising waves of full flood, which, as the poet repeatedly says, accompanies the filling of the moon:

parvasū 'dīrṇavegasya sāgarasye 'va niḥsvanaḥ

where the swell and filling and very hiss of the combing breakers is reproduced with a power that it is hard to ascribe to a riparian poet. But I must refer the reader to a special

[1] Vālmīki's work holds indisputable right to the title ādikāvya, or "first elegant poem," a title which the great epic imitates in claiming to be a kāvyam paramapūjitam, "highly revered elegant poem," to which claim it won a right after the more refined versification of the pseudo-epic had been added to it.

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paper on this subject for further illustration of our Vālmīki's intimate acquaintance with the sight and sound of ocean[1] — or, if not our Vālmīki, to whom shall we assign the double text?

Again, from the first dawn of critique it has been urged that widow-burning is not practised or known (as sometimes stated) in the Rāmāyaṇa, but it is practised in the Mahābhārata. Yes, in the first book and the twelfth and following books, just as conversely, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the queens announce that they are "devoted" and will die on the pyre with their husband ii, 66, 12, or lament that being "not suttee" they "live an evil life" in not thus dying, v, 26, 7. Does this not imply widow-burning? And if it be said (with truth) that these are interpolations — well and good, but so are Ādi and Çānti interpolations. Both epics ignore the custom,[2] except in their later form.

One more observation is necessary in this summary account of the mutual relations of the two epics. I have instanced the use of the word māriṣa in the Mahābhārata as typical of influences not so often to be seen in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the former, as a constant term of address, it is a link connecting this epic with the classical period; and yet it will not do to build too much on the fact that this link is wanting in the

[1] AJP. vol. xxi, p. 378. Among the tributaries of Ayodhyā are mentioned the inhabitants of Malabar, and "sea-men," in R. ii, 82, 8, where the senseless kevalāḥ must be corrected to the reading of G. 88, 7, Keralāḥ. The sea-men, sāmudrāḥ, may be merchants or the name of a people. The Keralas, or Malabar people, are here expressly "Southerners." They are mentioned also among the lists of people in R. iv, 40 ff., which takes in the whole of India (41, 12, Puṇḍras, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas) and mentions the Yavanas and other outer tribes: "Look among the Mlecchas, Pulindas, Çūrasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, Kurus with Madrakas, Kāmboja-Yavanas (cmpd.), and the towns, pattanāni, of Çākas," 43, 11–12 (compare M. vi, 87, 10). Also Yavadvīpa, R. iv, 40, 31, that is Java, is mentioned. I fail to see that the Rāmāyaṇa, without such a priori excision as may also be applied to the Mahābhārata, shows less geographical knowledge or hearsay than does the latter poem.

[2] Elsewhere in the epic, the widow is as much recognized as in Manu, who also knows no suttee. Compare Ruling Caste, pp. 172, 371, and a paper On the Hindu Custom of Dying to redress a Grievance, JAOS. xxi, p. 146 ff.

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Rāmāyaṇa. Such an example shows only that the Mahābhārata has been in this instance retouched. Similar cases are found in the Rāmāyaṇa, one of which I have already cited.

For example, later Sanskrit poetry describes women adorned not only with the nūpura or anklet (alluded to in both epics), but also with the kāñcī or gold girdle set off with bells. Probable as was the adornment in early times, this name for it does not occur in early literature, and so far as I know it does not occur in the great epic (frequently as women's adornment is described) till the time of the pseudo-epic, where, xiii, 106, 56, and 107, 67 we find kāñcīnūpuraçabda, just as we find the same collocation in R., for example, v, 4, 11; 18, 20; G. iii, 58, 26 (çuçubhe kāñcanī kāñcī); v, 12, 44. The later epics must have suffered this experience in many cases, another being offered just here by the use of the rare vallakī, xiii, 106, 49, and in vii, 6,665, but not here in B. 154, 25, where jharjhara takes its place. Just so in G. iv, 33, 26 is found this same vallaki (sic), but it is not found in the corresponding verse of R. iv, 33, 21. In sum, chance lateness of this sort is evidence only for the epic as we have it, tampered with by a thousand diadochoi. It can never show that one epic was produced before the other. So niryāṇa for "death," xv, 37, 40, is indicative of the age or origin of xv, 37, not of the Mahābhārata;[1] of R. v (13, 41), but not of the epic as a whole.

So, while we must admit that Vālmīki's mention of Kurus, Janamejaya, and Hāstinapura, as against his non-mention of Pandus and Indraprastha, looks as if he knew not the latter, we must remember at the same time that Vālmīki's poem in turn has, quite apart from vocabulary, certain indications of an age not recognized by the poets of the latter epic, of which I will mention particularly two.[2]

[1] Here, xv, 37, 43, tathāgata seems to mean "dead," but it may be taken in its usual sense of "in such a state," as in R. ii, 109, 34, oddly near the Buddhist: yathā hi coraḥ sa tathā hi buddhas tathāgtaṁ nāstikam atra viddhi.

[2] Minor points of lateness (in either epic) are frequently apparent. Those in Mbh. are perhaps more common, but not in proportion to its extent. In R. may be noticed ships holding one hundred men each and palaces having

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The date of the Allahâbâd banyan cannot be carried back with any certainty to a very early date, though mentioned by Hwen Thsang.[1] Now the place where this tree ought to be is most elaborately described and praised in the great epic, iii, 85, 80 ff., but the existence of such a tree is not even mentioned; whereas the other fig-tree at Gayā is praised as holy beyond words, for, in the epic interpretation of the modern akṣay bai (baṭ), its fruit is imperishable.[2] This is particularly remarkable as in M. iii, 85, 65, Çṛṅgaverapur is especially famed as the place "where Rāma crossed." But the Rāmāyaṇa knows the Allahâbâd tree, ii, 55, 6 and 24. The mention of this tree at Prayāga, as against its non-mention in the Mahābhārata, and the latter's mention of Rāma point to an earlier date for the Mahābhārata Tīrtha stories than for R. ii, 55, and perhaps shows that at this time the Rāma story was known, but not just as we have it.

The word Sanskrit in its present meaning is found in the Rāmāyaṇa but not in the Mahābhārata. The bare statement, however, that the word Sanskrit in this sense is not found in an older period but occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, does not give quite all the facts. The great epic knows the word but only in its earlier meaning, "adorned," "prepared," asaṁskṛtam abhivyaktam bhāti, iii, 69, 8; saṁskṛta and prākṛta,[3] "initiated and not initiated," iii, 200, 88 (with priests who are suvedāḥ and durvedāḥ); saṁskṛtā mantrāḥ, xiii, 93, 56. This is also the sense in R. iii, 11, 57, where bhrātaraṁ saṁskṛtaṁ kṛtvā itself (in M. iii, 96, 10, chāgaṁ kṛtvā susaṁskṛtam) is joined

(as in the drama) eight courts instead of three (as in the other epic), R. ii, 84, 8; 57, 17 and 24; iv, 33, 19.

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 389.

[2] This, or "makes the giver immortal," is the epic interpretation, not (as now) that the tree itself is immortal. Compare iii, 84, 83, tatrā 'kṣayavaṭo nāma triṣu lokeṣu viçrutaḥ, tatra dattaṁ pitṛbhyas tu bhavaty akṣaraṁ ucyate. So in iii, 87, 11, and 95, 14 (with iii, 87, begins a recapitulation of Tīrthas already mentioned); vii, 66, 20, where it is (vaṭaḥ) akṣayakaraṇaḥ, as also in xiii, 88, 14. Here is found the proverb on Gayā, as in R. ii, 107, 13, with v. l., and in M. iii, 84, 97, etc., as given in Spruch 1474 ff.

[3] As to this word in R., compare strīvākyaṁ prākṛtaṁ çrutvā, iii, 40, 5 (asāram, comm.), with references in PW. s. v.

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with the preceding saṁskṛtaṁ vadan, the former in the Mahābhārata version being "cooking" (saṁskṛtya = paktvā) and the latter not used, which looks as if the Rāmāyaṇa version were later. Several cases in the Rāmāyaṇa do indeed show the older sense, but there are others, such as v, 30, 17, cited by Weber, and again by Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, ii, p. 157, in which saṁskṛtā vāk means Sanskrit, in that it is the "cultivated speech."[1] In this case also the Rāmāyaṇa is later than the Mahābhārata, though the latter epic recognizes dialects, deçabhāṣās, iv, 10, 1; ix, 45, 103, etc., and seems (in its introduction) to use the expression brāhmī vāk or "holy speech," exactly in the sense of the Rāmāyaṇa's saṁskṛtā vāk. For in this instance a woman recognizes a king because his "form and clothes are regal and his speech is the holy speech," rājavad rūpaveṣāu te brāhmīṁ vācam bibharṣi ca, i, 81, 13. But these cases show only that when the Ilvala tale was rewritten and the much adorned fifth book of the Rāmāyaṇa was composed, saṁskṛtam vad and saṁskṛtā vāk were used nearly in the modern sense; yet in showing this they indicate again that in our estimate as to the relative age of the epics nothing can be absolute or universal, but all must be stated relatively and partially. If it be said that this judgment lacks definitiveness, the reply is that it accords with the facts, which do not admit of sweeping statements.[2]

[1] Also Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 115 (PW. s. sam-kar). Other cases show regard for grammatical nicety in the use of language (Jacobi, loc. cit.).

[2] For the metrical position of the two poems, see Chapter Four. I regret that Professor Jacobi's long-expected book on the epics is not yet out, as it is sure to contain much valuable matter. As it is, I have had to rely, in citing his opinions, on the work cited above, and a review in the GGA., 1899, p. 869 ff.

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CHAPTER THREE.

EPIC PHILOSOPHY.

Sukhād bahutaraṁ duḥkhaṁ jīvite nā 'tra saṁçayaḥ, xii, 331, 16.
"There is no doubt that there is more sorrow than joy in life."

Epic Systems.

In the preceding chapters I have shown that from a synthetic point of view the epic as we have it, judged solely by the literature it recognizes, must be the product of a comparatively late period. In this chapter it is my purpose to sketch as briefly as possible the salient features of the great systems of philosophy expounded in the later epic. To regard them as identical is impossible. To see in them a philosophic chaos, out of which are to arise future systems, is equally impossible. Some of them belong to the latest epic and they have their unity only in the fact that they are all colored by the dominant deistic view of an age that, having passed from pure idealism into dualism, sought to identify the spirit of man with that of a personal God and equate this god with the two separate factors of dualism; a dualism which was not that of spirit and matter but of conditioned being, conscious intelligence, as opposed to pure being or spirit (soul), conscious intelligence being itself the only origin of matter, which is merely a form of mind.[1]

The importance of a review of this sort lies in the historical background it furnishes to the epic, which represents the last of six approved systems traceable in it: (1) Vedism or orthodox Brahmanism; (2) ātmanism or Brahmaism (properly

[1] See on this point some pertinent remarks by Dr. Everett in the twentieth volume of the Journal of the AOS., p. 309. It is a common error to speak of Sāṁkhya dualism as setting spirit and matter in antithesis, whereas, according to the system, matter is only a development of self-consciousness.

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Brahmanism, but this term connotes a different idea), that is, an idealistic interpretation of life; (3) Sāṁkhya, the dualism spoken of above; (4) Yoga, the deistic interpretation of Sāṁkhya; (5) Bhāgavata or Pāçupata, different but both sectarian interpretations of Yoga; (6) Vedānta or Illusion-idealism. Some of the epic writers support Sāṁkhya; some, Yoga; some, the sectarian interpretation; some, the Māyā, Illusion-theory. Besides these are approved sporadically Vedism and Brahmaism, not to speak of a number of theories not approved.

Heretics.

In the Gītā it is said, 4, 40: "The ignorant and unbelieving man who has a soul of doubt is destroyed; *neither this world nor the next exists*,[1] nor happiness, for him who has a soul of doubt." The italicized words are those which, at xii, 133, 14, are put into the mouth of the Nāstika, the negator or repudiator of scripture, spirit, or duties. According to epic interpretation, one saying nāsti, in refusing a gift to a priest, is a "negator" no less than he who refuses assent to the orthodox belief. But ordinarily Nāstika is used in the latter sense and connotes a dissenter from received opinion in regard either to the existence of transcendental things or to the authority of hallowed tradition.[2] Such an unbeliever is threatened with a sudden enlightenment hereafter: "If your opinion is that this world does not exist and that there is no world beyond, the devils in hell will soon change your ideas on that subject."[3] Any number of these unbelievers is known, who deny everything there is to deny. In ii, 31, 70, an unbelieving or heretic

[1] nā 'yaṁ loko 'sti na paro na sukhaṁ saṁçayātmanaḥ. Compare Kaṭha Up., ii, 6, ayam loko nāsti para-iti mānī, punaḥ punar vaçam āpadyate me (Yama).

[2] Neglect of Vedic ordinances or denial of Veda is nāstikya, par excellence, according to xii, 270, 67, and xii, 12, 5 (the latter): vedavādāpaviddhāṅs tu tān viddhi bhṛçanāstikān (also anāstika, ib. 4), for "rejecting the Veda a priest cannot attain heaven," ib.

[3] Literally, will "make you remember;" yad idam manyase, rājan, nā 'yam asti kutaḥ paraḥ, pratismārayitāras tvāṁ Yamadūtā Yamakṣaye, xii, 150, 19.

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king is mentioned among those who pay tribute (in conjunction with a tributary "city of the Greeks"); while in iii, 191, 10, it is said that in the golden age to come there will be "people of truth," where previously had been established the schools of heretics; from which it may be inferred perhaps that Buddhists or Jains are meant, as irreligious heretics would not have religious orders.[1] The Lokāyata or Lokāyatika (doubtful in i, 70, 46) is perhaps less a Buddhist (like Cārvāka, who appears only as a pretended Brahman Parivraj, or priestly mendicant, and friend of the foe) than a devotee of natural science, as Professor Rhys Davids maintains. The doubter's scriptures are not, however, referred to Bṛhaspati. The code of this ill-reputed sage, whom we have seen as a law-giver, is often enough alluded to, generally in connection with that of Uçanas. The worst that is said of Bṛhaspati's teaching is that it is drawn from a study of the female intellect, which is full of subtilty and deceit. But he is here only one of many authors of Arthaçāstras, xiii, 39, 10. As a teacher he is extolled.[2] Materialists and other heretics without special designation appear to fill the whole land. Thus in xii, 19, 23, are mentioned rationalistic Pundits, hetumantaḥ, hard to convince, who are by nature befogged and stubborn, and deny the existence (of a soul). These are opposed to those good men who are "devoted to ceremonies and know the Pūrvaçāstra" (mīmāṅsā?). "These fools," it is added, "are despisers of immortality and talkers in assemblies of people; they wander over the whole earth, being fond of speaking and learned in revelation."[3] Others are cited to illustrate the unbelief that consists in a denial of the soul's unity, ekāntavyudāsa. These believe in a soul possessed of desire and hate. An apparent allusion to Jains may be found in the description of the priest who "tramped around Benares astounding the people, clothed

[1] āçramāḥ sahapāṣaṇḍāḥ sthitāḥ satyajanāḥ prajāḥ (bhaviṣyanti).

[2] xii, 325, 23. His teaching in xiii, 113, is Buddhistic (5 = Dh. P. 132, and 7 is like Dh. P. 420). On Lokāyata, see Davids, p. 169 of op. cit. above, p. 55.

[3] vāvadūkā bahuçrutāḥ. The denial in *nāi 'tad asti* must from the context refer to the existence of the soul. For anṛtasyā 'vamantāraḥ in B. must, I think, be read amṛtasya.

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in air, clothed like a madman;"[1] but we must be careful not to identify the characters of the epic too quickly with special names. This madman priest, for example, would seem to be rather a Çivaite Brahman than a Jain, and *digvāsas* is applied to Vidura in his last state and to Nala in his distress.[2] In the same way, the brown and yellow robe does not necessarily refer to a Buddhist, any more than does the statement that one goes to heaven who builds a Vihāra, xiii, 23, 99; for these terms are common property. "What makes you so glorious?" asks one woman of another, who replies: "I did not wear the yellow robe, nor bark-garments, nor go shorn or with matted hair," xiii, 123, 8. Here quite possibly Buddhists may be referred to; but when I read that Çiva's devotees are of two sorts, householders, and those "whose sign is tonsure and the yellow robe," māuṇḍyaṁ kaṣāyaç ca, xiii, 142, 22; and see that the yellow robe is also worn as a sign of grief, Nala, 24, 9; R. vi. 125, 34, and that "the wearer of the yellow robe" is excluded from Çrāddha, xiii, 91, 43, I am by no means sure that even in the most tempting passage this robe indicates a Buddhist, unless, indeed, for some of these passages we may assume that Çivaite and Buddhist were already confused. But xii, 18, 32, "those *who cast off the Vedas* and wander about as beggars shaved and wearing the yellow robe," refers distinctly to Buddhists, as I opine. Similarly, the remark "they that are *budhas*, enlightened, are devoted to Nirvāṇa," xii, 167, 46, may be put beside the buddhas of xii, 160, 33, who "have no fear of return to this world and no dread of another;" but in the latter section, and in many others, "enlightened," budha and buddha, refers to Brahmans; and Nirvāṇa in epic teleology usually means bliss, for example the bliss of drinking when one is thirsty, or the bliss of heaven.[3] In short, we see here

[1] cañkramīti diçaḥ sarvā digvāsā mohayan prajāḥ . . . unmattaveṣam bibhrat sa cañkramīti yathāsukham Vārāṇasyām, xiv, 6, 18, and 22; compare 5, 6.

[2] To the author of Das Mbh. als Epos, etc., digvāsas necessarily implies digambara (as Jain), p. 224.

[3] In the epic, nirvāṇa is used in both of its later senses, bliss and extinction, brahmanirvāṇa, bliss of Brahman, like the nirvāṇa, bliss, attained by

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and in a passage cited further on, that Buddhists are sometimes referred to, but we must not call every beggar a Buddhist. The late passage xiv, 49, 3–12, shows that when the Anugītā was written, probably not before our era, these infidels were fairly rampant. The list of them is quite appalling and we may perhaps believe that the "believer in nothing" is a Buddhist and the "shaven and naked" mentioned in the same place is a Jain; while the svabhāvam bhūtacintakāḥ are perhaps materialists. The "course of right is varied" and the view of the author is here that of tolerance. Some of these philosophers deny a hereafter, some doubt all things, some hold the vyāmiçra doctrine of revolution (often mistranslated as evolution) of the universe, and according to the commentator some are adherents of the atomistic theory, bahutvam. Contests of these hetuvādins, rationalists, are not discountenanced, but enjoyed as a philosophic treat at the king's court or at a great sacrifice, as in xiv, 85, 27, where "talkative philosophers, eager to outdo each other, discussed many rationalistic arguments."

With all this liberality there is often no quarter given to the heretic, especially the Pāṣaṇḍa,[1] who appears to be preeminently a despiser of the Vedas. The reason is the natural one that he who despises the priest's authority naturally despises the priest. "The reason why I was born a jackal," says a character in xii, 180, 47–48, "is that I was a Punditkin, paṇḍitaka, who was a rationalist, hāituka, and blamer of the Vedas, being devoted to logic and the useless science of reasoning (a telling phrase, repeated in xiii, 37, 12–14), a proclaimer of logical arguments, a talker in assemblies, a reviler and opposer of priests in arguments about Brahman, an unbeliever, a doubter of all, who thought myself a Pundit."[2] The Pāṣaṇḍa

drinking. On this subject much that is misleading has lately been published, owing to a false historical point of view. But the goal of extinction is also lauded. Thus, in xii, 242, 11–12, one attains to that where going he "grieves not, dies not, is not born, nor reborn, and exists not," na vartate.

[1] v. l. in xii, 218, 4; xiii, 23, 67 (other references in PW.); apparently a foreign or dialectic word; especially Buddhists, according to N.

[2] ākroṣṭā cā 'bhivaktā ca brahmavākyeṣu ca dvijān . . . mūrkhaḥ paṇḍi-

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and reviler of the Vedas are closely associated, as in xiii, 23, 67, and 72, and like those who here "sell or write down the Vedas," they go to hell. In short, any denial is usually permitted save the denial of the Vedas. The more surprising is it that elsewhere (see below) the Vedas are openly repudiated; but this is only one of the inconsistencies with which the epic teems.

Authority.

What then was authoritative? Characteristic of the contradictory views presented in the epic is the fact that in one place the very authority, pramāṇam, which is insisted upon as the only valid authority, is in another rejected as altogether delusive, and this not by heretics, but by the authors of the respective essays whose combined publications issued in one volume form the pot-pourri of the complete epic.

The reason for this is obvious. Several forms of religion are advocated in the epic and each has its own test. Oldest and most widely represented is the biblical test. Over and over again we are assured that scripture is authoritative and those who will not accept scripture as the pramāṇam or test-stone of philosophy are damned. But beside these vigorous expressions of orthodoxy stands the new faith, which discards altogether the old scripture as an authority. For sacrifices and rites the Vedas are well enough; they are there authoritative. If one wishes to perform rites one must naturally go to the ritual. Such çāstraprāmāṇya and vedaprāmāṇya rules,[1] admitting the necessity of rites at all, remain valid, simply because there are no others. But in all higher matters, as for one who sees no use in rites, the scriptures are but a mass of contradictions.[2]

tamānikaḥ (hence reborn, as a kroṣṭar). Compare Kaṭha Up. ii, 5, svayaṁdhīrāḥ paṇḍitammanyamānāḥ; Muṇḍ. Up. i, 2, 8; Māitr. Up. vii, 9. The passage in Anuçāsana cited above is a repetition of all these epithets in characteristically free form. Compare, e. g., çl. 13, ākroṣṭā cā 'tivaktā ca brāhmaṇānāṁ sadāi 'va hi (here paṇḍitamānī).

[1] xiii, 84, 20, and 37.

[2] One of the minor epic contradictions is that referred to above, p. 46, in regard to the "two brahmans." The orthodox, but not too liberal man, says:

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The old view is best represented in the saying that Veda, Dharmaçāstras, and ācāra, custom, are the recognized authorities in every matter, as in iii, 207, 83; xiii, 84, 20, and 37. The confused rule of the Veda is referred to in xii, 19, 1–2: "I know the highest and other Çāstras and the double injunction of the Veda, 'Do acts and abandon them.'" "Untrue, according to casuistic reasoning, is the word of the Veda — but why should the Veda speak untruth?" says Vyāsa, xiii, 120, 9, when inculcating the late notion that a small gift is as efficient as a great sacrifice in procuring salvation, a theory that is certainly untrue in the light of the Veda. "Logic has no basis, the scriptures are divided; there is not one seer whose opinion is authoritative," pramāṇam. "The truth about right is hidden in a cave; the only path is that pursued by the majority," iii, 313, 117.[1] "Deceitful is the Veda," it is said in xii, 329, 6. Both scripture and argument, tarka, are useless in comparison with the enlightening grace of God, which alone can illuminate the "mysterious hidden communication of truth," xii, 335, 5. Such holy mysteries must, indeed, be kept from those who are "burned with books of philosophy," tarkaçāstradagdha, xii, 247, 18.

In the matter of the Veda, the new faith discounts its value by setting beside it the recent books of later cult, exactly as modern sects take as authoritative their own scriptures. Bhīṣma's words, being inspired by Krishna, are "as authoritative as the words of the Veda," vedapravāda iva (pramāṇam), xii, 54, 29–30, and Veda, Purāṇa, and Itihāsa are all reckoned as authoritative in xii, 343, 20. But the Gītā is the only authority of the Bhāgavatas, Gītā, 16, 24. Compare also the tirade in xiii, 163, 2–9: "Immediate perception or biblical authority, āgama, what is convincing proof, kāraṇa,

dve brahmaṇī veditavye çabdabrahma paraṁ ca yat, çabdabrahmaṇi *niṣṇātaḥ* param brahmā 'dhigacchati, xii, 233, 30, "when one is *thoroughly conversant* with the Veda he attains to Brahman;" but the devotee "even by *desire of wisdom surpasses* the Veda," api jijñāsamāno 'pi çabdabrahmā 'tivartate, ib. 237, 8.

[1] mahājana, if this be the meaning here; apparently only usage is meant: mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthāḥ.

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in these? Answer: "There is many a text to increase doubt. Rationalists say that perception is the only proof. They are children who think themselves wise and believe only in denial, nā 'sti. Recourse to 'cause' amounts to nothing." But though philosophy is really interwoven with religion, we may leave for the present the Bhāgavatas and Çivaites to their religion which is "freed from philosophy," xiii, 14, 198, and consists in identifying the All-god with their special gods (viii, 33, 51 "one God of various forms"), to consider the more strictly philosophic view of authority.

Only one view is held by the real philosopher: "Through inference we learn the truth."[1] Traditional wisdom, āmnāya, as was shown above, is not always recognized, though it is generally admitted. "In āmnāya are established the Vedas; from āmnāya come the Vedas.[2] . . . Universal opinion says that an āmnāya-declaration is truth, and there is no authority at all, çāstratā, when that which is not authoritative is allowed to stand against the recognized authority of the Vedas," xii, 269, 33; 261, 9–10. Thus "inference together with scripture," anumāna and çruta, are the two most substantial tests of truth, xii, 205, 19 and 210, 23, hetvāgama; for "all that is Vedic is the word of God," xii, 269, 10.[3]

The third authority is the one scorned above, perception, pratyakṣa (xiv, 28, 18, pratyakṣataḥ sādhayāmaḥ, and often, as cited below in the course of this chapter). In the mystic religion of the Yogin this pratyakṣa becomes the intuitive insight of the seer and is the only test of truth, answering to "second sight."[4] The Harivaṅça inveighs against the "doubters and curious speculators" who accept any authority save faith, 3, 4, 8 ff.

[1] anumānād vijānīmaḥ puruṣam, xiv, 48, 6; xii, 206, 23.

[2] The commentator becomes confused, and rendering āmnāya by Veda renders vedāḥ by smṛtayaḥ!

[3] sarvam ārṣaṁ vyāhṛtaṁ viditātmanaḥ (= parameçvarasya). The commentator cites Bṛh. Up. ii, 4, 10, niḥçvasitam, in support of plenary inspiration as here inculcated.

[4] The curious result is thus reached that the crassest materialist and most exalted mystic reject all proofs save pratyakṣa. Only one means by "autopsy" (physical) perception and the other means insight.

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Besides these three, to wit, biblical authority, inference, and direct observation, the fourth "proof by analogy" may be implied in the late conversation of Drāupadī, where, after a passing reference to the ārṣam pramāṇam and pratyakṣa, is added "and thy own birth is the proof by analogy," upamānam, iii, 31, 11–33. Elsewhere the epic stands philosophically on the Sāṁkhy-yoga basis of three reliable proofs only.

This result is fully borne out by the terminology. The Vedānta philosophy of the epic is not called by that name. Nyāya may possibly be known, but it is doubtful whether the word ever refers to the system, or the system, except perhaps in one or two late passages, is ever recognized. A brief survey of the facts will make this clearer.

Vedānta.

If the philosophical system were known as such the use of the name would occur as such. But Vedānta seems everywhere to mean Upanishads or what is the same thing, Āraṇyakas.[1] No Vedānta system is alluded to, Vedānta may refer to Sāṁkhya in xii, 196, 7 (where it takes the place of the latter in antithesis to Yoga, as the commentator thinks), but the word more naturally means the teaching of the Upanishads, as usual.[2] The passages cited above in the chapter on literature exhibit the characteristic usage. Thus in Gītā 15, 15, vedāntakṛd vedavid eva cā' ham, where Telang rightly takes the reference to be to the Āraṇyakas. So in viii, 90, 114, vedāntāvabhṛthāplutaḥ, where Karṇa appeals to Arjuna

[1] So, for example, in yad uktaṁ vedavādeṣu gahanaṁ vedadarçibhiḥ, *tadanteṣu* yathā yuktaṁ krama(karma)yogena lakṣyate, xii, 233, 28 (= tad uktam vedavādeṣu . . . *vedānteṣu* punar vyaktam, 239, 11), a mystery (viz., gambhīraṁ gahanam brahma, 224, 48).

[2] sāṁkhyayogāu tu yāv uktāu munibhir mokṣadarçibhiḥ, sannyāsa eva vedānte vartate japanam prati, vedavādāç ca nirvṛttāḥ çāntā brahmaṇy avasthitāḥ, three hemistichs, of which the first is repeated in the next çloka, where alone it seems to belong. Conversely, in Gītā 18, 13, the word Sāṁkhya is taken by the commentator to mean Vedānta, because here we have a grouping of five karmahetavaḥ not recognized in Sāṁkhya. It may be said once for all that the commentator is often useless in philosophical sections, as he wishes to convert Sāṁkhya into Vedānta on all occasions.

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to observe the law of fighting, since the latter knows the law of fighting and is thoroughly acquainted with the holy scriptures, i. e., he is a moral man (not a Vedānta philosopher). So in ii, 53, 1, kings who are declarers of all the Vedas and versed in the Vedānta, paryāptavidyā vaktāro vedāntāvabhṛthāplutāḥ. Durgā is Sāvitrī, vedamātā tathā vedānta ucyate, "mother of the Vedas and famed (not in philosophy but) in the Upanishads," vi, 23, 12. A Gandharva is "wise in the knowledge of Vedānta," xii, 319, 27, and asks questions about Veda and logic, which are answered in Sāṁkhya terms (vedya is puruṣa, for example). The priest who at xii, 349, 56 is said to transmit the knowledge of the Gītā, knows the Jyeṣṭha Sāman and the Vedānta; and he who knows the names of Vishnu is Vedānta-learned, xiii, 149, 123. Again in xiv, 13, 15: "Whoso would kill me (Kāma) by vedāir vedāntasādhanāiḥ, power derived from the mysteries of the Veda." I know in fact only two passages where, perhaps, Vedānta might be fairly taken as referring to the philosophy. One of these is in a triṣṭubh verse which has been interpolated (out of all syntactical connection) in xiii, 69, 20, and even here, late as is the verse, it is perhaps more probable that the word is to be taken in its usual sense.[1] The other is found at xii, 302, 71, where the "island of Vedānta" is a refuge to the saints. The "Secret of the Vedānta" cited below is clearly "Upanishads." The Brahma Sūtra I have spoken of above, p. 16.

Mīmāṁsā does not occur as the name of a philosophical system. I have referred to the Pūrvaçāstravids above, but the word is obviously too general to make much of, though it is used as if it applied to the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā, for the Pūrvaçāstravidaḥ are here, xii, 19, 22, kriyāsu niratā nityaṁ dāne yajñe ca karmaṇi. This implication is not absolutely necessary, however. The old name for the system, Nyāya, does not seem to be used in the sense of Pūrvamīmāṁsā.

[1] vedāntaniṣṭhasya bahuçrutasya, supposed to be governed by vṛttim (dvijāyā) 'tisṛjeta (tasmāi) in the next stanza!

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Nyāya.

The argumentative group of five, explained according to the padārtha in xii, 321, 80 ff., consists of sāukṣmya, sāṁkhyakramāu, nirṇaya, and prayojana, which recall, especially in the definition of the last, the corresponding section in the formal Nyāya. The epic gives the following definitions:

1. Sāukṣmya, subtilty, is where knowledge, in respect to objects of knowledge which are divided, comes from distinction and the intellect rests (on this distinction).

2. Sāṁkhya or saṁkhyā, reckoning, is reckoning the value of weak and valid points and arriving at some conclusion.

3. Krama, order: when it is decided which should be said first and which last, they call that kramayoga, the application of proper sequence in an argument.

4. Nirṇaya, ascertainment, is a conclusion that the case is so and so, in cases of duty, desire, gain, emancipation, after recognizing them according to their differences.

5. Prayojana, motive: *where inclination is produced by ills arising from desire or dislike and a certain conduct is followed, that is motive.*

As has been remarked by Mr. K. Mohan Ganguli in his translation, this final definition of prayojana is almost identical with that given by Gāutama i, 24, yam artham adhikṛtya pravartate tat prayojanam: "If one sets an object before one's self and acts accordingly, that is motive." So the epic, prakarṣo yatra jāyate, tatra yā vṛttis tat prayojanam, as rendered above. Similarly, the epic definition of nirṇaya is like that of Gāutama in i, 40: "The conclusion reached after hearing what can be said for and against (on both sides) after doubting." The other members of Gāutama's syllogism, i, 32, seem to have no connection with the above. The speech to be delivered, it is declared in this passage of the epic, must be nyāyavṛttam (as well as reasonable, not casuistical, etc., sixteen attributes in all).[1]

[1] No explanation is given of the eighteen merits with which the speaker begins. The sixteen attributes may be compared (numerically) with the sixteen categories of the Nyāya.

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We may compare further in the late list of Pundits at i, 70, 42, those with nyāyatattvātmavijñāna, possibly "versed in psychology according to the Nyāya-tattva;" and i, 1, 67, nyāyaçikṣā, Nyāya-system, opposed to Vedādhyātma but also to cikitsā, etc. Also xii, 19, 18, referred to above, p. 87: "Some, rejecting unity, attribute to the ātman desire and dislike," a Nyāya view. Finally, in xii, 210, 22, nyāyatantrāṇy anekāni (declared by various people), "systems of logic," is typical of all remaining cases. Nyāya, then, usually means logic, but occasionally, in the pseudo-epic, the special Logic-system known to us as Nyāya.[1]

Vāiçeṣika.

This word is used as an adjective, of guṇas, etc., in the sense of excellent; but the system is unknown in the main epic though it is referred to in the passage cited above, in i, 70, 43–44, and also in ii, 5, 5 (vākya) pañcāvayavayukta, another proof of the lateness of the Kaccit section,[2] whether the five avayavas here mentioned be terms implying Nyāya or Vāiçeṣika. Kaṇāda's name appears first in the Harivaṅça (see below, p. 98, and above, p. 89).

The Four Philosophies.

In xii, 350, 64 ff. (compare 350, 1, pracaranti) it is said that there are four current philosophies, jñānāni, the Sāṁkhyayoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedāraṇyaka (or Vedāh), and Pāçupata. Kapila declared the Sāṁkhya; Hiraṇyagarbha, the

[1] For the ordinary use, compare tāis tāir nyāyāiḥ, such arguments, *passim*. All speculation is Tarka. Compare the remarkable statement, xii, 15, 26: "There are minute creatures whose existence can be argued by *tarka* (so small that) an eyelid's fall would be the death of a number of them."

[2] The former passage, after mentioning those endowed with nyāyatattvātmavijñāna adds nānāvākyasamāhārasamavāyaviçāradāiḥ, viçeṣakāryavidbhiç ca . . . sthāpanākṣepasiddhāntaparamārthajñatāṁ gatāiḥ . . . kāryakāraṇavedibhiḥ, which may refer to either system. The passages have been cited by the author of Das Mahābhārata als Epos, etc., p. 226, who admits that the five "avayas," as he call them twice, imply the Vāiçeṣika system.

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Yoga;[1] Apāntaratamas is called the Teacher of the Vedas ("termed by some Prācīnagarbha"); Çiva declared the Pāçupata religion; Vishnu, the whole Pāñcarātra. "In all these philosophies Vishnu is the niṣṭhā, or chief thing."[2]

Kapila and his System.

Although it is said, as quoted above, that there is no seer whose authority is authoritative, this is merely a teaching of temporary despair. Kapila is authoritative in all philosophical matters and his name covers every sort of doctrine. He is in fact the only founder of a philosophical system known to the epic. Other names of founders are either those of mere gods or disciples of Kapila. Bādarāyaṇa and Patañjali[3] are unknown even as names, and Jāimini and Gāutama appear only as sages, not as leaders of speculation. Çāṇḍilya (otherwise said to be known in the epic) is respectfully cited on Yoga, not as founder but as recommending Yoga concentration.[4] As

[1] See the note on this verse just below. As Yoga-teacher of Dāityas, Çukra is mentioned, i, 66, 43. Both Vishnu and Çiva are credited with being Yoga-lords (loc. cit. by Holtzmann, Das Mbh. im Osten und Westen, p. 110).

[2] In the Vāsudeva religious philosophy of Krishnaism, as expounded in xii, 345, 7 ff., some people, after death, become paramāṇubhūtas, very fine sprites, and enter Aniruddha; then as manobhūtas, or mental entities, they enter Pradyumna; thence they go to Jīva (Saṁkarṣaṇa). Such people are "the best priests and Sāṁkhyas and Bhāgavatas." Finally, devoid of all unspiritual constituents, trāiguṇyahīna, they enter Paramātman (Kṣetrajña, nirguṇātmaka), or Vāsudeva. These are the four forms of God. The name of God is immaterial. Rudra and Vishnu are one being, sattvam ekam, divided in two, xii, 342, 27 (they are synonyms like bṛhad brahma and mahat, 337 2, paryāyavācākāḥ çabdāḥ; Vishnu may be called Çiva and Brahman may be called Intellect).

[3] In the Sarvadarçanasaṁgraha it is said that Patañjali made (atha yogānuçāsanam, i, 1) an anuçāsana, or secondary collection (as *anu* is explained) based on earlier Puranic materials. The verse attributed in this connection to the Yājñavalkya Smṛti (158, 17; p. 239 of Cowell's translation) has caused the Petersburg Lexicon to postulate, s. v., another Smṛti of the same name. I think it is a mere lapsus for Vyāsa's Smṛti, for the verse cited ("Hiraṇyagarbha, and no other ancient, is the declarer of Yoga") occurs xii, 350, 65. It has occurred to me that this verse might imply Patañjali, and the "no other" be a distinct refutation of his claim, the epic preferring divine authority; but this is perhaps too pregnant.

[4] pṛthagbhūteṣu sṛṣṭeṣu caturthāçramakarmasu samādhāu yogam evāi-'tac (maduktam vākyam) chāṇḍilyaḥ çamam abravīt, xii, 254, 14.

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a teacher of unconditioned Brahman, Ātreya is lauded in xiii, 137, 3; and in xii, 319, 59, a list of teachers of the twenty-fifth (spiritual) principle is given as having instructed the Gandharva Viçvāvasu: Jāigīṣavya, Asita Devala, Parāçara, Vārṣagaṇya, Bhṛgu, Pañcaçikha, Kapila, Çuka, Gāutama, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Garga, Nārada, Āsuri, Pulastya, Sanatkumāra, Çukra, Kaçyapa, seventeen mixed gods, saints, and philosophers, of whom two are important besides Kapila, namely Āsuri and Pañcaçikha, his pupils; while one system (explained below) is referred also to Asita Devala.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that Kapila was a real (human) philosopher, and not a mere shadow of a divinity. The fact that his name is also given to divinities proves the opposite as little as does his deification, for it is customary to deify sages and for divinities to have sages' names. A perfect parallel to the use of Kapila in this way is afforded by Kaṇāda, which, as far as I know, occurs first as an epithet of Çiva as supreme god, in the Harivañça 3, 85, 15–16:

yam āhur agryam puruṣam mahāntam
purātanaṁ sāṁkhyanibaddhadṛṣṭayaḥ
yasyā 'pi devasya guṇān samagrāṅs
tattvāñç caturviṅçatim āhur eke
yam āhur ekam puruṣam purātanaṁ
Kaṇāda-nāmānam ajam maheçvaram
dakṣasya yajñaṁ vinihatya yo vāi
vināçya devān asurān sanātanaḥ

Kapila's treatise is repeatedly declared to be oldest, but he is not only the oldest, he is the supreme seer, identical with Agni, with Çiva also, and with Vishnu. He is said to have got his wisdom from Çiva.[1]

[1] "Of the treatises declared by metaphysicians that by Kapila is the earliest," xii, 351, 6; agniḥ sa Kapilo nāma, sāṁkhyayogapravartakaḥ, iii, 221, 21. Hall gives a later v. l., sāṁkhyaçāstrapravartakaḥ, Sāṁkhyasāra, p. 18, where most of the epic allusions are collected. As supreme seer, xii, 350, 65; Çiva, xii, 285, 114, where the commentator interprets Sāṁkhya as Vedānta (as often); xiii, 17, 98, and xiii, 14, 323, Çiva as *kapila*. Kapila is identified with Vishnu in iii, 47, 18; Gītā, 10, 26, etc.; with Prajāpati in xii, 218, 9–10, where

I have noticed only one passage, xii, 269, 9, where Kapila is presented in the light of adverse criticism from the point of view of orthodox Brahmanism. On seeing a cow led out for sacrifice, Kapila, filled with compassion, cried out O ye Vedas! an exclamation of reproof against the Vedas, as inculcating cruelty to animals. At this he was attacked by the inspired cow with a long discourse, challenging him to show why the Vedas should be regarded as authoritative in any regard, if not in regard to the slaughter of animals.

Kapila appears in this tale as a teacher of unorthodox non-injury and maintains to the end (so that his view is presented as really correct) that not the sacrifice of animals but the "sacrifice (worship) of knowledge" is the best. Elsewhere also we find the same antithesis between the old orthodoxy and the new science of thought, which not only disregards Vedic ceremonies but condemns them (xiv, 28, 7 ff.).

The best evidence of the authority of Kapila is given not by express statement but by implication in the praise of other systems, which, an important point, are by the same implication looked upon as distinct from that of Kapila, although his name is used to uphold them. Thus Kapila's own system is called generally the Sāṁkhyayoga, or specifically the Kāpilam.[1] The Sāṁkhyayogins are said to be the models even in teaching of other tendency, as in xii, 347, 22, and nothing better can be said of the Bhāgavatas, here extolled, than that their system is "equal to the Sāṁkhyayoga," not, be it

he is called the supreme seer, incorporate in Pañcaçikha (the first pupil of Āsuri, who in turn was a pupil of Kapila). In xii, 337, 8, Kapila is Çālihotrapitā smṛtaḥ, father of Çālihotra, the veterinary sage (above, p. 12). Kapilaḥ prāha: prītaç ca Bhagavān jñānaṁ dadāu mama bhavāntakam, xiii, 18, 4. The Harivaṅça, 3, 14, 4, and 20, speaks of Kapila as the "teacher of Yoga, the teacher of Sāṁkhya, full of wisdom, clothed in Brahman, the lord of ascetics." Compare the supreme spirit as Kapila, xii, 340, 68.

[1] "He learned the whole Yoga-çāstram and the Kāpilam," xii, 326, 4; Viriñca iti yat proktaṁ Kāpilaṁ jñānacintakāiḥ sa Prajāpatis evā 'ham, xii, 343, 94 (Kapila, 95). Also Sāṁkhya kṛtānta, Gītā, 18, 13.

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observed, the same, but as good as the system of Kapila.[1] Amid a list of heroes in xiii, 75, 24–25, we find placed beside battle-heroes, gift-heroes, moral-heroes, etc., only Sāṁkhya and Yoga heroes, enrolled to represent philosophy.[2] As between the two, the implication contained in the words at Gītā 5, 5, "the Yoga gets as good a place as the Sāṁkhya," is that it is the Sāṁkhya which is the norm. Sāṁkhya is cited alone as the one system of salvation in i, 75, 7: "Salvation he studied, the unequalled system of Sāṁkhya." In contrast with Veda and Vedāṅga, it is the one type of philosophy: "He became learned in the Atharva Veda and the Veda, in the ritual also, and a past-master in astronomy, taking the greatest pleasure in Sāṁkhya," xiii, 10, 37; "Vedas, Aṅgas, Sāṁkhya, and Purāṇa," xiii, 22, 12.

The two systems are often separated. Yogapradarçinaḥ stands parallel to Saṁkhyānadarçināḥ, xii, 314, 3–4. "The rules both of Sāṁkhya and Yoga" are mentioned, xii, 50, 33. Nārada "knew the difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga," ii, 5, 7. Çāunaka is "rapt with metaphysics, adhyātma, skilled in Yoga and in Sāṁkhya," iii, 2, 15. The difference is explained in the Gītā as: "The double point of view, niṣṭhā, of the Sāṁkhyas, who have jñānayoga; of the Yogins, who have karmayoga." Sometimes Sāṁkhyajñāna on the one hand is opposed to Yoga alone on the other, xii, 315, 18.[3] Sometimes the Çāstra is that of the Yoga, as opposed to jñāna of the Sāṁkhya, xii, 319, 67; yogaçāstreṣu, 340, 69, etc. Nevertheless, they are, says the Gītā, essentially one system. And so often we find that Vedic practices and the existence of God are claimed for Sāṁkhya and Yoga, as if they were one system. The same is true of the practice of austerities or asceticism. "The many names of God are declared in the Rig Veda with

[1] Sāṁkhyayogena tulyo hi dharma ekāntasevitaḥ, xii, 349, 74.

[2] So in viii, 33, 49, Yoga and Sāṁkhya (ātmanaḥ) represent philosophy.

[3] Compare xiii, 149, 139: yogo jñānaṁ tathā sāṁkhyaṁ vidyāḥ çilpādikarma ca. In the passage cited above, the interesting ariṣṭāni tattvāni are grouped with yoga and sāṁkhyajñāna (as objects of research). They are explained elsewhere, xii, 318, 8, as "signs of death," appearing to one if he cannot see the pole-star or his reflection in another's eye, etc.

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the Yajur Veda, in Atharva (and) Sāmans, in Purāṇa with Upanishads, in astronomy also, in Sāṁkhya and in Yoga-çāstra, and in Āyur Veda," to give the bizarre group of xii, 342, 8. "Both gods and demons practise austerity, tapas, which has been argued out, yuktitaḥ, of Veda and Sāṁkhyayoga," xii, 285, 192.[1]

Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

But it must be noticed that the claim for the identity of Sāṁkhya and Yoga comes from the Yoga side, which is deistic and seeks to make the Sāṁkhya so, exactly in the way the Vedānta commentator seeks to make the Yoga passages Vedantic. The distinctive mark of the Yoga, as given above from the Gītā, 3, 3, is, if we translate it in the natural original sense, application to work as opposed to application to understanding; in other words the Yoga laid stress on religious practices, the Sāṁkhya on knowledge.[2] It may be that Yoga also, like Sāṁkhya, was originally atheistic and that deistic Yoga was a special development. Nothing could be falser, however, than the supposition that the Yoga and Sāṁkhya differ only in method, or the epic assumption that both are a sort of Vedānta inculcating belief in Brahman as the All-soul. Even the Gītā recognizes the distinction between the two schools in saying that the system that recognizes the All-soul ("one entity eternal, undivided, in all divided existences") is better than the one that recognizes "separate and distinct entities in all existent beings," 18, 21–22, clearly referring to the fundamental difference between Brahmaism[3] and Sāṁ-

[1] It may be observed of the terminology that as Yoga means Yogin as well as the system, so Sāṁkhya means system or a philosopher of that system. Typical of the pseudo-epic is the circumstance that here Sāṁkhyayogāu are personified as two beings along with Nārada and Durvāsas, xiii, 151, 45.

[2] Compare the use in xiii, 84, 40, where it is asked: kena vā karmayogena pradānene 'ha kena vā (can I be purified), i. e., "by application to holy works." Compare kṛṣiyoga, xiii, 88, 18.

[3] As Vedānta is commonly used of Çaṁkara's interpretation, I employ Brahmaism to connote a belief in the All-soul without necessarily implying a concomitant doctrine of Illusion, Māyā.

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khyaism. The practical difference is that formulated at xii, 317, 2 ff., where it is said: "There is no knowledge like the Sāṁkhya, no power like the Yoga; these are both one in practice, ekacaryāu, because both destroy death. Foolish people regard them as distinct, but we recognize them as one. What the Yogas see is seen by Sāṁkhyas; who sees Sāṁkhya and Yoga as one sees truly," a passage copied from the Gītā, 5, 4–5, and repeated with varied readings in xii, 306, 19.

Though the pseudo-epic is so like the Gītā, its relative lateness, I may observe in passing, is shown inter alia by the use in this passage of yogam as a neuter noun, xii, 317, 27, etad dhi yogaṁ yogānām,[1] as in xiii, 17, 19; one of the many little points ignored in the unhistorical synthetical method.

This passage, in its admission under cover of fools' opinion, shows clearly that the two systems could be regarded as identical only by insisting on the objective of each. Both systems gave emancipation, therefore they were one. But one way was that of pure science or knowledge, the other was that of pious work (yoga, tapas) added to this science, a practical divergence that existed quite apart from the question whether the goal was really the same.

But the epic in other passages, despite its brave pretence, is not content with Sāṁkhya science or even with Yoga work. On the contrary, the religious devotees named above throw over both systems. It is true they keep the name, just as these philosophical systems themselves pretend to depend on the Vedas, or as European philosophers used to claim that their systems were based on orthodoxy. But this only shows how important and fully established were these philosophical systems when the sects arose that based salvation on faith and the grace of a man-god, while still pretending to philosophy. They could not unite, for the true Sāṁkhya did not teach Brahmaism, but kevalatvam, or absolute separation of the individual spirit from everything else, an astitvaṁ kevalam, or existence apart from all, not apart in Brahman.

[1] Repeating yoga eṣa hi yogānām in 307, 25.

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No less irreconcilable with the earlier belief is the later sectary's view of action, pravṛtti, as due to God. For the older sage was intent on escaping action, which the system regards as due not to spirit but to the inherent quality of its antithesis, Prakṛti. But in the religious substitution of a personal Lord, Īçvara, as synonymous with the Supreme, it is taught that "the Lord created pravṛtti as a picturesque effect" (after electing nivṛtti for himself)![1] Here the roots of the Karma doctrine are cut by the new faith of the quasi monotheism which is reflected in the later pseudo-epic.[2]

Fate and Free-Will.

Another side of speculation presents a varied field of belief. Is there such a thing as free-will? The later epic fixes responsibility in turn on the Lord, man himself, puruṣha, luck, haṭha, and Karma, xii, 32, 12, ff.; where Karma is finally recognized as the only agent, as otherwise God would be responsible for sin; and if man were the sole agent there could be none higher than man. As luck would absolve a man, only Karma is left, associated with Time in a sort of dual fatalism, karmasūtrātmaka. Obviously Fate, as Time is here, really undermines the theory of Karma quite as much as does the interposition of the Lord or any other foreign factor. So in xii, 224, 16 ff. and 226, 13 and 21 ff., we find first the reflex of the Upanishads and Gītā, "he who (in imagination) slays and he who is slain are both ignorant," and then: "The deed causes the deed; but the deed has another creator, Fate, Time. Fate or *what will be will be* is the cause." "Sorrow lies in thinking 'I am responsible'; for I do that which the ordainers ordained when I was born."[3]

[1] pravṛttidharmān vidadhe kṛtvā lokasya citratām, xii, 341, 99.

[2] This is the "fourfold God," worshipped by the Ekāntins as having one, two, three, or four forms, identified with Krishna, his son, grandson, and brother, as named above, p. 97. He is maker and non-maker, and takes Prakṛti's function in "sporting:" yathe 'cchati tathā rājan krīḍate puruṣo 'vyayaḥ.

[3] So 224, 31; 226, 8; 227, 34 and 35: kālaḥ pacati ... kālaḥ kalayati prajāḥ; 226, 12: "Whatever state one obtains he must say bhavitavyam," "it was fated," i. e., independently of Karma. For kāla from *kal*, cf. Gītā, 10, 30.

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Elsewhere Fate is the Divine power, dāiva, opposed to human effort and to nature, svabhāva, the latter having the implication of the Karma doctrine. Each of these factors is upheld by one or another theorist, while others claim that they all work together, xii, 233, 19, repeated at 239, 4–5. In other places the same Fate that is elsewhere made responsible is scorned, dāivaṁ klībā upāsate, "only eunuchs worship Fate;" and "there is no Fate, all depends on one's own nature;" the Karma doctrine, svabhāvataḥ, xii, 139, 82; 291, 13.[1]

Sāṁkhya is Atheistic.

In the "one-soul" doctrine just referred to, God himself is energy, kāryātman, the soul of all, the saviour, "the Light which Yogins see," the Ego, eternal, without characteristics of any sort, ahaṁ ca nirguṇaḥ, xii, 47, 54, 63, 69–70; xiv, 25, 7. He exists "alone with wisdom," till he makes the worlds, each succeeding æon, xii, 340, 71–72, just as sunrise and sunset follow each other, ib. 75. On the other hand, the epic declares with all plainness that the Sāṁkhya system is devoid of a belief in a personal supreme God. In xii, 301, 1 ff., the question is raised, What is the difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga? The answer is: "Sāṁkhyas praise the Sāṁ-

[1] According to xii, 239, 20, Time is the origin and controller of all things, prabhavaḥ . . . saṁyamo yamaḥ, and all things produced by duality exist according to their own nature, svabhāvena. The nature of the individual spirit is often rendered by this word, as such a spirit is conditioned by its former acts. Below is cited a case where it is a factor of the body, distinct from organs, mind, and spirit. An interesting critique of heretics leads up to xii, 238, 3 ff. (where the word connotes nature as understood by Buddhists and materialists): yas tu paçyan svabhāvena vinā bhāvam acetanaḥ puṣyate sa punaḥ sarvān prajñayā muktahetukān, yeṣāṁ cāi 'kāntabhāvena svabhāvāt kāraṇam matam, pūtvā tṛṇam iṣīkāṁ vā, te labhante na kiṁcana . . . svabhāvaṁ kāraṇaṁ jñātvā na çreyaḥ prāpnuvanti te, svabhāvo hi vināçāya mohakarmamanobhavah, "He is a fool who teaches that nature alone exists, or that cause of change is inherent in nature alone" (nature is without intelligence and, çl. 9, only intelligence gives success; hence nature without intelligence would result in nothing; the final opinion given in çl. 6 on svabhāva and paribhāva). C. has a curious v. l. (for pūtvā, etc.) çrutvā nṛṇām ṛṣiṇāṁ vā.

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khya system; Yogas the Yoga system. The pious Yogas say, How can one be freed when one is without a personal God (anīçvaraḥ); while the Sāṁkhyas say that one who knows truly all earthly courses becomes unaffected by objects, and would clearly get released from the body in this way alone. This is the exposition of release given by the very intelligent Sāṁkhyas. But one should take as the means of release that explanation which is given agreeably to his own party. . . . The Yogas rely on immediate perception (of truth), while the Sāṁkhyas determine according to their code. For my part, I approve of both,[1] for either system followed according to its code would lead to the highest course (emancipation). Purity, penance, compassion toward all creatures, and keeping vows, are found equally in both (systems), but the (philosophic) exposition is not the same in both." The last words, darçanaṁ na samaṁ tayoḥ, "the exposition is not the same," can point here only to the essential difference just indicated by the speaker, namely, that one admits and one denies God. And it is to be noticed that this is the end of the explanation. There is not the slightest hint that the anīçvara or atheistic Sāṁkhyas believe in God (a personal Lord, Īçvara).

It must also be remembered that the very term here used to describe the Sāṁkhya belief, far from being admitted as one that connotes a belief in Brahman, is reprehended, not only in the pietistic question above (which may fairly be put categorically as "it is impossible to be saved if one does not believe in a personal God"), but also in the Gītā, which links together as a "creed of devils" the denial of "reality, basis, and personal God," asatyam apratiṣṭhaṁ te jagad āhur anīçvaram, Gītā, 16, 8, an expression which would have been impossible had the anīçvara doctrine been accepted as simply a formal modification of deism, implying a belief in a background of Brahman.

I do not think that anīçvara can possibly mean here "not

[1] The Yoga has the immediate perception of the mystic: pratyakṣahetavo yogāḥ sāṁkhyāḥ çāstraviniçcayāḥ, ubhe cāi 'te mate tattve mama (Bhīṣmasya), çl. 7.

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having the senses as master," as it does in xii, 247, 7, where it is opposed to indriyāṇāṁ vaçyātmā; a passage mistranslated by the author of Nirvāṇa, p. 96, as "Without the Lord one attains the place of immortality," though it clearly means: "Not having (the senses as) a master one attains the immortal state, but being subject to the senses one obtains death."

In the theistic religion, the personal God not only supplants the old explanation of spirit, but even takes the place of Prakṛti, the unmanifest unknown Source of the Sāṁkhya, and creates everything, as does egoism in the pure dogma of the Sāṁkhya, as "the name made by egoism, which is synonymous," ahaṁkārakṛtaṁ cāi 'va nāma paryāyavācakam, xii, 340, 62. So to the sectary the name is ever indifferent. As to-day he accepts Christ as his own divinity under another name, so he did of old. The passage in the Gītā is well known, which establishes the principle. In xiii, 14, 318, it is said: "In the Sāṁkhya system the All-soul is called Purusha," i. e. the Sāṁkhyas recognize only Purusha, but we say that their Purusha is our All-soul. The twenty-fifth, Purusha, is thus identified with wisdom, vidyā, xii, 308, 7 ff. In a preceding section, 303, 119, Hiraṇyagarbha is intellect, and is called Viriñca, Aja, etc., "called by many names in the Sāṁkhya Çāstra."

Yoga as Deistic and Brahmaistic.

The ancient Yogin tales in the epic show that there are important differences between the older and later view of Yoga. To stand on one leg for years and keep quiet long enough for birds to nest in one's matted locks was the "discipline" of the primitive Yogin as he is represented in these tales. But the Yogin of the later epic regards all such practices as crude and unsatisfactory. His discipline is an elaborate course of breathings and mental confinement in bodily postures described as customary in the Yoga Çāstras. So many breathings at such a time and so many at another, minute attention (in a sitting posture) to concentration and meditation, the

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whole paraphernalia of Patañjali, exercised for a "limited time,"[1] not a word about standing on one leg for years. The difference is more than superficial, however. The one-leg Yogin strove for one thing only, supernatural powers. Tale after tale recounts what powers he gained by these exercises, and these powers were his goal. He was deistic but he had no thought of "entering Brahman," only of controlling the powers terrestrial, celestial, and elemental. On death his goal is to be a spirit free and powerful, enjoying good things. On the other hand, the Yogin of the pseudo-epic discipline learns all these powers, but "he who practises them goes to hell," because his goal was not to be a thaumaturge but to be released. Both experienced the apunarbhavakāma, "longing not to be born again," but the first desired bala, or Yoga "lordship," āiçvarya, and all his efforts were directed to that end; while the last desired lordship only as a means soon to be rejected for something higher, release, mokṣa, or kevalatva, isolation,[2] and eventually the recognition of ekatva, unity, of intellect, mind, senses, and universal soul, ātmano vyāpinaḥ, xii, 241, 2–3.[3]

The Brahmaistic Yogin is an advance on the deistic Yogin. The latter recognizes only isolation, kevalatva. So under the influence of Vishnuism a lecture which teaches Brahman isolation appears revamped as pantheistic Brahmaism.[4]

In xii, 317, 16 ff., the Yogin meditates on the eternal Lord-Spirit and Brahman, taṣṭhuṣam puruṣam nityam . . . īçānam brahma ca, the Yogin being in concentration and trance, saṁyama, samādhi: "Like a flame in a windless place, like a

[1] xii, 241, 22 ff. evam parimitaṁ kālam (six months) ācaran āsīno hi rahasy eko gacched akṣarasāmyatām. Cf. pratibhā, apavarga, 317, 14.

[2] The chapter xii, 289, shows that mokṣa may be simply isolation or independence and does not necessarily connote absorption.

[3] The whole Yogakṛtya is comprised here in this union as "the highest knowledge."

[4] The compilers are not averse to this practice; it is a common Hindu method of improvement. Either the text is rewritten and interpolated or it is allowed to stand and another section is prefixed or added of the same content differently treated. The rule is that the improvement precedes the original.

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mountain peak (compare kūṭastha), he beholds Brahman, which is like a fire in great darkness." Then "on abandoning his body without a witness," this Yogin, after attaining in life his powers over the breathings and elements, rudrapradhānas, and wandering about with the "body of eight characteristics," enters into the Lord-Spirit who is isolated, kevalaṁ yāti, for "this is the Yogin's Yoga; what else would have the sign of Yoga?"[1] So ends the chapter, without a suggestion that the Yogin is to be identified with Vishnu.

In the imitation and improvement of this passage, thrust before it in the text, the Yogin's release does not end matters, though Vishnuism is inserted rather clumsily, as will be seen from an analysis of the whole section, 301, 11 ff. "Cutting off the five faults by Yoga, people freed of sins obtain that place (or condition), tat padam, like as big fishes cut through a net and get the water (the fish is not identical with the water, tat padam is place or condition, freedom). Even as strong animals, mṛgāḥ, cut the net, so they would get a clean road when they are freed from all their bonds. Endued with strength, Yogas, on cutting thus the bonds made by greed, go the clean way that is highest and auspicious. . . . Those without power are destroyed, those that have power are released, mucyante balānvitāh. . . . On acquiring Yoga-power one can oppose the many objects of sense, vyūhate viṣayān, as an elephant opposes a great stream. By Yoga-power made independent, avaçāḥ, Yogins enter Prajāpatis and seers and gods and the elements, as their lords. Not Yama nor the End-maker (differentiated here, often as one), though angered, nor Death, fearful in prowess, not all these lord it over a Yoga of unmeasured energy. A Yoga could make himself many thousands when he has got his power, and with these could wander over earth. Such an one could take the objects of sense and then perform hard austerity and again reduce it, as the sun does his beams of light, tejoguṇas. The Yoga who holds to the power and is lord of bonds obtains in release, vimokse, the fullest lordship, prabhaviṣṇutva. These powers

[1] etad hi yogaṁ yogānāṁ kim anyad yogalakṣaṇam, 317, 27.

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obtained through Yoga have been obtained by me. For elucidation I will now tell thee again, O King, also about the subtile powers.[1] Hear from me, O Bharata, the subtile signs of the soul in concentration, samādhāna, and in respect to contemplation, dhāraṇā, O lord. As an archer by being attentive, apramatta, with concentration hits the mark, so the Yogin, properly intent, doubtless obtains release, mokṣa. As a man intent, yukta, with intent mind would go up a ladder, steadily fixing his thoughts on the vessel full of oil (in his hands), so the Yoga here, intent, O King, steadily makes spotless his soul (till) it looks like the image of the sun.[2] As the steersman with concentration, samāhita, would guide a ship on the ocean, so by applying self-concentration with intentness, ātmasamādhānaṁ yuktvā yogena, he that knows the true, tattva, gets a place hard to attain, durgam āsthānam, after leaving his body here. As a charioteer with concentration yoking, yuktvā, good horses, quickly brings the knight to the desired place, deçam iṣṭam, so, O King, the Yogin with his mind concentrated in contemplation quickly gets the highest place, paraṁ sthānan, just as the arrow when released, mukta, finds its mark. The Yogin who stands steadily seeing self in self destroys sin and gains the unalterable place, padam, of those who are pure. The Yogin who properly joins, yuñkte, with his soul (self) the subtile self in the navel, throat, head, heart, chest, sides, eye, ear, and nose, quickly consuming his Karma, good and bad, though mountainous (in size), having recourse to highest Yoga is released, if he wishes."

This is the end of the discourse for the present. Nothing is said of the Yogin's emancipation being other than a release from bonds. The conversation turns to the question of food and means of restraint of the senses, the hard path of auster-

[1] These words are perhaps the mark of interpolation here.

[2] sneha-pūrṇe yathā pātre mana ādhāya niçcalam, puruṣo yukta ārohet sopānaṁ yuktamānasaḥ, yuktas tathā 'yam ātmānaṁ yogaḥ pārthiva niçcalam karoty amalam ātmānam bhāskaropamadarçanam. In 317, 22, tāilapātraṁ yathā pūrṇaṁ karābhyāṁ gṛhya pūruṣaḥ sopānam āruhed bhītas tarjyamāno 'sipāṇibhiḥ saṁyatātmā bhayāt teṣām na pātrād bindum utsṛjet tathāi 'vo 'ttaram āgamya ekāgramanasas tathā, etc.

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ities which makes the subtile soul shine forth, but he who follows it "is released from birth and death, ill and weal." "This," it is then said, "is what has been set forth in various Yoga-Çāstras; in the twice-born is admittedly the highest Yoga practice," kṛtyam, çl. 57.

Thus far the çlokas and the final stanza seems to show that this is the end. But to this are tagged on five triṣṭubh stanzas, with which the chapter now concludes: "That highest Brahman-made Brahmán and Lord Vishnu, the boon-giver, O great-souled one, and Bhava, and Dharma, and the six-faced (god), and the sons of Brahmán, tamas, rajas, sattva, and highest Prakṛti, and Siddhi the goddess wife of Varuṇa, and all energy, tejas, and patience, and the pure lord of stars in the sky with the stars, all the all-gods, the snakes, and manes, and all mountains, the terrible seas, all rivers with forests and clouds, Nāgas and nagas, troops of genii, spaces, the angel hosts, males and females — one after the other attaining, the great great-souled Yogin would enter soon after he is released. And this narration, O King, is auspicious in that it rests on the god who has great vigor and intelligence. Such a great-souled Yogin, overpowering all mortals, acts, having the self of Nārāyaṇa" (according to the commentator, makes all things as being identical with Nārāyaṇa).[1]

It is true that a view which ignores every indication of interpolation may insist that literature is to be treated without critique, overlook the patchwork, and concentrate emphasis on this last nārāyaṇātmā to offset the whole teaching preceding, which is that the soul gets isolation, not absorption into Brahman. But even then Nārāyaṇa is not philosophical Brahman. In the following chapter, which is a new discussion, 302, 55, the Kāpilāḥ Sāṁkhyāḥ are also led to emancipation, in which teaching ātman rests on Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa rests on emancipation, but emancipation has no support (the same word as above of the narration which rests on Nārāyaṇa), mokṣam saktaṁ tu na kvacit; though the Sāṁkhya philoso-

[1] yogī sa sarvān abhibhūya martyān nārāyaṇātmā kurute mahātmā, 301, 62.

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phers are finally conducted through an unfinished sentence eighteen çlokas long[1] to Nārāyaṇa, who bears them to the Highest Soul, when they become fitted for immortality, and return no more, çl. 78.

These are chapters of a sectarian cult, which seeks to include in its embrace all systems of philosophy,[2] and does so vi et armis. The more precious and reliable are those expositions which show the systems still but slightly twisted from their original form. This last is a system called Vedānta, 302, 71, as I have already remarked, but in point of fact it, i. e., this last chapter, not the preceding exposition, is an exposition of Yoga twisted into sectarian Brahmaism. The soul eventually enters Vishnu, who is unconditioned Brahman, and does not return; but it enters by jīva and videha mukti, in Yoga style. That is, before death the real soul enters Vishnu, leaving behind in a man not soul but only mind and senses. Shortly after, however, one is really "released and gets peace." This, it is said, is the Sāṁkhya system which is identical with eternal Brahman (302, 96–101; compare 106, amūrtes tasya . . . sāṁkhyam mūrtir iti çrutiḥ). The Sāṁkhya system, which is at first said to be faultless (çl. 4), is in çl. 13 declared to have faults as well as virtues, the same being true of Veda and Yoga; that is, this teaching is put forward as an improvement on the old, though the accepted base is the Sāṁkhya. It is pretended that the teachers teach as do the Kāpilas, who are endued with knowledge and "clarified by ratiocination," kāraṇāir bhāvitāḥ çubhāḥ, çl. 17.

Difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

As has been shown above, the epic itself teaches that the great difference between the two systems is that the Sāṁkhya does not believe in a personal God, while God is the supreme

[1] xii, 302, 24–52. Compare 5–17 also one sentence. These interminable sentences are marks of the late style of the pseudo-epic.

[2] In çl. 108 it is said that this Vedānta (çl. 71) Sāṁkhya embraces all the knowledge found in Sāṁkhyas and Yoga (sāṁkhyeṣu tathāi 'va yoge), the Purāṇa, the great Itihāsas (pl.), Arthaçāstra, and the world (Lokāyata?).

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belief of the Yogin. A further difference is found by the commentator in the words of xii, 240, 8, where it is said: "Vishnu in stepping, Çakra in power, Agni in the digestive organ (etc.) wishes to enjoy," bhoktum icchati, a stanza wedged between the statements that bodies come from earth, etc., and that ears, etc., are organs of sense. What is apparent is that experience is here shifted from pure spirit to the corresponding divinity.[1]

So far as I know, the difference of opinion is nowhere in the epic stated to involve a distinction between the two systems, and in this chapter the subject of active and experiencing spirit is not further touched upon. I doubt, therefore, the validity of the commentator's explanation as applied to the epic, but his words are worth citing: "In the Yoga system the spirit is not active but experiences only, while in the Sāṁkhya system the spirit neither acts nor experiences. In this passage the poet repudiates the first doctrine, and expresses approval of the second" (by naming devas as "enjoyers," and thus showing that it is only a false imagination of the spirit when it thinks itself an "enjoyer").[2]

According to the epic, all activity resides in Prakṛti, the Source alone, while experience resides in spirit but only as the latter is conditioned by its environment, prakṛtisthaḥ, so that when it is in the body the highest spirit is called enjoyer and active, but it is not really so, kurvann api na lipyate, na karoti na lipyate. This is the explanation of the Gītā[3] (which denies that there is any speculative difference between the two systems), and is found often enough elsewhere.[4] So God as a conditioned being, spirit, enjoys the guṇas, as in xii, 340, where the twenty-fifth principle, though "without

[1] As in Māit. Up. vi, 10, bhoktā puruṣo bhojyā prakṛtiḥ, "enjoy" is sometimes sensuously rendered, "Spirit is the eater, Prakṛti the food." Ordinarily "enjoy" is experience.

[2] yogamate, ātmā bhoktāi 'va na tu kartā; sāṁkhyamate tu, na bhoktā nā 'pi karte 'ti; tatrā 'dyaṁ dūṣayati, etc.

[3] Gītā, 3, 27; 5, 7; 13, 20, etc.

[4] Compare xii, 247, 1–2: "The spirit supervises modifications (he knows them, they do not know him), he does what is to be done (only) in conjunction with the senses and mind, the sixth" (like a charioteer, as above).

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characteristics," is guṇabhuj or enjoyer of guṇas as well as the superior creator of guṇas, guṇasraṣṭā guṇādhikaḥ, çl. 28.[1] So Çiva is ṣaṣṭibhāga (below). "Like a lamp giving light know the jñānātman, knowledge-spirit, Purusha, to be in all creatures. It makes the ear hear; it hears; it sees. The body is the *cause* (of perception), but this (soul) is the doer of all acts," xii, 210, 40. Here the last clause, sa kartā sarvakarmaṇām, means that soul acts only as modified by Prakṛti. In xii, 222, 17 ff.: "Whoso thinks himself an actor, faulty is his judgment. Activity is nature only, the only factor," svabhāva eva tat sarvam (one becomes vitṛṣṇa, çl. 30, when one knows the difference between the Source and its modifications). In xii, 304, 45, the Source does every act, and it alone enjoys, açnāti. Opposed to this is the Brahmaistic view, which holds that "the inner soul, antarātman, alone smells, tastes," etc., as an entity separate from elements (below).

A practical difference may be found in the attitude of the two systems toward austerities, though it is stated that this exercise is common to both. Nevertheless it cannot be supposed that the "knowledge-philosopher" admitted as much tapas as did the Yogin, whose practical discipline was almost wholly a "razor-edged path" of austerity. The practice is occasionally reprehended, as in xii, 221, 4, where it is said that fasting is not meritorious, as it is injurious to the soul's discipline, ātmatantropaghātaḥ, a view which is of course contradictory to the mass of teaching in the epic, for example, ib. 233, 23, where penance is the means of "attaining to the being that creates the universe." The "difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga," as admitted and explained in the late passage xii, 237, 29 ff., is mainly a practical one, in that "the Sāṁkhya keeps aloof from objects of sense, controls the senses, and is alike to all creatures, friendly to all, indifferent to all things,[2] injures no creatures, and so attains to Brahman;" whereas that Yoga is released "who, transcending supernatural power, ceases" (from activity). The Yoga is thus described in one

[1] The twenty-fifth, not the twenty-sixth principle, is here God.

[2] sarvabhūtasadṛī māitraḥ samaloṣṭāçmakāñcanaḥ, 38, a standing epithet.

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verse: yogāiçvaryam atikrānto yo niṣkrāmati mucyate, 237, 40. The dependence of the Sāṁkhya on knowledge alone is here merely implied, though the following image of the saving "ship of knowledge" makes it clearer, but the whole passage is a late attempt to interpret Sāṁkhya by another norm.[1]

One further practical difference between the systems is pointed out by the commentator at xii, 241, 34, where, after asceticism is described, it is said that a man of low caste or a woman seeking virtue "may attain the highest course by this path" (of the Yoga). The commentator takes pains to remark that this applies only to the Yoga, and not to the Sāṁkhya. A little farther on, in 247, 16, where the same system is still taught, but on the intellectual side, not on the ascetic side, it is, expressly stated that the Çāstra should be told only to men of the higher castes, Snātakas.[2]

It is expressly charged against the Pāçupata sect that it is subversive of caste: "I, Rudra, formerly for the first time invented the mysterious Pāçupata religion, beneficent to all, facing in all directions, one that takes years or only ten days[3] to learn, one which, though blamed by the unintelligent (because it is) here and there opposed to the rules of the Çāstra and those of the Orders, varṇāçramakṛtāir dharmāir viparītaṁ

[1] brahmāṇam abhivartate, a late carelessness, repeated with cā 'dhigacchati, çl. 36 and 41. The four-faced Brahmán and the highest Bráhman, respectively, is the commentator's ready explanation ("masculine by Vedic licence"). The same sort of thing is found in another later passage, where a double carelessness appears, brahmāṇam adhigatvā (sic) ca, iii, 83, 73. Part of the above description is a copy of the Gītā, nirmamaç cā 'nahaṁkāro nirdvandvaç chinnasaṁçayaḥ nāi 'va krudhyati na dveṣṭi, 237, 34, as in Gītā, 5, 3; 12, 13 (= 2, 71); 18, 53, brahmabhūyāya kalpate.

[2] See below the passage inculcating pure Yoga (the twenty-sixth principle), where it is said, xii, 319, 89, that it is a doctrine of emancipation for all, and knowledge is to be got from all, for all castes are Brahmans, all are born of Brahman, and all castes are equal; and compare ib. 188, 10 ff., na viçeṣo 'sti varṇānām, etc. In 251, 21, ātmajñānam idaṁ guyham, as in the earliest Upanishads. A "God without characteristics" is responsible for the democratic equality of the "no caste" view. So Çivaism teaches that castes are only indications of position, brāhmaḥ svabhāvaḥ is everywhere equal, and all men are children of the one God who created them, xiii, 143, 50-3.

[3] Instead of ten days, says the commentator, the Gāuḍas read "five days."

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kvacit samam, is nevertheless appreciated by those of perfected wisdom, gatāntas, and is really superior to the Orders" (atyāçramam, xii, 285, 194–195). In the preceding stanza, this Pāçupata is contrasted with the gods' and demons' religion of austerity, the latter being "drawn from the Vedas and Sāṁkhya and Yoga by logic,"[1] another mark of difference in the views urged in the epic, not, as often, concealed under a pretended unity, but openly stated.

Sects.

I would say a word here in regard to the sects recognized in the epic, though, except for their philosophy, I do not intend to touch further on them. The epic commentator sees in the epithet pañcamahākalpa, applied to Vishnu, a reference to the scriptures, āgamas, of five diverse sects, Sāuras, Çāktas, Gāṇeças, Çāivas, and Vāiṣṇavas. The epic in reality recognizes only the first and last two, for the allusion to shadow-worship (which the commentator explains as a Left-hand rite) though interesting, does not imply necessarily a body called Çāktas, and Gāṇeças are unknown, the god himself belonging only to the pseudo-epic introduction, and very likely interpolated there, as has been shown by Dr. Winternitz. Even Durgā seems to be a late addition to the epic as she appears hymned. But the Çāivas are known as having a religion called Pāçupata (above) and the Vāiṣṇavas and Sāuras are known in two late passages, xviii, 6, 97 and vii, 82, 16, under these names. I suppose only the synthetic method would claim that the whole epic recognizes the titles of sects so sporadically mentioned. The older Vishnuite sect-name is Pāñcarātra or the more personal "devotees of the Lord," Bhāgavatas, and Bhagavadbhaktas, even these being rather

[1] Rudra says to Dakṣa: bhūyaç ca te varaṁ dadmi taṁ tvaṁ gṛhṇīṣva suvrata, prasannavadano bhūtvā tad ihāi 'kamanāḥ çṛṇu; vedāt ṣaḍaṅgād uddhṛtya sāṁkhya-yogāc ca yuktitaḥ tapaḥ sutaptaṁ vipulaṁ duçcaraṁ devadānavāiḥ, xii, 285, 191–192; and then as above, in contrast, the Pāçupata system, which has overthrown the older systems (Rudra destroys Dakṣa's sacrifice).

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rare. The last, for example, is found in i, 214, 2 (with bhāikṣas or cāukṣas). The same passage that calls Vishnu pañcamahākalpa gives him the titles of Prācīnagarbha (below) and Kāuçika and identifies him with the Atharvaçiras Upanishad, xii, 339, 113–125. Though the god is here Vishnu, I venture to think the last epithets were originally applied to Çiva. The "white men" of the White Island, or rather country (dvīpa = the dig uttarā or more exactly uttarapaççimena, "in the Northwest," 336, 8–10; 337, 21 ff.) must be Kashmere Brahmans, who are often almost as white as Europeans and whose religion was the worship of Çiva (as a god of culture and letters) in monotheistic form, which is here perverted. The location "Northwest" and "far North" can scarcely be anywhere else than Kashmere, where alone "northern white men," çvetāḥ pumāṅsaḥ, 336, 10, were to be seen.[1]

The Different Schemata.

The philosophical schemes elaborated in the epic show three distinct groupings, which must belong to different systems. These are the Sāṁkhya, the Yoga, and a third system, which follows a different series of topics. All three differ essentially from Vedism and Brahmaism, as this latter, in turn, differs from what we call Vedānta. Both of the latter are represented, making six systems, as said above; but of these there are full schemata or topica in three cases at least,[2] indicating what for convenience I shall call scholastic differences, the three schematizing systems being here termed schools. It is unnecessary to point out that no one set of teachers, much less the one poet of the unhistorical method, would have inculcated six systems, or elaborated three schools, especially as the topics of two of these schools imply a fundamental difference between them.

[1] The "Sea of milk" in the Purāṇas is said to surround a Himālayan mountain, Krāuñca. The second (earlier) account of the "white men" in the epic is quite Sāṁkhyan, God is Purusha, etc.

[2] Compare also the rather rare recognition of pure Vedānta Māyā-Brahmaism, and above in the first chapter the philosophy copied from the Upanishads without identification of soul with sectarian god.

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Common to all three schools is the distinction between the First Cause or Source as manifest and unmanifest. The manifest, or known, is all that is born, grows, ages, and dies, while the unmanifest, or unknown, is "the opposite,"[1] that is, it is devoid of these four marks, lakṣaṇas. Further, Sāṁkhya and Yoga both admit two selves, ātmans, it is said, which are declared "in the Vedas and in the Siddhāntas."[2] The first is that born with the four marks, that is, those of the manifest, and has four objects (caturvarga, virtue, pleasure, gain, emancipation). This is the manifest self, born of the unmanifest; it is awakened, buddha, but has not the highest intelligence, cetanā; it is the conditioned sattva soul, in distinction from the pure knowing soul, kṣetrajña, though both are attached to objects of sense. "Both systems admit twenty-five topics," a statement to be reviewed below.

The Unmanifest is that which cannot be known, avedyam, which has no padanyāsa, leaves no track, and is therefore beyond knowledge, xii, 205, 18; avedyam avyaktam, xii, 319, 42. Kapila calls it the *ἀρχή*, ādya, and says he uses the term First Cause, Source, Prakṛti, merely to escape a regressus ad infinitum. It is therefore merely a name, saṁjñāmātram. It is used of the That: "One could never reach the end of causation, nāi 'vā 'ntaṁ kāraṇasye 'yāt, even if one went unceasingly like an arrow from the cord, yathā bāṇo guṇacyutaḥ, and swift as thought. Nothing is more subtile than the

[1] So in xii, 217, 9–10, it is said that Prakṛti creates and has three guṇas, while spirit's marks are "the opposite" (for the threefold guṇas are only his "turban," çl. 12).

[2] xii, 237, 27, 31, siddhānteṣu. Siddhānta is mentioned also in i, 70, 44. In the present passage the commentator takes the Vedas and Siddhāntas as Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramīmaṁsā. Another late expression in this section describes the effulgent jīva-yoked car as having all the Tantras as its goad (sarvatantrapratodaḥ, xii, 237, 11, straddles the pādas), where the commentator says Çāstra, and is probably right, as we have Nyāyatantras mentioned, which are doubtless works on logic. Compare with the passage above, xii, 206, 28, avyaktātmā puruṣo vyaktakarmā so 'vyaktatvaṁ gacchati hy antakāle; xii, 199, 125, caturbhir lakṣaṇāir hīnaṁ tathā ṣaḍbhiḥ saṣodaçāiḥ puruṣaṁ tam atikramya ākāçam pratipadyate (the six are ills and the sixteen are breaths, organs, and mind, according to the commentator), but the four are here said to be cetas and three proofs.

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unmanifest That (çl.18); nothing is coarser. Finer than fine, greater than great is That, the invisible end of all things," xii, 240, 28 (29 = Çvet. Up. iii, 16; Gītā, 13, 13). It is a term used in both philosophies, and is simply equivalent to the invisible unknown First Cause. From its synonym Prakṛti, First Cause, it may be called simply the Source. So also Brahman is avyaktam. Usually this term is defined in such negatives as in *neti neti*, a superabundance of which appears in this definition: "Brahman has *not* been explained by mantras; with the world of experience it has *not* anything in common; it has *not* sound, touch, *not* form; it is *not* comprehended; *not manifest* . . . *not* female, *not* male, *not* neuter (as in 251, 22), *not* being, *not not*-being, *not* being-and-*not*-being . . . *not* perishable,"[1] an imitation of older matter.

This "Unknown," which forms the common basis of the great philosophical systems, in the Sāṁkhya connotes potential egoism, becomes known first as Ego or self-conscious intellect, and out of this egoism is developed the whole created universe; over against which stands the pure unconscious spirit, the real Ego. This, in outline, is the whole plan of the Sāṁkhya philosophy, which admits nothing outside of pure Ego and self-conscious Ego, and ascribes all apparent other to modifications of egoism. There are here twenty-four principles over against the pure spirit Ego as the twenty-fifth.[2]

On the other hand, besides these, the Yogin's system superadds one exalted spirit as Supreme Spirit, or God, the twenty-sixth principle.

The Pāçupatas and Bhāgavatas have a different system of categories, but teach that the Supreme Spirit as a personal God becomes manifest; in the latter sect, as a god-man.

Common to the three schools is the belief in the three constituents of the Unmanifest, called guṇas; but these are sometimes treated as constituents and sometimes as attributes.

[1] na san na cā 'sat sad-asac ca tan na . . . tad akṣaraṁ na kṣaratī 'ti viddhi. In 251, 22, Brahman is asukham as well as aduḥkham, "not joy, not sorrow."

[2] Prakṛti is devoid of the highest intelligence, acetanā, and only when supervised by spirit creates and destroys. Purusha has millions or 1,400,000 courses, xii, 315, 12; ib. 2; 281, 36.

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The Guṇas.

The Unknown becomes known as a result of energy, tejas or rajas, rousing itself and rousing conditioned being, sattva,[1] out of the equilibrium which is maintained between these two and inertia (dulness, darkness, tamas). These are the three constituents of the conscious Ego, and consequently of all things except pure spirit. That is to say, energy, inertia, and existence (conditioned being), characterize all things, and life begins with energy moving sattva as well as itself. A moral interpretation of these strands, guṇas, as they are called, makes being, as compared with the other two, represent the true and real and good; inertia, the stupid and bad; while energy may be good or bad, but is never the best, as that is devoid of all activity (quietism).[2] These guṇas, constituents, are, to use a term taken from their grammatical application, themselves guṇated or characterized by the presence of certain qualities, a meaning often found employed in the case of guṇa. Thus in xii, 334, 2, one abandons fourfold faults, eightfold tamas and fivefold rajas. What is of most importance, however, from the historical rather than the philosophical point of view, is that in these groups there is no uniformity in the teaching of the epic. Thus in xii, 314, 21 ff., not five, as above, but over twenty faults are given as characteristics, guṇas, of rajas. In the same way, sattva has in xii,

[1] Sattva (compare satyasya satyam) is being, but not absolute being, which is free from consciousness of self. We may best render the "three strands" or inherent constituents of creation (everything except pure spirit) by energy, inertia, and conscious-existence, which exist potentially in the undeveloped and actually in the developed universe. I am aware that the guṇas are translated differently by high authorities, but must for the present refrain from further discussion of the interpretation.

[2] Compare Gītā, 17, 26: "*Sat* is employed in the meaning of *existence* and of *good*" (commentator wrong). The avyakta (unknown undeveloped) is guṇated as much as is vyakta, only the equilibrium not being disturbed the guṇas are merely potential, avyaktaṁ triguṇaṁ smṛtam, xiv, 39, 24. In regard to "darkness," it must be remembered that in the older philosophies, darkness, tamas, is not a quality but a substance (only the Nyāya regards it as absence of light). See the argument in the Aūlūkya chapter of the Sarvadarçana.

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342, 13, eighteen guṇas, while in 314, 17 ff., nearly double this number are given it, including most of the former group but placed in a different arrangement. Again in xii, 302, 14–16, sattva has ten (unexplained) guṇas; rajas, nine; tamas, eight; buddhi, seven; manas, six; nabhas, five; but then, again, buddhi has fourteen; tamas, three; rajas, two; sattva, one.[1] This merely means that each strand has certain attributes.[2] The same list, for instance, is given in the Anugītā, xiv, 38, 2 ff., as *indications* of sattva. It seems unnecessary to enumerate these varying characteristics. The gist of them all is found in Gītā, 14, 9 ff.: sattva belongs to pleasant things, rajas to activity, tamas to apathy. So in xii, 194, 30, a touch of joy is characteristic of sattva, and "if anything is joined to joy there is the condition, bhāva, of sattva" (only five are given here); while in 35 there are five liṅgas or signs of energy, rajas, and in 36, five guṇas of tamas (= 286, 25 ff., with v. l. = 248, 19 ff.) As tejas, energy, is attributed to Brahman, the term falls into comparative desuetude, being replaced by the less moral rajas, while tejas is left as a virtuous characteristic: dhūtapāpmā tu tejasvī . . . ninīṣed brahmaṇaḥ padam (said of the good man), and Brahman is tejomayam, xii, 241, 9 and 13. So tejas is a good quality, Gītā, 16, 3.[3]

In this conception, sattva is as much of a bond as are the other two guṇas. Knowledge and pleasure are the attachments with which it binds the soul; while rajas binds with action and tamas with heedlessness, laziness, sleep, the signs of inertia, Gītā, 14, 6–8.

[1] The eighteen guṇas of sattva, to give an example, are *prītiḥ prakāçam udreko* laghutā *sukham* eva ca, *akārpaṇyam asamrambhaḥ santoṣaḥ çraddadhānatā, kṣamā dhṛtir ahiṅsā* ca *çāucam* akrodha eva ca, *ārjavaṁ samatā satyam* anasuyā tathāi 'va ca (those in italics reappear in the longer list, 314, 17–20).

[2] The Hindu conception is not quite uniform in regard to the guṇas, but there is, I think, no reason for confounding essential constituents with attributes. Joy and sorrow are not the guṇas themselves but their objective signs in the moral world. The true opposites are tejas and tamas, light and darkness, as energy and inertia physically, and as goodness and badness morally.

[3] But rajas often keeps its pure tejas sense, as in xiv, 36, 9, rajaḥ paryāyakārakam, rajas is energy.

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The Source, Prakṛti, is the combination of the three guṇas, represented as a female productive power. As a lamp lights thousands so the Source modifies herself into the many guṇas (characteristics) of spirit. She does it of her own will and desire, and for the sake of sport.[1]

According to the proportion of guṇas in a creature, it has a high, middle, or low place, xii, 315, 3–4; Gītā, 14, 18. Evidently, therefore, the Yoga-god must be without guṇas, so nirguṇa is predicated of him and of Brahman, nirguṇasya kuto guṇāḥ, xii, 306, 29, as say the guṇadarçinaḥ, but as God must be everything he is also "with guṇas" as well as "without guṇas," a contradiction which is on a par with God's being being and not being being and being neither being nor not-being, the common tangle of metaphysics.[2] In fact, religious philosophy is hopelessly at sea, not only in regard to the question of a conditioned God but also in regard to the guṇas of the spirit. It is universally admitted that energy and inertia must be dispensed with in order to a full attainment of pure spirithood, xiv, 51, 25. But when spirit has sattva alone or is in sattva alone, sattvam āsthāya kevalam, is it one with this being or not? Some say, "and they are wise," that spirit and sattva have unity, kṣetrajñasattvayor āikyam, but this is wrong. Still, they cannot exist apart. There is unity and diversity, as in the case of the lotus and water-drop, the fish in water, the fly in the Udumbara plant, ekatvanānātvam, xiv, 48, 9–11.[3] In xiii, 108, 7, sattva must be "washed out"

[1] prakṛtir guṇān vikurute svacchandenā 'tmakāmyayā krīḍārthe tu, xii, 314, 15–16 (prakṛtis tathā vikurute puruṣasya guṇān bahūn).

[2] God is nirguṇa and guṇātman and nirguṇa alone and triguṇa, etc., xii, 339, 3 ff.; xiii, 137, 3. Guṇa-made are all existences, Gītā, 7, 13; God is not in them, they are in him, ib., 12. They do not affect God, xii, 340, 22 (in 20 it is said that those devoid of rajas and tamas attain to God, presumably retaining sattva; but elsewhere sattva must also be lost, e. g., 335, 30); viddhi bhāvān madāçrayān, xiv, 54, 2; avyaktāt utpanno mahān ātmā ādir guṇānām, 40, 1.

[3] Here Telang is obliged to render sattva as goodness and as nature, according to the verse, e. g., unintelligent sattva, 49, 9, and 12, where the spirit *enjoys* sattva. Sattva, however, is always conditioned existence or a conditioned being, abstract or concrete. It is the highest, because it may be free

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of the soul of pure Yogins, along with rajas and tamas. In these cases we have simply an attempt on the part of theology to utilize the terms of atheistic philosophy, which naturally leads to confusion. For the terms (applicable to Prakṛti) of Sāṁkhya are incompatible with the philosophy which substitutes God for both Purusha and Prakṛti.

When the guṇas are called ātmaguṇas, as in xiv, 12, 4, it is to distinguish them as mental from the bodily constituents, guṇāḥ çarīrajāḥ, with which they are compared. As the three constituents of the body, çītoṣṇe vāyuç ca (= kapha, pitta, vāta) give a healthy condition when in equilibrium, so the three ātmaguṇas, when equal, produce a healthy condition. Here the three are merely essential elements in a tridhātu or threefold entity. Thus elements are called, as the constituents or factors, dhātavaḥ, inherent in the Source, dhātavaḥ pāñcabhāutikāḥ, iii, 211, 9 ff., just as the essential constituents of a king's concern are called guṇas, xv, 6, 6.

Plurality of Spirits.

The passage just cited from the Anugītā on "unity and diversity" reflects an important section in Çānti. Here, xii, 316, 3 ff., a difference is established between Unmanifest Prakṛti and spirit, the former being affected by guṇas, incapable of escaping from them, and inherently ignorant; the latter being both pure and contaminated, because he is associated with the Unmanifest. Causing creation he is called creator. Because of his observing as a spectator and of his

from rajas and tamas, but is itself, though "good," not "best." This is what is in the Hindu's mind, but the distinction between this existence and that of God or Brahman is much like that between the highest knowledge of man and that non-knowledge knowledge of God. Both are attempts to release the infinite from the limitation of any definition. To say *He is* is to put Him in a class, hence we cannot say He is, but of course we cannot say "He is not." He is pure knowledge but this is a limitation; hence He knows without knowing and exists without existing, totally indefinable. The difference between the *early* Upanishad and epic philosophy in respect of conditioned Ātman, is that only the latter uses technical Sāṁkhya terms, just as the later Upanishads use them.

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being without a second, ananyatva, and of his false opinion (of himself), abhimāna, Yatis (Yogas) regard him (the same spirit) as both eternal and non-eternal, manifest and unmanifest: "This is what I have heard said; but those who have the religion of compassion and abide by knowledge alone, say that there is unity in the Unmanifest but a plurality of spirits." Here the last authorities are clearly the Sāṁkhyas, who are characterized in the epic not only as "devoted to knowledge," but as especially moral and compassionate.[1] The section concludes: "Purusha, spirit, and the Unmanifest (masculine) are different. The latter is called eternal but is not eternal. Spirit's connection with the Unmanifest is that of the grass blade in its sheath, the fly and the Udumbara, the fish in water, the fire in the pan, the lotus and water-drop; there is connection but not identity. This is the Sāṁkhya view, the best estimate, parisaṁkhyāna."

So in xii, 351, 1, the question is raised in regard to one or many spirits, only to be answered with the statement that there may be many spirits, but they all have the same birthplace. The answer is really assumed in the question,[2] so that the passage is of interest chiefly as showing a full recognition of the fact that Kapila taught (as above) the doctrine of multitudinous spirits without a common source. This is brought out more distinctly in the following statement, viz., that Vyāsa (the Yoga) teaches that all spirits have a common source, although Kapila and other metaphysicians have declared Çāstras in which a plurality of spirits is inculcated: "In the discussion (of this subject) by Sāṁkhya-Yogas there are many spirits assumed in the world and (these philosophers) will not grant that one spirit (exists as the sole source). (But

[1] ib. çl. 11: avyaktāi 'katvam ity āhur nānātvam puruṣās tathā sarvabhūtadayāvantaḥ kevalaṁ jñānam āsthitāḥ. It is worth noticing how frequently the Sāṁkhyas are called "those who have compassion and knowledge," a Buddhistic inheritance apparently, though this is a suggestion liable to seem antiquated.

[2] bahavaḥ puruṣā brahmann utāho eka eva tu, ko hy atra puruṣaḥ çreṣṭhaḥ ko vā yonir iho 'cyate, "Are there many spirits or only one? Which is the best? or which (spirit) is the source?"

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this is a mere assumption) and, as a sole source of many spirits is declared (to exist), so will I explain that spirit which is superior to conditions (or has superior characteristics) to be the All. . . . This hymn [Rig Veda, x, 90], the Purusha-Sūkta expounded in all the Vedas as right and true, has been considered by (Vyāsa), the lion among sages. Çāstras with rules and exceptions, utsargeṇāpavādena, have been proclaimed by sage metaphysicians beginning with Kapila. *But Vyāsa has proclaimed spirit-unity*, puruṣāikatvam, and his teaching in brief will I declare."

Nothing could show more clearly the absurdity of denying the variegated beliefs reflected in the epic, or the ancient foundation of the Kāpila, not in Brahman but in a plurality of spirits devoid of a common source. In Vyāsa we have a revolt against Kapila, not in absolute rebuttal, but in a denial of his chief principles and in an attempt to show that the time-honored system could be interpreted in accordance with a belief in a personal God.[1]

Another point of importance is the decision with which the heretical view is attacked: "Unity is a proper view, separateness is an incorrect view," ekatvaṁ darçanaṁ nānātvam adarçanam; again: "The view that the Supreme Soul is one with the individual soul is the correct view; the view that they are separate is an incorrect view," anidarçanam (the commentator says there is another reading anudarçanam, which he interprets as a following or later view, xii, 306, 35–37).[2]

[1] Here the author of Nirvāṇa, p. 97, suppresses the fact that Vyāsa's view is placed in antithesis to Kapila's, and, leaping over the intervening verses, says that Sāṁkhya-Yoga in this passage teaches only a common source of souls. It is indeed said at the end of the text that Sāṁkhya-Yoga is Vishnuism (see just below), but no notice is taken of the fact in Nirvāṇa that the special passage under consideration presents the matter quite differently. The passage above almost seems to imply that Vyāsa is to be regarded as a philosophical teacher especially, perhaps as the author of a philosophical work (Holtzmann opposed, iv, p. 111); possibly of the Vyāsagrantha of i, 70, 45 (commentator opposed). In any case, Vyāsa's teaching, though not that of Bādarāyaṇa, claims to improve on Kapila's view.

[2] Compare Kaṭha, iv, 11: (He perishes) "who sees, as it were, separateness here," ya iha nāne 'va paçyati (the separateness is here that of any part of

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Of course the Sāṁkhya-Yogas, being the models, are credited with the view expressly said to be not theirs. So in the exposition above from xii, 351, after Vyāsa has been distinctly opposed to the Sāṁkhya-Yogas and his view is explained to be that the different souls (created by Brahmán) at last are absorbed into their one source, the "subtile entity appearing as four" (Aniruddha, etc.), it is calmly said that this is Sāṁkhya and Yoga, xii, 352, 12–13, 23. But occasionally this flat self-contradiction is avoided, as it is in the second passage cited above, by saying that while Sāṁkhya-Yogas generally hold a view not quite orthodox, the wise among them think otherwise. Thus: "That twenty-fifth principle which the Sāṁkhya-Yogas as a whole, sarvaçaḥ, proclaim to be *higher than intellect*, buddheḥ param, the wise declare is a (personal) Lord, conditioned and not conditioned, identical both with Purusha and with the Unmanifest . . . and *this is also the opinion of those who being skilled in Sāṁkhya-Yoga seek after a Supreme*," paramāiṣiṇaḥ, xii, 306, 31–33. In other words, such Sāṁkhya-Yogas as admit that the twenty-fifth topic is a Supreme Being say that he is our personal God.

The Twenty-fifth Principle.

In the passage cited above, xii, 306, 33, the spirit is denominated Pañcaviṁçatika, the twenty-fifth principle. This is the last Sāṁkhya topic. But: "The wise say that the twenty-fifth creation is a topic and that there is something apart from the topics and higher." Here stands the implication of the twenty-sixth principle, in contradiction to the preceding, as appears still more plainly in the next section, where 307, 43 ff., it is expressly said: "Counting up the four-and-twenty topics with Prakṛti, the Sāṁkhyas recognize a twenty-fifth principle which is apart from the topics; this twenty-fifth principle is said to be the soul without Source or un-Prakṛti-soul, aprakṛtyātmā, when it is enlightened, budhyamānaḥ; and when it thus recognizes self, it becomes pure and apart,

Brahman from the whole). On the Yoga anudarçanam, see the note above, p. 97.

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yadā to budhyate 'tmānaṁ tadā bhavati kevalaḥ. This is the correct view according to the topics. Those knowing this attain equableness. From direct perception one could understand Prakṛti from guṇa and topic and so one can judge from things without guṇas. There is something higher than the destructible. They who do not agree to this have a false view and do not become emancipated but are born again in manifest form. The unmanifest is said to be the All. But the twenty-fifth principle is not part of this 'all,' asarvaḥ pañcaviṅçakaḥ. They that recognize him have no fear."

Here there is not an indication of any principle higher than the Sāṁkhya twenty-fifth, except as the commentator reads Brahman into the word self as "soul," but the word is used of jīva in the preceding verse, and of Brahman there is not a word. The "thing to be known" is the "twenty-fifth principle" as opposed to the Unmanifest, which is here the "field" of knowledge. The view of a Lord-principle is distinctly opposed: "It is said that the Unmanifest comprehends not only the field of knowledge (as has just been stated in çl. 38) but also sattva and Lord; the Sāṁkhya-system holds, however, that the twenty-fifth principle has no Lord and is itself the topic that is apart from topics" (that is, the twenty-fifth principle is the supreme principle), 307, 41–42.

This whole chapter, xii, 307, 26 ff., gives as close an approach to Sāṁkhya as is found in the epic. It is called, çl. 42, the Sāṁkhyadarçana, parisaṁkhyānudarçana. That is to say,

Sāṁkhya is Saṁkhyāna.

Even in the Anugītā, xiv, 46, 54–56, we read: "The organs, the objects of sense, the five gross elements, mind, intellect, egoism, the Unmanifest, and Spirit (these are given in nominative and accusative) — on counting up all that properly, according to the distinction of topics, tattva, one gets to heaven, released from all bonds. Counting them over, one should reflect on them at the time of one's end. Thus one that knows the topics is released, if one abide by the ekānta,

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doctrine of unity." So in xii, 316, 19, sāṁkhyadarçanam etat te parisaṁkhyānam uttamam, "the Sāṁkhya system is the best enumeration;" evam hi parisaṁkhyāya sāṁkhyāḥ kevelatām gatāh, "the Enumerators by thus enumerating attain separateness." In the same way the Yogin gradually emancipates himself by parisaṁkhyāya, enumerating the steps of abstraction, xii, 317, 16. The same thing is found in Gītā 18, 19, where guṇasaṁkhyāna or "enumeration of guṇas" is equivalent to Sāṁkhya. Even more strongly is this shown when Yoga and Saṁkhyāna are antithetic, like Yoga and Sāṁkhya, as in xii, 314, 3 ff., where the saṁkhyānadarçinaḥ are opposed to yoga-pradarçinaḥ; and in xiii, 141, 83: yukto yogam prati sadā prati saṁkhyānam eva ca.

The Sāṁkhya Scheme.

As I have shown above, this system stops with the twenty-fifth principle. This fact sometimes appears only incidentally, as when in xiv, 48, 4, we read: "By ten or twelve suppressions of breath one attains to that which is higher than the twenty-four."[1] In its environment this verse is as significant as it is grotesque; but it is simply carried over from an older account: "Turning the senses from the objects of sense by means of the mind, one that is pure and wise should with ten or twelve urgings urge the soul to that which is beyond the twenty-fourth principle," xii, 307, 10–11. Here, at the outset of the chapter discussed above, it is evident that no twenty-sixth is contemplated. The conditioned soul is to be urged to associate itself with the pure soul and abstain from the other elements which condition it. This pure soul is declared to be the "inner self standing in the breast," antarātmā hṛdayasthaḥ, çl. 19, which in Yoga contemplation appears like a bright fire. "It has no source, ayoni; it stands in all beings an immortal thing, and is not seen, but may be known by intelligence, buddhidravyeṇa dṛçyeta. He makes the worlds,

[1] The commentator says ten *or* twelve, vā 'pi may mean *and*, i. e., twenty-two. He gives the exercises.

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standing beyond darkness, and he is called tamonuda, vitamaska, the smiter of darkness," 24. So much for the Yoga doctrine, where the inner soul is that "which surpasses the twenty-fourth," and is then treated (as given above) as neuter tad or masculine, but without recognition of the Lord-Soul as twenty-sixth.[1] Then follows the Sāṁkhya-jñāna (parisaṁkhyānadarçanam), 307, 26 ff.: "It is the system of the Prakṛtivādins and starts with highest Prakṛti, which is the Unmanifest. From this is produced the Great One (neuter), intellect, as the second; from the Great One, egoism, as the third; and the Sāṁkhyātmadarçinaḥ say that the five elements come from egoism. These together are the eight (forms of) the Source, called the eight sources (because productive). The modifications are sixteen. There are five gross elements, viçeṣāḥ, and five senses (or the sixteen are the five gross elements and ten organs with mind).[2] These (twenty-four) are all the topics, tattvas, as explained in the enumeration of the Sāṁkhyas. Inversely as it created them the inner soul, antarātman, also absorbs them, as the sea absorbs its waves. The Source is a unit at absorption and a plurality at creation, ekatva, bahutva. The Source itself has the principle of productivity, prasava. Over this field[3]

[1] This section, like the one cited above (to which it is a parallel), ends with yoga eṣo hi yogānām. The next verse (though in the middle of a chapter) has the Upanishad mark of a closed account, yogadarçanam etāvat (as in Kaṭha, etāvad anudarçanam). The soul appears as a smokeless fire, vidhūma, as in Kaṭha, iv, 13, adhūmaka; it is aṇubhyo aṇu, as Kaṭha, ii, 20, etc. The point of view is wholly that of Ātmaism to the very end without a trace of Vishnuism. It is, however, an intruded section, for the opening of the chapter marks a repetition, the questioner saying: "Now you have told me all about oneness and separateness, but I should like to hear it all again" (just as the Anugītā is marked).

[2] So the commentator explains çl. 29–30, etā prakṛtayaç cā 'ṣṭāu vikārāç cā 'pi ṣoḍaça, pañca cāi 'va viçeṣā vāi tathā pañce 'ndriyāṇi ca, etāvad eva tattvānāṁ sāṁkhyam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ. But see below.

[3] Instead of "field" we find also the "pasture": "When the senses (indriyāṇi pramāthini, as in the Gītā) return from the pasture, gocarāḥ, and rest at home, then shalt thou see the highest self with the self, the great all-soul" (self), xii, 251, 6. The principle of productivity, prasava, is synonymous with Prakṛti. Thus we have prakṛtijā guṇāḥ (Gītā), and prasavajā guṇāḥ, xiii, 85, 105.

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stands the Great Soul as the twenty-fifth, called the kṣetrajña, field-knower, also the male, Purusha (avyaktike praviçate, 38). The field is the Unmanifest, the knower of the field is the twenty-fifth principle." Then follows the extract given above. It is clear that here the twenty-fifth principle (Purusha) is not a lower principle than a twenty-sixth (not recognized at all). Still more remarkable is the following exposition:

In xii, 311, 8 ff.: "There are eight sources and sixteen modifications. Metaphysicians explain the eight as the Unmanifest, the Great One (masc.), egoism, and earth, wind, air, water, and light. These are the eight sources. The modifications are (the five perceptive organs) ear, skin, eye, tongue, and nose; the five (great elements), sound, touch, color, taste, smell; the five (organs of action) voice, hands, feet, and two organs of excretion. [These differences, viçeṣāḥ, are in the five great elements, mahābhūtas; and those organs of perception are saviçeṣāṇi, that is, differentiated.] Mind, say the metaphysicians, is the sixteenth." The bracketed stanza[1] interrupts the description (as in the scheme above) with a statement of the "differences" appertaining to the gross elements (as distinct from the fine elements, which have only one characteristic apiece, and are aviçesa).

Both these schemes[2] give the Aphorism's list, whereby the tattvas of the Sāṁkhya (the Yoga is here expressly included, çl. 8) appear as follows: —

Eight productive forms of Prakṛti.
- The Unmanifest
- Intellect
- Egoism
- Five (fine) elements (not here named collectively; called tanmātras elsewhere).

[1] ete viçeṣā rājendra mahābhūteṣu pañcasu buddhīndriyāṇy athāi 'tāni saviçeṣāṇi, Māithila, 311, 14.

[2] Compare xiv, 40, 1 ff., where the same creations appear.

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Sixteen modifications.
- 5 Organs of Perception (buddhīndriyas, çl. 14).
- 5 Organs of Action (not here named collectively; called karmendriyas elsewhere).
- 1 Mind.
- 5 Gross elements (viçeṣas, mahābhūtas).

But to the scheme at xii, 311, there is appended the following incongruous account, thus, çl. 16 ff.: "From the Unmanifest is produced the Great Soul, mahān ātmā, which the wise say is the first creation, and call the prādhānika. From the Great One is produced egoism, the second creation, which is called buddhyātmaka, that is, identical with intellect. From egoism is produced mind, bhūtaguṇātmaka, identical with the elemental constituents, called āhaṁkārika, that is, egoistic, the third creation, sargaḥ. From mind are produced the great elements, mahābhūtāḥ (sic),[1] the fourth creation, called mānasa, mental. The fifth creation comprises sound, touch, color, taste, and smell, which is called elemental, bhāutika. The sixth creation is the ear, skin, eye, tongue, nose, called bahucintātmaka, that is, identical with much thought (matter is only a form of mind). The seventh creation is the group of organs (of action) after the ear, called organ-creation, āindriya. The eighth creation is the up-and-across stream (of breaths) called ārjavaka, that is, upright. The ninth is the down-and-across, also called ārjavaka. These are the nine creations, sargāṇi, and the twenty-four topics, tattvāni, declared according to the system of revelation (çrutinidarçanāt)." So this scheme ends without hint of a twenty-sixth principle, but with productive mind and a substitution of ātman, soul, for intellect.

A more striking substitution is found in xii, 204, 10–11, where, instead of the received order as given above, the list from Source to the senses is as follows:

[1] As remarked above, organs and elements are called indifferently indriyāḥ or indriyāṇi, mahābhūtāḥ or mahābhūtāni, as shown here and elsewhere. So in this passage, sargaḥ and sargāṇi. Compare tattvān, above, p. 98.

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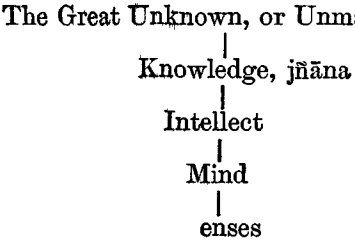

In the following section, 205, 16 ff., intellect active in mind is mind. It is mind which is freed from the guṇas and, ib. 9, mind, as a form of knowledge impeded by the guṇas, produces intellect, which must be withdrawn into mind again for one to attain the highest. In these cases, there can be, from a synthetic point of view, no unsystematic interpretation of intellect and knowledge and mind, but a loose[1] exploiting of Sāṁkhya in terms of Brahmaism, because elsewhere the Sāṁkhya scheme is fully recognized. So carelessly are the terms employed that, while in one part of the exposition knowledge is Brahman and mind is a part of it, related to it as jīva is to Ātman, in another part we are told that this knowledge comes from something higher, the Unmanifest. Again, Brahman is not the Unmanifest but in the Unmanifest, xii, 319, 1. There is no substitution for egoism in the above, for this is recognized in another stanza which enumerates as the "group called bhūtas," (created) spirit (!), Source, intellect, objects of sense, the organs, egoism and false opinion, 205, 24.[2] Here

[1] These *para* ladders (compare Gītā, 3, 42; Kaṭh. iii, 10) are found everywhere and often contradict the regular schemes: "Soul is higher than mind, mind than senses, highest of creatures are those that move; of these the bipeds; of these the twice-born; of these the wise, of these those that know the soul, ātman; of these the humble," xii, 298, 19 ff.; "Objects are higher than senses, mind higher than objects, intellect higher than mind, the great Ātman higher than intellect," xii, 247, 3 ff. (in 249, 2 paro mataḥ for mahān paraḥ); "The unmanifest is higher than the great; the immortal is higher than the unmanifest: nothing is higher than the immortal" (ib.). The stages in xiv, 50, 54 ff., are space or air, egoism, intellect, soul, the unmanifest, and spirit!

[2] This is called the samūho bhūtasaṁjñakaḥ, or "group of so-called created things," which is noteworthy as containing Purusha, spirit, and abhimāna, false opinion, as a distinct factor.

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the source of the Source and of Purusha alike is Brahman, a view utterly opposed to the passages cited above.

The Anugītā, which, as already indicated, also has the schemes above, continues in xiv, 42, with a parallel to xii, 314, on the relation of the elements to the individual, as organ, to the object, and to the special deity concerned with each action. At the opening of the eighth chapter of the Gītā adhyātma is called the individual manifestation. It is literally that connected with the self or soul, and is often used as a noun in the sense of metaphysics (xii, 194 and 248, etc.).[1] In xii, 314, 4 and 14, it is said that an explanation as the Sāṁkhyas represent it, yatha saṁkhyānadarçinaḥ, is given of the manifestations according to the individual, vyaktito vibhūti, which differs somewhat from that in the Anugītā. The scheme is as follows, starting with the elements and with ākāça, air, as the first bhūta in the latter account:

	Air	Wind	Light	Water	Earth	elements
adhyātma	ear	skin	eye	tongue	nose	organs of sense
adhibhūta	sound	touch (object of)	color	taste	smell	objects
adhidāivata	Diças	Lightning (Pavana)	Sun	Soma (Water)	Wind	divinities
adhyātma	feet	pāyu	upastha	hands	voice	organs of action
adhibhūta	going	excretion	nanda (çukra)	doing, acts	speaking	activities
adhidāivata	Vishnu	Mitra	Prajāpati	Indra	Fire	divinities
adhyātma	Mind		Egoism		Intellect[2]	mental powers
adhibhūta	thinking (mantavya, saṁkalpa)		abhimāna		understanding, or thinking	activities
adhidāivata	Moon		Rudra, or Intellect		Kṣetrajña, or Brahmán	divinities

[1] Compare the use of these terms in BAU. iii, 7, 14. On adhyātma in this sense, compare also xii, 331, 30, adhyātmaratir āsīno nirapekṣaḥ . . . ātmanāi 'va sahāyena yaç caret sa sukhī bhavet.

[2] buddhiḥ ṣaḍindriyavicāriṇī, "directing the six senses" (usually a function of mind, which is here pañcabhūtātmacārakam), xiv, 42, 29, and 31. The function of intellect is here mantavyam, which in Çānti is given to mind. Rudra in the preceding group in Anugītā is replaced by buddhi in Çānti, where buddhi is both adhyātma and adhidāivata. The adhidāivata of intellect is spirit, kṣetrajña, in Çānti: Brahmán, in the Anugītā. It is apparent that we have here (a) rather late matter, (b) worked over by two sets of revisors.

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This scheme is unknown in the older Upanishads. Even egoism thus appears first (with some variations) in Praçna, iv, 8 (Deussen). Compare xii, 240, 8, above, where Fire is the divinity to digestion, not to voice, and Sarasvatī is assigned to the tongue. When, as often happens, no egoism is mentioned, it is because the intellect ("the twelfth" as it is called in the very passage which gives thirteen above, xiv, 42, 16, and in the Pañcaçikha schemes given below) is held to imply egoism. The frequent omission, however, seems to point to the fact that there was originally no distinction, or, in other words, that intellect was primarily regarded as necessarily self-conscious as soon as it became manifest at all.

The Twenty-Sixth Principle.

Clearly as most of the schemes given above reveal the fact that the twenty-fifth principle, or in other words pure Ego, was regarded as the culmination of the group of systematized categories, the intrusion into this scheme of a new principle, overlapping the twenty-fifth, is here and there made manifest. This new principle is the one denied in the Sāṁkhyan scheme, namely that of a personal Lord, īçvara, which is upheld in the contrasted Yogin scheme. This twenty-sixth principle is explained in xii, 308; after the speaker says he has disposed of the Sāṁkhya system. Here the male conditioned spirit bewails his intercourse with the female Source, and the fact that associating with her he has not recognized that he has been "like a fish in water," a foreign element in combination with matter, and consequently is reborn again and again, çl. 24–26; but now he becomes enlightened, buddha, and will reach unity, as well as likeness with the Lord-spirit, the indestructible, 27–40. The twenty-sixth principle is thus recognized not only as the one eternal principle, but as a personal spirit, ayam atra bhaved bandhuḥ, 27. Then follows another exposition, which is based on the system of Nārada, received by him from Vasiṣṭha, who in turn received it from Hiraṇyagarbha, 309, 40. This system is both Yoga and Sāṁkhya, the systems being double but the teach-

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ing being identical (yad eva çāstraṁ Sāṁkhyānāṁ yogadarçanam eva tat, 308, 44), the claim usually made when Yoga is advocated. A huge Çāstra is that of the Sāṁkhyas, "as say viduṣo janāḥ," and one "to which, along with the Veda, Yogins have recourse." In other words, the Yoga teaching is based on Veda and on the Sāṁkhya as a precedent system. Then follows the admission: "In it (the Sāṁkhya system) no principle higher than the twenty-fifth is recognized," (asmin çāstre) pañcaviṅçāt paraṁ tattvaṁ paṭhyate na, narādhipa, whereas: "The Yoga philosophers declare a budhyamāna or individual spirit and a buddha or Lord-Spirit to be in accordance with their principles, the latter being identical with the former, except that it is fully enlightened," çl. 48.

Here also is a perfectly clear and frank statement, which may be paraphrased thus: "In older Sāṁkhya philosophy the highest principle recognized is that of the pure individual Ego; in the Yoga philosophy this Ego is identified as individual spirit with the fully enlightened Lord." Hence Yogas (and not Sāṁkhyas) speak of budhyamāna and buddha as two but identical, budhyamānaṁ ca buddhaṁ ca prāhur yoganidarçanam, çl. 48. Elsewhere the twenty-fifth principle is itself the Lord: aham puruṣaḥ pañcavinçakaḥ.[1]

After this introduction the speaker, Vasiṣṭha, proceeds to describe this Yoga philosophy in detail. The Lord-Spirit "divides himself into many," ātmānam bahudhā kṛtvā, and becomes the different abuddhas, or imperfectly enlightened spirits conditioned by Prakṛti. Thus he becomes conditioned, guṇān dhārayate, and "modifies himself" without true knowledge of himself, vikurvāṇo budhyamāno na budhyate. In this condition, then, he becomes creator and absorber of what

[1] Compare xii, 340, 43, personal God is the twenty-fifth. He is the witness devoid of guṇas, and of kalās, ib. 23; "the twenty-fifth, beyond the twice twelve tattvas," ib. 24. In this passage the Unmanifest is resolved into Purusha, 340, 30–31. This is worth noting as being in direct contradiction of the theory of unchanging eternal Prakṛti, as enunciated in xii, 217, 8: "Both Purusha and the unmanifest Source are eternal, without beginning and without end." In 335, 29–31, Source is both born and indestructible. Compare H. 3, 85, 16, as cited above, p. 98.

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he has created. The conditioned cannot understand the unconditioned; it is the Un-understanding, apratibudhyakam (sic, 309, 4). The conditioned spirit can understand the Unmanifest but "he cannot understand the stainless eternal buddha, which is the twenty-sixth principle," ṣaḍvinçaṁ vimalam buddhaṁ sanātanam, though the latter "understands both the twenty-fifth and the twenty-fourth principles," 309, 7. "This twenty-sixth principle is pure unmanifest Brahman, which is connected with all that is seen and unseen," ib. 8. "When the conditioned spirit recognizes the pure Highest Intelligence, then he becomes clear-eyed, avyaktalocanaḥ, and free of the Source" (tadā prakṛtimān, sic, read apra?). The twenty-sixth is this Highest Intelligence; it is "the topic and that which is apart from all topics," çl. 10 and 13. "The conditioned spirit attains likeness with the twenty-sixth principle when it recognizes itself as the twenty-sixth," ṣaḍvinço 'ham iti prājñaḥ, çl. 16. "That *separateness* of spirits which is part of the exposition of Sāṁkhya is really (explained by) the conditioned spirit when not fully enlightened by the (fully) enlightened twenty-sixth," ṣaḍvinçena prabuddhena budhyamāno 'py abuddhimān, etan nānātvam ity uktaṁ sāṁkhyaçrutinidarçanāt, çl. 17. The continuation of this teaching points out that unity with Brahman is attained by the individual spirit only when it no longer has any consciousness (of self), yadā buddhyā na budhyate, çl. 18.

In this passage the attempt to reconcile the doctrine of the Sāṁkhya individual spirits, nānātvam, "than which there is nothing higher," with the doctrine of unity, ekatva, is as plain as a reasonable historian could expect to find it. "Thus it is," the account concludes, "that one must understand the (two theories of) separateness and unity," nānātvāikatvam etāvad draṣṭavyaṁ çāstradarçanāt, çl. 22. And then occurs a very pretty lapsus. The images of the fly encased in the plant, maçakodumbare, and the fish in water, matsyodake, are constantly employed in Sāṁkhyan philosophy, as shown above, to illustrate the fact that spirit is different from the Source, though externally united. Our good Vasiṣṭha, how-

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ever, brings these images in to illustrate the difference, anyatvam, between the individual spirit and Brahman: "The difference between the fly and plant, between the fish and water, is to be understood as the combined separateness and unity of these two," as if, from the historical connotation of these images, they were essentially different, whereas according to the exposition they are essentially one. But this is of a piece with the use of vikurvāṇas, a Sāṁkhya term applied to the modifications of the Source, when used above, of Brahman.

This Yoga doctrine, as explained above, is to be taught (not to the man that bases his philosophy on the Veda, na[1] vedaniṣṭhasya janasya . . . pradeyam, but) "to any one that desires it for the sake of wisdom and receives it with submission," çl. 32.

The Yoga doctrine as here represented stands midway between Sāṁkhya and Brahmaism. The former side has been fully illustrated. In regard to the latter it will have been noticed that while the personal Lord-Spirit is a form of Brahman, and Brahman in turn is identified with the pure essence of every individual spirit, it is merely said that Brahman is connected with the visible as well as with the invisible, dṛçyādṛçye hy anugatam, 309, 8. The Brahman here represented is not the All, but a pure Supreme Spirit into which fractional spirits, parts of Brahman when he "made himself many," are reabsorbed. Of the identity of the objective world with this Brahman there is no word; neither is there any hint that the objective world is illusion, except that at the beginning of the preceding section, 308, 2 ff., the general opinion, āhuḥ, is cited that "the Unmanifest is ignorance," avidyā, as opposed to the twenty-fifth principle as wisdom, vidyā.[2] Elsewhere "the Source is knowledge," jñāna, but also avedyam avyaktam, as opposed to (jñeyo) vedyaḥ puruṣaḥ, 319, 40.

[1] But nā°, v. l., N., "to one wise in the Veda it may be imparted or to," etc. Those excluded are given in the following verses as liars and other evildoers, a long list.

[2] But ib. 7, the Source as unmanifest is vidyā; the highest is Vidhi (compare pradhānavidhiyogasthaḥ of Çiva, xiii, 14, 423), the Creator.

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This doctrine of the twenty-sixth principle belongs only to the later part of the pseudo-epic. The passage given above is found virtually repeated in xii, 319, 56, and 70 ff. Here as Prakṛti the chief-thing, pradhāna, does not know spirit, so spirit does not know Supreme Spirit. "The one that is different (spirit), seeing and yet not seeing, looks upon the twenty-sixth, the twenty-fifth (pure spirit) and twenty-fourth. But the twenty-fifth also does not recognize the twenty-sixth, who recognizes him, and having a false opinion of himself thinks that no one is higher than he" (so 316, 4). And further: "The twenty-fourth should not be accepted by wise men (as the twenty-fifth), any more than, because of mere association, the fish should be identified with the water it has entered (74). The twenty-fifth on realizing that it is different (from the twenty-fourth) becomes one with the twenty-sixth and recognizes (the latter). For though The Best appears different from the twenty-fifth, the saints regard this as due to the conditioned nature of the twenty-fifth and declare that the two are really identical. Therefore, being afraid of birth and death, and beholding the twenty-sixth, neither Yogas nor Sāṁkhyas admit that the twenty-fifth is the indestructible."

Here again, with the new notion that jīva is destructible (in Paramātman) there is the attempt to foist on the Sāṁkhya the belief which has been formally denied to them. Similarly in the Aniruddha theology, of the personal Lord Govinda, who is said to "create the elements," xii, 207, 7 ff., it is said: "From him whom Sāṁkhya and Yoga philosophers declare as Highest Soul, Paramātman, and who is called the Great Spirit, mahāpuruṣa, is derived the unmanifest, avyaktam, of which he is the base, pradhānam. From the unmanifest Lord, Içvara, came the manifest, and he is Aniruddha, called the great Soul. As egoism he created Brahmán and the elements, and then the guṇas," xii, 341, 28–33.

In this copy of the preceding passage there is also no notion of Vedānta as implying Māyā or illusion. Significant is the fact that the present teaching is represented in the fol-

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lowing stanzas, 319, 84–86, as being newly inculcated, and especially designed for those who desire emancipation, in contrast to the Sāṁkhyas and Yogas, who are content with their own doctrines, dharma.

It is thus clear that Sāṁkhya is merely a name to appeal to, and stands in this regard on a footing with Veda, an authority claimed for the most divergent teaching.

Māyā, Self-Delusion.

The "illusion" theory of the universe is a development from the simple idea of delusion, often self-delusion. The ordinary (non-philosophical) epic māyā is a trick of delusion. Gods indulge in it to overcome their enemy. The illusion-god par excellence, Vishnu as Krishna, thus deludes his enemies by making them think the sun has set when it has not, or by parallel magic tricks.[1] This, in my opinion,[2] is the only meaning in the older Upanishads, Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpaḥ, Bṛh., ii, 5, 19 (from the Rig Veda), "Indra multiform through tricks of delusion;" na yeṣu jihmam anṛtaṁ na māyā ca, "in whom there is naught crooked, nor untrue, nor any trick," Praçna, i, 16. Magic seems to be the meaning (parallel with moha) in Māitrī, iv, 2, where occurs the indrajāla-māyā of Mbh. v, 160, 55.

In Gītā 7, 14–25, māyā is a divine, dāivī, delusion caused by the guṇas, guṇamayī, characterizing people wicked and foolish; in 4, 6, it is a psychic delusion, ātmamāyā, which causes the unborn God by means of Prakṛti to appear to be born (not, be it noticed, which causes the not-soul to appear to be real). It occurs in one other passage, 18, 61, where it is the equivalent of moha in the preceding stanza (as in Māitrī Up., above). In all these passages, although it is possible to read into māyā the meaning given it by Çaṁkara, for example, yet the simpler meaning suffices of either trick

[1] This is called indifferently māyā (chadma) or yoga, v, 160, 54–58; vii, 146, 68, etc.

[2] In this interpretation of māyā I am forced to differ from that of Deussen, who holds that māyā is Vedantic Illusion (i. e., the not-soul appears through divine Illusion to be real) even in the earliest scriptures.

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or delusion (false understanding) applied to the relation of individual soul and God, and this is probably the meaning, because māyā as illusion plays no part in the development of the scheme. Guṇa-made delusion is the regular Sāṁkhya Prakṛti-made ignorance; it is not Prakṛti's self.

The expression used above of Krishna's māyā that it is "divine," has no special philosophical significance. The same phrase is applied to Duryodhana's water-trick, dāivīm māyām imāṁ kṛtvā, ix, 31, 4. When, too, Krishna in the Gītā says that he is born by ātmamāyā, it must be remembered that in describing the parallel situation in the Rāmāyaṇa, where Vishnu is born as Rāma, the word chadman, disguise, cover, is used as the equivalent of māyā, G. vi, 11, 32.

In a very interesting critique of the new doctrine of mokṣa, that is, salvation without Vedic sacrifices, an orthodox objector is represented as saying: "This doctrine of salvation has been brought out by miserable idle pundits; it is based on ignorance of the Veda and is a lie under the guise of truth. Not by despising the Vedas, not by chicanery and delusion (māyayā) does a man obtain great (Brahman). He finds Brahman in brahman" (Veda).[1]

Similarly, when Drāupadī philosophizes in iii, 30, 32, her opening words show that she reveres as the chief god the Creator, who, like other creatures, is subject to transmigration, 32, 7, and is in no respect an All-god, though a later rewriting of the scene mixes up Bhagavat, Īçvara, and Prajāpati.[2] This god, she says, has deluded (moha) her husband's mind

[1] As the section is occupied in advocating the one-soul (All-soul), āikātmya, doctrine, it is clear that māyā is here merely delusion or deceit, xii, 270, 50–51. The words of the text are: çriyā vihīnāir alasāiḥ paṇḍitāiḥ sampravartitam, vedavādāparijñānaṁ satyābhāsam ivā 'nṛtam . . . na vedānām paribhavān na çāṭhyena na māyayā mahat prāpnoti puruṣo brahmaṇi brahma vindati, xii, 270, 17, 19. Kapila, to whom the remark is addressed, admits "the Vedas are authoritative," vedāḥ pramāṇaṁ lokānām, 271, 1, but, 43, insists that, though "everything is based on the Veda," the cruel animal sacrifices therein enjoined are objectionable (as cited above), and upholds the thesis that "knowledge is the best means of salvation," jñānaṁ tu paramā gatiḥ, 271, 38 — this by the bye.

[2] The revision appears clearly at the end in Drāupadī's conversion. Compare the comments, AOS., Proceed., March, 1894.

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and in deluding men generally, mohayitvā, the Lord shows the power of his delusion, māyāprabhava, which deludes them by ātmamāyā (the same expression as that of the Gītā, cited above), making them kill each other as blind instruments of his will, which act without volition, just as a stone breaks another in the hands of a man. Man proposes, but God disposes[1] by means of a trick, chadma kṛtvā, 30, 36, "playing with men as children play with toys." "Fie, fie," says her husband, "don't speak so of the Lord, through whose grace the faithful gets immortality," 31, 42; "for these things are divine mysteries (devaguhyāni, rewards of good and evil), since the divinities are full of secret tricks," gūḍhamāyā hi devatāḥ, 31, 35–37. The Çāstras and faith, not magic, māyā, or sinful works, give faith in Krishna, v. 69, 3–5.

Again, in the account of the Pañcakālajñas, the visiting Hindus, who look with awe on the service paid to the One God, say that they could hear the hymn, but could not see the god, because, as they suppose, they were "deluded by the god's māyā," mohitās tasya māyayā, xii, 337, 44–48. God in the following is called the mahāmāyādhara, as he is also called by the rather modern epithets cāturmahārājika, saptamahābhāga,[2] xii, 339, 3 ff. Here māyā is truly illusion, as it is said in 340, 43–45: "God is he by whom this illusion (of visible God) was created," māyā hy eṣā mayā sṛṣṭā yan mām paçyasi, Nārada; but it is not illusion embracing the world of objective things, even in this late account (careless enough, for example, to construe iti vāi menire vayam, 337, 38). There is at least no passage in the epic which says bluntly that "Prakṛti is māyā," as does Çvet. Up. iv, 10. On the contrary, the great mass of epic philosophy, though it teaches that the sinner is deluded "by Vishnu's hundred māyās," 302, 59, teaches also that this delusion is merely a confusion of mind in respect of the relation of the pure soul to the conditioned soul. It does not teach that those things which condition the soul are an

[1] anyathā manyante puruṣās tāni tāni ca . . . anyathā prabhuḥ karoti vikaroti ca, iii, 30, 34.

[2] He is also called ākhaṇḍala, which in xii, 337, 4, is still an epithet of Indra.

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illusion, but that they are eternal substance, either in themselves or as parts of Brahman. Take for instance the long account in xii, 196 to 201. It is not suggested that the sinner divest himself of illusion. He goes into moha, that is he becomes confused, and again he enters Brahman, 197, 10; or "enjoys bliss," ramate sukham ("if he does not wish the highest, because his soul is still tinged with desire, rāgātmā, he attains whatever he desires").[1] Knowledge is Brahman, and hence one must be free of all delusion to be Brahman indeed, and truly immortal,[2] but the objective world is seldom an illusion of Brahman. Moreover, the avidyā of God is clearly an afterthought. According to one section in Çānti, God creates the world "at the point of day" through avidyā or ignorance. First mahat was born, "which quickly became mind" (where mind and not intellect is vyakta, manifest), which is "characterized by desire and doubt."[3] This same account in its first form is found in 232, 32, without avidyā: "The Lord, Īçvara, sleeps during the cataclysm sunk in meditation, dhyāna; but, when awakened at the close of night, he transforms the eternal, vikurute brahmā 'kṣayyam, and produces the Great Being, whence mind, one with the manifest." The following section simply picks up this account, repeats it in almost the same words, but slips in avidyā to explain the expression "creates." The alteration is the more marked as

[1] Some very grotesque conceptions are expressed here. In 200, 25, the jīva soul goes to Ātman; or goes to heaven and lives separately. When as a flame the spirit ascends to heaven, Brahmán like a courteous host says "Come, stay with me," *makes it* (or him) *conscious* and then swallows him!

[2] "Sorrow is the end of joy as night is the end of day, joy is the end of sorrow, as day is the end of night" (these succeed each other and each has its end); "only knowledge ends not, for knowledge is Brahman," xiv, 44, 18, 20–21; 47, 1. Not till 52, 9, i. e., after the Anugītā, is finished, is Māyā a factor here. Previously there is only the ghoramoha or horrible misunderstanding of truth, xiv, 45, 4, etc. In xviii, 3, 36, Indra's māyā is an optical delusion.

[3] xii, 233, 1 ff. Here is to be noticed a contradiction in epic psychology. Mind in this passage has prārthanā *and* sisṛkṣā, that is it desires, whereas elsewhere desire (the unexplained "seventh," xii, 177, 52) is an attribute of egoistic intellect. Desire is born of imagination, saṁkalpa, xii, 177, 25; it is destroyed by avoiding this, 302, 56; but, "remove mind from saṁkalpa and fix it on self," 241, 17.

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many texts make no division of chapters here. In either case the account of creation goes right on, first, 232, 32, stated as (Īçvaraḥ):

> pratibuddho vikurute brahmā 'kṣayyaṁ kṣapākṣaye
> sṛjate ca mahad bhūtaṁ tasmād vyaktātmakam manaḥ

and then as:

> brahmatejomayaṁ çukraṁ yasya sarvam idaṁ jagat
> ekasya bhūtam bhūtasya dvayaṁ sthāvarajaṅgamam
> aharmukhe vibuddhaḥ san sṛjate *'vidyayā* jagat
> agra eva mahad bhūtam āçu vyaktātmakam manaḥ.

As the seven creators[1] mentioned in the following stanza, 233, 3, are explained as intellect, mind, and the five elements, it is clear also that egoism as a distinct factor is omitted. The seven cannot create apart, so they unite and make the body which the "great beings," bhūtāni mahānti, enter with Karma. The ādikartā, First Creator, is Prajāpati, who acts without Māyā, çl. 13.[2] In short, while sometimes recognized, Māyā is generally unknown in the epic, because the epic lacks unity, being now and then Vedantic, but generally Yogaistic.

Pañcaçikha's System.

In the presentation above I have analyzed the three different religious philosophies advocated in the pseudo-epic; the Sāṁkhya, which holds to spirit and Source as distinct immortal entities; the Yoga, which adds the Supreme Spirit; and the personal religion of Nārada and others, which makes of the Paramātman or Supreme Spirit a modified form of Brahman known as Aniruddha, etc., and identified with Krishna. In xii, 352, 13, the Paramātman doctrine is declared to be the

[1] mānasa, "mind-creatures," the same epithet as that applied to the eternal Deva in xii, 182, 11. Compare BAU. ii, 5, 7; Gītā, 10, 6.

[2] sarvabhūtāny upādāya tapasaç caraṇāya hi ādikartā sa bhūtānāṁ tam evā 'huḥ prajāpatim. The commentator explains "by means of Māyā" (BAU. ii, 5, 19), but there is not even the suggestion of the Māyā doctrine here. The etymology in çl. 11 (te . . . çarīrāçrayaṇam prāptās tato puruṣa ucyate) seems to be owing to a confusion with puriçayam puruṣam īkṣate, Praç. v. 5.

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opinion of some Pundits only, in distinction from that of the knowledge-philosophers, who are said to hold to unity of soul. However this passage may be interpreted,[1] it is evident that it distinctly sets over against each other the Yoga and Brahman interpretation. Paramātman is identified with Vishnu the "unconditioned, All-soul spirit." The religion taught is expressly opposed, as something higher, to Sāṁkhya and Yoga (çl. 7–8), and by comparison with other schemes is of Pāñcarātra character. A preceding section states that the same religion is identical with the doctrine taught to Arjuna in the Gītā, 349, 8, and (as already noticed) it is here called "the Krishna religion," Sātvata dharma, which has mysteries, abstracts, and an Āraṇyaka (ib., 29–31). It was handed down through the seers, and a priest who was acquainted with the (Jyeṣṭha) Sāman (and) Vedānta. His name was Jeṣṭha (sic). Then it disappeared, to be promulgated again in the Harigītāḥ, ib. 46 and 53. In it, Vishnu as God is adored in one, two, three, or four forms (the usual group is meant, Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva).[2] The disciples are called "those devoted to one God," ekāntinas, and it is hard to find many of them (durlabhāḥ, 349, 62, compare Gītā, 7, 19). They are identified with the Pāñcarātras (so 336, 25), a sect

[1] The words seem to indicate the antithesis not of three but of two beliefs: evaṁ hi paramātmānaṁ kecid icchanti paṇḍitāḥ, ekātmānaṁ tathā 'tmānam apare jñānacintakāḥ, tatra yaḥ paramātmā hi sa nityaṁ nirguṇaḥ smṛtaḥ, sa hi Nārāyaṇo jñeyaḥ sarvātmapuruṣo hi saḥ. The commentator, however, may be right in taking ātman to refer to Sāṁkhyas and ekātman as brahmābhinnam (Vedānta), though the single subject would make it more natural to take ekātmānam ātmānam as "one spirit which is alone." Vishnu here is the mantā mantavyam, "the thinker and the thought," and the eternal forecause, pradhāna, çl. 17–18. In çl. 22, God plays, krīḍati, in his four forms (as often).

[2] Çiva, on the other hand, has eight forms (the Puranic view), which, according to the commentator (though mūrti may imply the incorporations, Rudra, Bhāirava, Ugra, Içvara, Mahādeva, Paçupati, Çarva, Bhava), are the five elements, sun, moon, and Purusha, iii, 49, 8. Such divisions are often unique and apparently arbitrary. See below on the eight sources. "Indestructible Brahman" (like Sattva) is eighteenfold according to (xii, 342, 13) H. 3, 14, 13, aṣṭādaçavidham (or nidham). Eight and a thousand (only pseudo-epic) are Çiva's names, against Vishnu's even thousand. The "worlds" are eight (see below), or seven, or twenty-one, according to the passage.

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the teaching of which is here identified not only with that of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga, but also with that of Vedāraṇyaka, ib. 349, 81, and with the religion of the "white men" and Yatis, çvetānāṁ Yatināṁ ca, ib. 85. Compare 336, 19, the white men's religion, and Sātvata Vidhi, declared by Sūrya.

The difference between religion and philosophy is obliterated in India, and the Pāñcarātra, sect is exalted as a development of the Bhagavadbhaktas, as the latter are represented in the Gītā, clearly an indication of posteriority; while their philosophy is rather contrasted than identified with that of the Sāṁkhya.

Three expositions are given, which embody the same terminology, and may be called the Pañcaçikha system.

Pañcaçikha Kāpileya (interpreted as a metronymic!) appears in xii. 218, 6 ff., and 320, 2 ff. His punch-name is elaborately amplified in the former passage, where, 218, 10 ff., he is an incorporation of Kapila and the first pupil of Āsuri. In *Pañca*srotas, where there is a Kāpila maṇḍala, he holds a long "session," satra, having "bathed in the *pañca*srotas" (five rivers of the mind? cf. Çvet. 1, 5), and being versed in the *Pañca*rātra (doctrine), and being called in consequence not only *pañca*rātraviçārada, but also

. pañcajñaḥ pañcakṛt pañca-guṇaḥ pañcaçikhaḥ (smṛtaḥ),

epithets which are duly interpreted by the omniscient Nīlakaṇṭha. He also (below) has the epithet Pāñcarātraḥ, which is the only one that need concern us, as the interpretation of the others is mere guesswork. Pañcaçikha is regarded, then, as the teacher of the new sect of Pāñcarātras.[1]

His doctrine rests on the ancient foundation of "disgust with birth, disgust with acts, disgust with all things," sarvanirveda, and is, in short, the religion of ennui, which consists

[1] The seven Citraçikhaṇḍins are referred to as the author of the Pāñcarātra Çāstra in 336, 27; 337, 3, çāstraṁ citraçikhaṇḍijam. These are the seven Prakṛtis, personified as the seven old sages, whose names are given below, p. 170, to whom is added Manu to make the "eight sources," 336, 29. In the hymn at xii, 339, the god is called Pañcakāla-kartṛpati, Pāñcarātrika Pañcāgni, Pañcayajña, Pañcamahākalpa (as also Citraçikhaṇḍin).

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in a little more than mere indifference. The literal meaning is that one "finds oneself out of," or is sick of, the round of birth and death. Nirvāna is attained by nirveda.[1] This disgust and the rejection of that untrustworthy delusion, anâçvāsiko mohaḥ, which leads to religious practices and the hope of rewards, xii, 218, 21–22, is the starting-point of the system, which, synthetically considered, should culminate in Krishna-Vishnu, as the be-all and end-all, as in other cases.

The analysis of the system is preceded by a most interesting and historically important review of certain fallacies, as follows. The unbeliever says: "One who relies on tradition (the scripture) says that there is something beyond after the destruction (of the body), as being obvious and seen by all; but such an one is refuted by the fact that death of self is negation, deprivation, of self, anātmā hy ātmano mṛtyuḥ. Death is a weakness induced by age. Through delusion one imagines a soul, and this is erroneously regarded as the "something beyond" (or higher). For practical purposes one may assume what is not true (that there is no death of the soul), just as one may say that "the king never dies," ajaro 'yam amṛtyuç ca rājā 'sāu. But when something is asserted and denied and no evidence is given, on what should one base a judgment? Direct observation (evidence of the senses) is the base of received teaching and of inference. Received teaching is destroyed by direct observation, and (as evidence) inference amounts to nothing."

The last sentence reads in the original, 218, 27:

pratyakṣaṁ hy etayor mūlaṁ kṛtāntāitihyayor api
pratyakṣeṇā 'gamo bhinnaḥ kṛtānto vā na kiṁcana

The commentator takes kṛtānta as anumāna and āitihya as equivalent to āgama; though in 240, 2, anāgatam anāitihyaṁ katham brahmā 'dhigacchati (where the commentator says that āgata is pratyakṣa and anumāna), "How can a good man

[1] Compare xii, 189, 16–17: "One cannot know the unknown (if faith be lacking); keep the mind on faith; hold it to the vital air; the vital air to Brahman; nirvāṇa is attained by nirveda;" Gītā, 6, 23, nirviṇṇacetasā yogo (yoktavyo niçcayena ca); Muṇḍ. Up. i, 2, 12, brāhmaṇo nirvedam āyāt.

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attain to Brahman not known to tradition nor revealed in the Veda?"[1] and in G. v, 87, 23, āitihyam anumānaṁ ca pratyakṣam api cā 'gamam, ye hi samyak parīkṣante, it is distinguished from the latter. The word āgama is of sufficient importance to note the epic's own definition given in xii, 270, 43: āgamo vedavādās tu tarkaçāstraṇi cā 'gamaḥ, "Received (scriptural) teaching includes the words of the Veda and philosophical codes;" a remarkable definition in view of the fact that some of the latter are heterodox, and that āgama is currently used as equivalent to right tradition. The tarkavidyā is elsewhere differentiated from logic, ānvīkṣikī, though both are called useless, xiii, 37, 12, when not extolled, as often!

The next stanza continues: "Enough of making assumptions based on this or that inference. In the opinion of (us) unbelievers there is no other 'spirit' than the body."

For clearer understanding of the historical value of this I must give the exact words, 218, 28:

yatra yatrā 'numāne 'smin kṛtam bhāvayato 'pi ca
nā 'nyo jīvaḥ çarīrasya nāstikānām mate sthitaḥ

Here kṛtam bhāvayataḥ in the meaning of bhāvanayā'lam (N.) is even more careless than the following genitive with çarīrasya; but both are indicative of the slovenly style which belongs alike to the Purāṇas and the pseudo-epic.

The unbeliever (according to the commentator) continues with a stanza almost unintelligible in its Sūtra-like conciseness, which can be given only by the original:

reto vaṭakaṇīkāyāṁ ghṛtapākādhivāsanam
jātiḥ smṛtir ayaskāntaḥ sūryakānto 'mbubhakṣaṇam

"The seed in the banyan-flower (accounts for the delusion of soul); butter (is only another form of grass); rum (is but fermented rice). Memory (and other 'psychic' functions are identical with the) creature born.[2] (The 'soul' is like the)

[1] Just below, 240, 3, the expression manasaç ce 'ndriyāṇāṁ ca āikāgryam may be noticed as a repetition phrase of iii, 260, 25.

[2] I take adhivāsana in the sense of adhivāsa, home: (consider) the origin of ghee and fermented (liquor); N. paraphrases, adhivāsitāt (add in pw.).

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magnet (which moves iron not by psychical but by physical potency).[1] The burning-glass (makes fire, and so the fiery, active, soul is but a physical phenomenon). (The fire's) devouring of water (is typical of the so-called appetite or desire of the soul)," or, in other words: Desire and enjoyment are no proof of a superphysical entity, any more than in the case of a fire gratifying its thirst for water.

The denial of the soul-doctrine next calls forth the following refutation:

"A passing away (of something not physical occurs) in the case of a dead being. Supplication of the gods (proves the existence of incorporeal entities). (There would be besides) in the case of the dead a cessation of acts [the Karma doctrine would have to be given up].[2] This is the proof. (Then again) things incorporate cannot be causes, hetavaḥ, for there is no identity of that which has form and that which has no form," 218, 30–31.

After this, other sceptics, who the commentator rightly (as I think) says are Buddhists,[3] are introduced with a new argu-

Jātiḥ smṛtiḥ, "birth and memory," would seem to imply that memory argues a former birth, as in Patañjali's Sūtra, iv, 9. This would be an argument on the other side, as if the stanza were writ to prove the opposite. I follow N., though inclined to think that the words really ought to be put into the mouth of the believer (tree, butter, memory, etc., show soul). See the next note.

[1] But compare the (orthodox) view as explained in xii, 211, 3: "As senseless iron runs toward a magnet; so conditions born because of one's nature and all else similar" (are attracted toward the soul). The passages seem curiously related, as just before stands, çl. 2, yathā 'çvatthakaṇikāyām antar bhūto mahādrumaḥ niṣpanno dṛçyate vyaktam avyaktāt sambhavas tathā, "birth from the unmanifest is as when a great tree born in a flower coming out is seen clearly." Compare BAU. iii, 9, 28; Çveṭ. Up. i, 15, etc.

[2] This, like the appeal to the existence of divinities, is a presumption of what is to be proved. Of course, the unbeliever believes neither in metempsychosis nor in gods, but he is not allowed to say any more. In xii, 304, 47, the argument for the existence of the Source and the spirit is that both are inferable from effects (as seasons are from fruits, 306, 27). In the latter passage, the spirit "inferred by signs," liṅgas, is called pañcaviṅçatima (takāralopa ārṣaḥ!).

[3] Interesting, both as showing how the epic repeats itself and Buddhism, are xii, 175 and 277 (where several pādas are identical with those in the Dhammapada), and xiii, 113. The ahiṅsā doctrine is carried on here in xiii, 114, 6, which repeats xii, 246, 18, with a varied reading that shows the futility

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ment against the existence of soul: "Some say the cause, kāraṇa, of successive rebirth is ignorance, avidyā, desire, confusion of mind, and the practice of faulty acts; ignorance being the field watered by thirst, and acts being the seed planted in it, all of which cause rebirth. They say that (ignorance) is concealed (in the body) and is burned away, and that, when the mortal part is destroyed, another body is born from it and they call this the destruction of being. But (in answer to this), how can it be just the same man in this (new body), since he is different in form, in birth, in good, and in aims? For (if there is no soul) all would be disconnected. (Further) if this is so, what pleasure would there be in gifts, wisdom, or the power gained by religious practices? For another entity would get the fruit of what this man practises, since one man by means of another's nature, prākṛtāiḥ, would be made wretched or blessed here on earth. (In this matter) the decision in regard to what is invisible (must rest on) what is visible. If you kill a body with a cudgel would another arise from it? Even so the separate consciousness would be a different consciousness, not the original one. This destruction of being (spoken of above, satvasaṁkṣaya) would be repeated like seasons and years; [there would indeed be no end to it, for if it is argued that destruction of consciousness ever results in a new consciousness, then destruction of being would result, not, as the Buddhists teach, in annihilation, but in new being; so there would be no escape from rebirth. If one says, however, that there is a conditioned soul, it can be only a physical bond of unity] like a house, growing gradually weaker through repeated aging and dying (consisting, as such a 'soul' must) of (mortal) senses, thoughts, breath, blood, flesh, bone, all of which perish and revert in due order to their original bases. And, further, (such a theory) would refute the practice of the world in

of relying on the commentator, who thinks that the elephant in the following stanza of Çānti is Yoga! Yathā nāgapade 'nyāni padāni padagāminām, sarvāṇy evā 'pidhīyante padajātāni kāuñjare, evaṁ sarvam ahiṁsāyāṁ dharmārtham apidhīyate (in xiii, evaṁ lokeṣv ahiṁsā tu nirdiṣṭā).

respect of obtaining advantage from gifts and other religious acts, since both the words of the Veda and the practice of the world (show that acts are performed) for this purpose (of gain). There are many proofs to be found in the mind, but what with the iteration of this and that cause no clear light is obtained, but men doubt and turn to some one explanation, till their intellect becomes fixed on one point and rots there like a tree. So all creatures, made wretched through (desiring) useless objects, are led away by received teaching, āgamāiḥ, like elephants led by their keepers. Thus, desiring objects that bring endless pleasure, the dried-up many get instead a greater sorrow on being forced to abandon the bait and enter the power of death."

The argument is the familiar one that a man gets sorrow through desiring heaven, for after his Karma is exhausted he sinks down again to a lower level. So heaven is a bait which attracts men; but as it is only a temporary pleasure followed by pain, one suffers from it all the more (nessun maggiore dolore che ricordarsi). All this implies unconscious existence as the best goal.

To this it is said, 219, 2, in the words of the great Upanishad: "If there is no consciousness after death,[1] what difference does it make whether one has wisdom or not, or is careful or not?" Then Pañcaçikha replies with a long exposition of his system, 219, 6 ff., of which I give the chief points:

It is not a system of annihilation, ucchedaniṣṭhā, nor one of the soul's separate existence, bhāvaniṣṭhā. The (visible) man consists of body, senses, and perception, cetas. The foundations are the five elements, which are independent and make the body. The body is not of one element, but of five. The aggregate causing activity is knowledge, heat, and wind.[2] From knowledge come the senses and their objects, separate existence, svabhāva, perception, cetanā, and mind; from wind come the two vital breaths; from heat come gall and other

[1] yadi na pretya saṁjñā bhavati; compare tāny (bhūtāni) evā 'nuvinaçyati, na pretya saṁjñā 'stī 'ti, BAU. ii, 4, 12.

[2] 219, 9; compare below.

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bases, dhātus. The five senses, indriyas, hearing, touch, taste, sight, smell, derive from the mind, citta, and have its characteristics. Eternal cetanā is threefold when united with discernment, vijñāna. This they call sukhaduḥkha and the opposite. Sound, touch, color, taste, smell, the forms (mūrtayaḥ, containing these as objects), make a group of six constant constituents, guṇas, to make knowledge perfect. Dependent on these are acts and visarga (?), and judgment in regard to the meaning of all topics. This they call the highest seed, çukra; it is intellect, the great undeteriorating (substance). This collection of attributes is not soul but is not-soul, anātman. The true teaching is contained in Renunciation-Çāstras, which enjoin renunciation of all. Having explained the six jñānendriyas, organs of knowledge, Pañcaçikha explains the "organs of action, which are five, with bala, power, as the sixth," çl. 20. There are twelve organs, five organs of knowledge with mind as sixth, and five of action with power as sixth. The eleven organs (with mind) one should renounce by means of the intellect. Ear, sound, and mind (citta, in 23 and 34; manas in 22) are necessary in hearing.[1] Thus for all the senses there are fifteen guṇas (3×5). There are also the three guṇas called sattva, rajas, tamas. Ear and sound are forms of air (space); so with the five others. In the ten senses there arises a creation (entity) simultaneous with their activity; this is (the eleventh), mind, citta. The intellect is the twelfth. In deep sleep, tāmase, there is no annihilation (of personality), although there is concerned no such creation simultaneous with the senses (the co-operation being a popular fallacy). (In deep sleep) in consequence of one's former waking experience, and because one is conditioned by the three guṇas, one imagines that one has material senses, although one can perceive only subtile senses. But though one imagines this, one does not really

[1] Compare Gītā, 18, 18 (threefold urgers to action), knowledge, object, knower, jñānaṁ jñeyam parijñātā trividhā karmacodanā; threefold action, organ, act, agent, karaṇaṁ karma karte 'ti trividhaḥ karmasaṁgrahaḥ; in 14, the five kāraṇāni or karmaṇaḥ hetavaḥ are object, adhiṣṭhāna, agent, organ, action, and the dāiva (said to be Sāṁkhya, but interpreted as Vedānta).

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co-operate (with the senses. Hence it may be inferred that a soul exists independent of mental processes). But the deep-sleep consciousness is a finite and darkened pleasure. Even the result one derives from traditional teaching, āgama, though not sorrowful, is also merely darkness, revealed lies, as it were.[1] Spirit, kṣetrajña, is the being, bhāva, standing in mind; it is immortal, flowing as a stream to the ocean. For the destruction of existence, satvasaṁkṣaya (the expression used above) is (in Upanishad language) as when rivers run into other rivers and to the ocean, losing their individuality, vyakti (equivalent to form) and name. Consequently, when the individual spirit, jīva, is united (with the ocean of being) and embraced on all sides, how could there be consciousness after death? (219, 43). As the creature that spins out of itself, wrapping itself in its web-house, stays there overpowered, so is the soul; but when freed, it abandons its misery, and then its woe is destroyed, like a clod falling on a rock. As the deer leaves its old horn, and the snake its skin, without looking behind, and a bird leaves the falling tree and flies away unattached, so the freed soul abandons its woe, and leaving pleasure and pain, *without even a subtile body*, goes the perfect way (47–49 repeats 45).[2]

For a Sāṁkhya philosopher Pañcaçikha teaches very extraordinary things, the most advanced Brahmaism, which fails only of being Vedānta in its lack of Māyā. Three sets of philosophers are here refuted, — the materialist, the Buddhist,

[1] The commentator reads atha tatrā 'py upādatte tamo 'vyaktam ivā 'nṛtam, çl. 38, which is perhaps better "hidden falsehood." The meaning is, as explained above, that the joy given by Vedic teaching is a perishable heaven resulting in sorrow (darkness) and the teaching is not the highest truth. Compare, on the other side, the same reproach, Māit. Up. vii, 10, satyam ivā 'nṛtam paçyanti.

[2] Compare Praç. Up. v, 5; Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 7 and iii, 1. The first image is clearly not that of a spider (which is not destroyed by its web), but of a silkworm, though the commentator (and PW.) take ūrṇanābhi as a spider, which comparison is common. Compare xii, 286, 40, ūrṇanābhir yathā sūtraṁ vijñeyās tantuvad guṇāḥ (as in BAU. ii, 1, 20). But the silkworm is also common. Compare xii, 304, 4, koçakāro yathātmānaṁ kīṭaḥ samavarundhati sūtratantuguṇāir nityaṁ tathā 'yam aguṇo guṇāiḥ dvandvam eti ca nirdvandvaḥ, etc.

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and the orthodox Vedist. The terms used are those of the Sāṁkhya, jīva and kṣetrajña rather than ātman (sthito manasi yo bhāvaḥ sa vāi kṣetrajña ucyate, çl. 40), but this spirit is only part of Brahman.[1]

Another point to be noticed is the absence of tanmātras. Before passing to the numerical analysis of the Pāñcarātra scheme into thirty elements, I would point out also that as in Gītā, 7, 4, so ib. 13, 5–6, there are gross elements, egoism, intellect, and mind (= 8), but also ten organs and five objects of sense plus avyakta (= 24 topics), to which are here added, Gītā, 13, 5–6, desire, aversion, pleasure, pain, and also body, perception, courage (saṁghāta, cetanā, dhṛti) or thirty-one elements of "modified Prakṛti."

The Thirty-one Elements (Pañcaçikha).

Here there is a formal group of particles called kalās, not sixteen but thirty, but one (God) super-added makes thirty-one topics, the same number ascribed by tradition to the Pāçupatas. A most minute description is given in xii, 321, 96–112. This scheme is as follows:[2]

In order to act, the organs "await the outer constituents," guṇas. In perception, color, eye, and light are the *three causes, and so in all cases* where are found knowledge and the object of perception, (similar) causes of knowledge exist; between knowledge and the object intervenes the guṇa, constituent, mind, wherewith one judges. [The organs and mind make eleven.][3] *The twelfth is intellect*, another constituent, wherewith one decides in the case of doubtful things to be

[1] The attribute of Jagatprakṛti applied to Nārāyaṇa in the Pāñcarātra hymn, xii, 339, 89, "the god who is the Source of the world," gives the vital difference between this teaching and that which inculcates a Prakṛti distinct from pure soul.

[2] I italicize below without extended comment the points of contact with the scheme just given.

[3] This must be supplied from the context. In the scheme at xiv, 42, 16, "mind must be recognized as belonging to both, and intellect is the twelfth," only ten organs are recognized, as here, and bala as a separate organ is unknown.

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known. The thirteenth constituent is sattva. (It is real) for one is argued to be an individual having much or little sattva (hence it is a real constituent, a guṇa). The fourteenth constituent is egoism (when one says 'I am an agent'), with which one gets the notion of mine and not-mine. Then there is a fifteenth constituent, which is different from the others and is called the totality of the mass of separate factors, pṛthakkalāsamūhasya sāmagryam (i. e., *the general disposition*). The sixteenth, a different constituent, is a sort of complex, saṁghāta iva (because it consists, says the commentator, in the union of the three factors of ignorance; the sixteenth is therefore avidyā, or ignorance itself), wherein are combined the Source and the individual manifestation, *vyakti*, which are respectively the seventeenth and eighteenth constituents, guṇāu. The nineteenth is the unification of doublets (opposites), such as pleasant and disagreeable, age and death, etc. The twentieth constituent is Time, the origin and destruction of all things. This complex, saṁghāta, of twenty, and in addition the seven constituents consisting of the five gross elements added to [the origin and relation of] being and not-being, (making twenty-seven, is to be added again to) three more constituents, *vidhi*, *çukra*, *bala* (cause, seed, power).[1] That is called the body in which these twenty and ten are all together. The Source (fore-cause) of these kalās, factors, one philosopher recognizes to be the Unmanifest; another, dull of insight, recognizes (as such) the Manifest. Metaphysicians recognize a Source of all beings, whether it is the Unmanifest or the Manifest or a double or quadruple source. This unmanifest Source becomes manifest by means of the kalās (the factors just enumerated). The individual is the Source so made manifest. From conception to old age there is an uninterrupted momentary splitting up of the factors (particles) of the body, although too minute to be observed (in detail). But this passing away and coming into existence of

[1] According to the commentator, these are right and wrong as originating false ideas, vāsanā; that which incites to wrong ideas; and the effort leading to the attainment of wrong ideas. But see the scheme above.

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the separate particles goes on from stage to stage just like the course of a lamp's light. There is, therefore, no connection between the individual existent creature and his members. All creatures are born by the union of particles, kalās, as it were,[1] just as fire is produced by the union of sunlight and *fire-stone*, maṇi, or by sticks (rubbed together).

This exposition is given for a practical purpose, as is seen in the last paragraph. One should recognize no *own*, as all creatures are one, distinct from the physical parts. The "body of particles," as it is called in xii, 322, 25, reverts to the unmanifest Source, but the self or soul is but part of the same soul in any other body of particles. The doctrine is none the less that of Pañcaçikha because it is taught by Sulabhā to Janaka, though it is the latter who professes himself the disciple of Pañcaçikha, "the venerable beggar who belonged to the family of Parāçara," xii, 321, 24. For Janaka does not really understand, and so Sulabhā is enlightening him. Pañcaçikha is here said to be a Sāṁkhya leader. There is an imitation and would-be improvement in this late discourse (the metre shows the lateness) of Gītā, 3, 3, loke 'smin dvividhā niṣṭhā. Here çl. 38, the "point of view," is made treble, trividhā niṣṭhā dṛṣṭā; not that emancipation is got by knowledge or action, as in the Gītā passage, but by the third (and best view), that of Pañcaçikha, who "rejected both these two," 321, 40. The doctrine is that the vāiçeṣikaṁ jñānam or most excellent way, çl. 23, leads one to live a life of renunciation. All depends, says the king, on whether one is bond or free; the pure and good devotee may still be active; asceticism is not requisite; a king is as good as a beggar. "The bond of royalty (says the king in conclusion), the bond of affection, I have cut with the sword of renunciation, which has been sharpened on the anvil of emancipation," ib. 52. But his antagonist intimates that he has not learned the true religion, which is renunciation in deed as well as in thought. As a system, the doctrine of Pañcaçikha is said to be sopāyaḥ

[1] The commentator says that "this expression, (kalānām)iva, has no meaning, and is merely used to fill up the verse," 321, 124.

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sopaniṣadaḥ sopāsaṅgaḥ[1] saniçcayaḥ, çl. 163, a detailed philosophical exposition.

In xii, 276, 4 ff., there is a third exposition, oddly combined with the Sāṁkhya schedule, while at the end it shows resemblance to that just given. It is referred to Asita Devala, who in xiii, 18, 18, is said to have received glory from Çiva (Çiva is Sāṁkhyaprasādaḥ, xiii, 17, 63), who "gives the goal of Sāṁkhyayoga," xiii, 14, 198. In this scheme Time creates the five gross elements. Impelled by Being and Soul, Time creates beings out of these elements, which with Time make a group, rāçi, of six. To these are added bhāva and abhāva, making the "eight beings, bhūtāni, of beings." When destroyed, a creature becomes fivefold (elements) because of these. The body is made of earth, bhūmimayo dehaḥ; the ear comes from air (space); the eye from the sun; the breath from the wind; the blood from water. The five senses are the "knowledges" (organs of knowledge, jñānāni). Sight, hearing, smelling, touch, taste, are five, distributed fivefold over five. Their constituents, tadguṇāḥ, are color, smell, taste, touch, and sound, apprehended in five ways by the five senses. These, their guṇas, the senses do not know, but the spirit knows them (this is a correction of the statement that objects of sense are apprehended by the senses). Higher than the group of senses is citta, perception; higher than citta is mind; higher than mind is intellect; higher than intellect is spirit. A creature first perceives, cetayati, different objects of sense. Then pondering, vicārya, with the mind, he next determines, vyavasyati, with the intellect. One that has intellect determines objects of sense apprehended by the senses. Perception, the (five) senses as a group, mind, and intellect are, according to metaphysicians, the eight jñānendriyas, organs of knowledge. *There are five organs of action and bala is the sixth organ of action*, çl. 22. Sleep-sight is the activity of the mind when the activity of the senses is suspended. The states, bhāvas,[2] of sattva, tamas, and rajas

[1] upāsaṅga for upāsāṅgaḥ? N. defines as dhyānāṅgāni yamādīni.

[2] This word means being as entity (and so is equivalent to guṇa, constitu-

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(joy, success, insight, virtue, being the causes of one being endowed with sattva), which are associated with activity, whatever their cause of activity, vidhi, are retained (in sleep) by memory. There is an agreeable and constant immediate passage between the two states, bhāvayoḥ (that is the passage is immediately perceptible between waking and sleeping). The organs and the states are called the seventeen constituents, guṇas. The eighteenth is the eternal incorporate one in the body, dehī çarīre (spirit).

Here fourteen organs are added to the three guṇas, sattva, etc., for there are "eight organs of knowledge" and six of action (elsewhere there are only five organs of knowledge). Of the group of seventeen I have already spoken, and note here only the intrusion of citta between senses and mind. The account proceeds not very lucidly: There concorporate constituents bound up in body in the case of all incorporate creatures cease to be concorporate on the separation of the body; or the body made of five elements, pāñcabhāutika, is a mere (temporary) union, saṁnipāta. The one and the eighteen guṇas with the incorporate one and with heat, ūṣman (the internal heat of the stomach, says the commentator), make the complex, saṁghāta, of twenty composed of five elements, which (twenty) the Great One, mahān, with wind supports. The death of each creature is caused by this (wind). On destruction, the creature enters the five elements, and urged by its good and evil, assumes a body again; and so on from body to body, urged by Time the kṣetrin (spirit) goes, as if from one ruined house to another.[1]

The vinço saṁghātaḥ pāñcabhāutikaḥ or complex of twenty composed of five elements in this passage is the same with the viñçakaḥ saṁghātaḥ of the preceding, 321, 109. But there

ent) or existence and so state of being. It often adds nothing to the meaning. For example in xiii, 141, 85, "bhāva of self" is the same with self: ātmany evā 'tmano bhāvaṁ samāsajjeta vāi dvijaḥ, "put self in self."

[1] viçīrṇād vā (= iva) gṛhād gṛham. The analysis above, 276 (5), 30: ekaç ca daça cā 'ṣṭāu ca (= 19) guṇāḥ, saha çarīriṇā (dehin in çl. 28) ūṣmaṇā saha (besides heat) viṅço vā saṁghātaḥ pāñcabhāutikaḥ, mahān saṁdhārayaty etac charīraṁ vāyunā saha. Compare the first scheme above.

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Time is the twentieth, and the twenty are the bodily guṇas. Nevertheless, the employment in each, not only of the group of twenty but also of bala and vidhi, as found above, points to a common basis.[1] In none is there a trace of Vishnuism.

The Secret of the Vedānta.

The united systems of philosophy called "Secret of the Vedānta" and exploited in xii, 194, 248 ff., and 286, which in the following pages I shall designate as A, B, C, present a curious mixture, which on careful analysis show clearly that they are three different versions of an older Sāṁkhya tract, which is worked over into Brahmaism. There is no clear recognition of egoism, though the commentator so interprets the "maker of bhūtas" in C 9, and, as I have said above, I think it doubtful, both from these and other passages, whether the earlier Sāṁkhya recognized Intellect as other than self-conscious. One of the present three schemes introduces the Bhūtātman as deus ex machina. They all differ slightly and have the Pañcaçikha terminology to a certain extent. In their threefold form they offer an instructive example of how the epic copies itself. They all begin with the same request to the instructor to give a metaphysical, adhyātma, lecture. The first and last versions represent Bhīṣma as teacher and Yudhiṣṭhira as pupil; the other, Vyāsa as teacher and Çuka as pupil of the same lecture. The two Bhīṣma lectures do not agree so closely with each other throughout (though more alike at first)[2] as do the Vyāsa and second Bhīṣma version,

[1] Compare with this saṁghāta or vital complex the *jīvaghana*, Praçn. v. 5.

[2] The closer agreement begins with A 9 as compared with B 9 and C 10; "sound, ear, and holes, this triad is born of air; touch, action, skin, are born of wind; color, eye, digestion, are called the threefold light, tejas." Here B and C have "vital airs" for skin, and jyotis for tejas. In the next group, where A has taste, kleda, tongue, B and C both have sneha. Again "mind as the sixth" organ appears in A 11 but is omitted in B 11 and C 12, to reappear in B 17, C 15. In all these versions, body, with smell and object, is of earth alone, bhūmiguṇaḥ, loc. cit. Besides these triads, B and C give sound, ghoṣa, (çabda) from air, smell alone as bhūmiguṇa in B, all composite matter, saṁghāta, as earth-guṇa in C; breath (C) or touch (B) from wind, etc.

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which lie nearer together in place. It will be necessary to treat these chapters rather fully if we wish to get a clear idea of the manufacture of epic philosophy.

Coming, then, to details, the çlokas are intermingled in such a way that part of one çloka in one discourse is part of another in another version. Thus, after the introductory stanza, which names the five elements with but trifling variations, A has: "Whence they are created thither they go, again and again, the great bhūtas, from other bhūtas, like waves of ocean; and as a tortoise, stretching forth limbs, retracts them again, so the Bhūtātman again withdraws the bhūtas he has created." In B, the expression "like waves of ocean" comes in the first stanza, replacing the expression "origin and destruction" in A. In C, as regards this expression, the reading is as in A, but the important lines of the tortoise and Bhūtātman appear here thus: "As a tortoise here, causing his limbs to stretch forth, retracts them, so the smaller bhūtas in respect of greater bhūtas;" while B has: "As a tortoise here, stretching forth limbs, retracts them again, so the great bhūtas, mahānti bhūtāni, modify themselves in the smaller" (younger); and this is repeated, ib. 14, in a stanza omitted in the other versions with the momentous alteration: "As a tortoise here, his limbs outstretching, withdraws them, even so *the Intellect*, having created the group of senses, withdraws them."

The next change is in A 8, where, after stating that the "maker of bhūtas" put the gross elements differently in all beings, the teacher here adds "but the jīva spirit does not see that difference," which in the other versions appears without mention of jīva, with viṣayān in C for vāiṣamyam. Of the new group of eight sources found here, I have spoken elsewhere. All the versions have the following stanza A 17, B 16, C 18:

guṇān (A, C, guṇāir) nenīyate buddhir, buddhir eve-
'ndriyāṇy api (C, ca)
manaḥṣaṣṭāni sarvāṇi (A, bhūtāni), buddhy (A, tad)
abhāve kuto guṇāḥ,

that is, Intellect directs the guṇas; the senses are intellect

and their constituents could not exist without it. A and C make the intellect subservient to the guṇas! C, as if to explain the guṇas, inserts "tamas, sattva, rajas, time, and act," while in 13 it has a verse (mingling cases), "sattva, rajas, tamas, kāla (nom.), and karmabuddhi (nom.), and mind, the sixth, in these (bases) the Lord created." B, too, has an addition: "Mind, intellect, and nature, svabhāva, these three are born of their own sources; they do not overpass the guṇas on arriving at that which is higher than the guṇas" (13, na guṇān ativartante). So in 316, 2, guṇasvabhāvas tv avyakto guṇān nāi 'vā 'tivartate. But in 249, 8 ff., the continuation of B, the intellect, identified with the bhāvas (states produced by guṇas) does overpass them, "as the sea does the shore." The image here is so conventional, saritāṁ sāgaro bhartā mahāvelām ivo 'rmimān (compare A, 23 ff.; C, 23 ff.) that there is no doubt what has happened. The constant unchanging epic simile is that one remains, not over-stepping, "as the sea does not overpass its shore." In other words, there is in this passage an intrusion of the Yoga idea[1] that the soul can overpass the guṇas (compare Gītā, 14, 21, and xii, 252, 22), and so the ancient simile is introduced without its negative, making the absurdity shown above.[2]

B alone adds, in 249, 3, "the intellect is soul," ātman,

[1] Compare xii, 205, 17: "Mind abandoning guṇas attains freedom from guṇas" (above). Guṇas and bhāvas are here the same thing, for the latter are the result of the presence of the former. They (or the eight sources) "carry the universe but rest on God," 210, 28, 36. This is a Lord-system, though "Lord" is a form of ignorance: "elements, senses, guṇas, three worlds, the Lord himself, are all based on egoism," 212, 18–19.

[2] svabhāva, nature, is distinct from sadbhāva. One is temporary, the other is eternal, xiv, 28, 22; Gītā, 8, 3. The three texts in describing the modification of intellect "called mind when it desires," A 20; B (249), 2; C 20, have slight variants; "that with which it sees is eye, hearing it is called ear," A 19; B 4; C 19, where B and C have çṛṇvatī, etc., but A the verb throughout. In A 13 (and the corresponding verses B 18, C 19) "the mind doubts," saṁçayaṁ kurute, "the intellect decides," adhyavasānāya. Compare 249, 1, mano visṛjate bhāvam buddhir adhyavasāyinī, hṛdayam priyāpriye veda, trividhā karmacodanā. "The intellect is the chief thing in that which is to be made" (B 15), suggesting egoism, but C 14 has kṛtsne and A has no subject at all.

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which is in line with the tendencies at work here. So in 249, 20, there is a stanza which must be compared step for step with the parallel passages: "Soul, ātman, puts forth intellect, but never (read nā 'pi) guṇas; the guṇas do not know soul, but soul, sa, knows guṇas always, and it is the observer and in proper order occupies itself with them. Know that this is the difference between intellect and spirit (kṣetrajña for the preceding ātman), one creates guṇas, one does not create guṇas; both being different but joined by the Source, united as a fish to water, or fly to udumbara, or as sheath to grass-blade. Intellect truly creates guṇas, but the spirit, the Lord, superintends, as the guṇas modify themselves; all that is part of its own nature, that intellect creates guṇas; as a spider does his thread, so that creates guṇas."

In A, 38 ff.: "See the difference between intellect and spirit, ksetrajña; one creates guṇas, one does not create guṇas; as the fly and udumbara so are they joined; both being different, but joined by the Source; as a fish and water are joined so are they; the guṇas know not the soul, ātman, but the soul, sa, knows the guṇas always. But being an observer of the guṇas (the spirit) imagines them created (by himself). The soul, ātman, with the senses and intellect as the seventh, which are moveless and ignorant, illuminates the object, pada, like a lamp. Intellect truly creates the guṇas, the spirit, kṣetrajña, looks on; this is their connection. There is no support for the intellect and spirit. *Mind* creates intellect but never creates the guṇas . . . A Yogin in his proper nature creates (ṣṛjate) guṇas, as a spider his web."[1]

C 33 begins as in B, "Know that this is the difference," down to the image of the fish; then, omitting the fly, etc., goes on as in A: "The guṇas know not the soul, ātman, but the soul knows guṇas always, but, being an observer of the guṇas, it imagines itself the creator. There is no support for the intellect . . .[2] the intellect, buddhir antarā, with the

[1] Unique. Mind here is for ātman in B.

[2] A senseless addition is found here, followed by srjate hi guṇān sattvaṁ kṣetrajñaḥ paripaçyati (as in A). Sattva, itself a guṇa, rests on rajas, xii,

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senses, which have no eyes and are ignorant, makes the senses luminous like a lamp (the intellect alone sees, the senses are like lamps) . . . this is even the fulfilment of its nature that (intellect creates) guṇas as a spider his thread; the guṇas should be recognized as a web." [1]

A Sāṁkhya text is here changed into a later philosophy, with soul substituted for spirit, and the Yogin making guṇas. Hence also the intellect is grouped with senses as ignorant instruments of the soul, while Mind is creative soul. Even apart from the philosophical modifications here visible, it is difficult to see how the synthetic method can account for these three

213, 12, sattvaṁ ca rajasi sthitam, jñānādhiṣṭhānam avyaktam buddhyahaṁkāralakṣaṇaṁ tad bījaṁ dehinām āhuḥ. Compare 215, 25, jñānādhiṣṭhānam ajñānam vijñānānugataṁ jñānam ajñānenā 'pakṛṣyate. But we have in āçrayo nā 'sti sattvasya a phrase in which sattva is equivalent to conscious buddhi. The varied readings show clearly that the text has been tampered with. In āçrayo nā 'sti sattvasya guṇāḥ çabdo na cetanā in 240, 14, followed by sattvaṁ hi tejaḥ sṛjati na guṇān vāi kathaṁcana there is still another parallel to our text. So in 241, 3 ff., sattva is buddhi, higher than citta, as it is said "merge citta in sattva" (247, 5 and 9, the Yogin's sūkṣmā buddhiḥ). Elsewhere citta, by the way, is an organ "lower than mind," 276, 16. The version in 194, 44, is āçrayo nā 'sti sattvasya kṣetrajñasya ca kaçcana, sattvam manaḥ saṁsṛjate na guṇān vāi kadācana (after the words sṛjate hi guṇān sattvam), where manas must represent ātman in the version above. The form guṇāḥ çabdo na cetanā appears, a scribe's error apparently, in 286, 36, as guṇasargeṇa cetanā, before the meaningless words: sattvam asya sṛjanty anye guṇān veda kadācana. The epic sattva is well known: "One is fitted for Brahman existence as sattva gradually departs," i. e., as circumscribed jīva becomes pure. Compare also 217, 21–25 (210–217 are a professed adhyātma of Nārāyaṇa), where it is said that jīva quits rajas and goes about like sound but in a body, and then gets established in Source, and finally leaves even that body and enters "end of body which rests on nothing," nirāçraya.

[1] Other common metaphors and similes are that of the cocoon (pp. 36, 151), the "bonds of hope," āçāpāça, Gītā, 16, 12; the net, xii, 242, 7 ff.; but unique is the weaver of xii, 217, 36: "As a weaver passes the thread through cloth with a needle, so the thread of transmigration is fastened with the needle of desire, saṁsārayati (saṁsārasūtra) tṛṣṇāsūcyā. Compare foam-like body and bird-like soul, xii, 322, 7; as well as the elaborate river-metaphors (taken from the battle-epic), where the bank is truth, waves are untruth, desire is a crocodile, and the river of the unmanifest goes into the sea of transmigration, iii, 207, 72; xii, 251, 12 ff. (Dh. Pad., 251, n' atthi mohasamaṁ jālaṁ n' atthi taṅhāsamā nadī).

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conversations. From an historical point of view the problem is of course simple.

The question asked above, "What would become of the guṇas in the absence of intellect?" is taken up and continued at the end of the discussion: "When the guṇas, the strands spun by intellect, are dispersed, pradhvastāḥ, they do not cease to be, na nivartante; a cessation, nivṛtti, is not perceived. This is beyond the sphere of what is immediately perceptible (but) it is ascertainable through reasoning, anumāna. So some decide, while others say they cease to be, nivṛtti. Let one consider both views and decide as one thinks best, loosening the firm knot of the heart (an Upanishad phrase) caused by a difference of judgment," 194, 50–52. B and C have "their activity, pravṛtti, is not perceived," for "a cessation is not perceived."

The Yogin, who according to the teaching of this lecture can overpass the guṇas, is said in the last section, in a supplement, xii, 252, ff., to surpass even the destruction of guṇas, atikrāntaguṇakṣaya, and reach the highest goal.

Details of Philosophical Speculation.

It has been shown thus far that there are not only three religious philosophies in the epic, but also three formal systems, one inculcating the twenty-five, one the twenty-six, and one the thirty-two categories.

These broad differences are sufficient to show how entirely lacking in any uniform plan or scope is epic philosophy as a whole, and also to prove that the epic does not represent a preliminary chaos of opinions, but reflects at last three perfected and systematized schemes of philosophy. I turn now to some details of speculation, incongruous for the most part, reflecting different interpretations and different views; but in some cases noteworthy not so much for their lack of harmony with other epic schemes as for the uniqueness of views found only in one or two passages of the pseudo-epic, amid a mass of theories covering the same general subject.

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The Sixty Constituents of Intellect.

This group, one of the most elaborate in the epic, is obtained by an "enumeration," parisaṁkhyāna, which analyzes the elements, xii, 256, 1 ff. They are thus distributed: "Earth has ten, firmness, weight (gurutva), hardness (kāṭhinya), the function of productivity, scent, density (also gurutva, but explained as prathamānatā, piṇḍapuṣṭiḥ), ability (to hold scents), compactness, support, endurance. Water has ten, coolness, taste, moistness, fluidity (dravatva), adhesiveness and softness (? snehasāumyatā), tongue, dispersion, also, and softening (çrapaṇa) of earthy things (these make nine, but the commentator supplies 'freezing' from ca, 'and,' which I render 'also'! Probably bhāumānām contains an old error). Fire, ten, dangerousness, light, heat, cooking, brightness, pain, passion (and is) swift; (it has) sharpness and ever upward flaring. Wind (air), ten, tempered touch, (it is) the organ of speech, vādasthāna; (it has) independence, power, speed, emission (of secretions), activity, movement (of breath), life (ātmatā, of the vital airs), and birth. The characteristic constituent of air (space) is sound; (it has also) comprehensiveness, openness, non-support, non-suspension, unmanifestness, steadfastness (avikāritā), non-resistance (apratīghātitā), elementality, and changes (bhūtatvaṁ vikṛtāni ca, 'that is, it causes hearing and apertures in the body,' N.). Thus related are the fifty constituents (guṇāḥ pañcāçatam), which are the essentials of the five elements." To these are added nine constituents of mind and five of intellect, as follows: "Courage, reasoning, memory (so the commentator renders upapatti and vyakti, perhaps individuality), creation (visarga, rendered 'loss of memory' by the commentator), imagination, patience, good, evil, and swiftness, are the nine characteristics of mind. The destruction of the pleasant and the unpleasant (in deep sleep), judgment (vyavasāya), concentration, doubt, and insight are recognized as the five characteristics of intellect." The two last, saṁçaya and pratipatti, are rendered by the commentator in just the opposite meanings, namely knowledge in

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doubtful matters and the application of other proofs as well as direct perception. In the light of explanations current elsewhere in the epic, where "doubt-making" is an attribute of mind, and judgment that of intellect, "doubt," which is here clearly attributed to intellect, must indeed, from a synthetical point of view, be interpreted by its opposite, or one may fall back on the remark cited below, that this is all nonsense. From an historical point of view, however, the statement may stand beside the many other inconsistencies of the epic.

The section closes with a query on the part of the listener as to how intellect has five constituents and how the five senses are reckoned as attributes, katham pañcendriyā guṇāḥ; to which the answer is the stanza: āhuḥ ṣaṣṭim buddhiguṇān vāi bhūtaviçiṣṭā nityaviṣaktāḥ, bhūtavibhūtīç cā 'kṣarasṛṣṭāḥ putra na nityaṁ tad iha vadanti, "They say that the constituents of intellect are sixty. These are distinguished by the elements;[1] (but) are always attached (to the intellect). The manifestations of the elements are created by that which is indestructible. They say that that is non-eternal." "That," it is added, "which has been declared to you here is foolishness, cintākalilam, and unorthodox, anāgatam. Learning the whole truth in regard to the meaning of elements, gain peace of intellect by acquiring power over the elements" (bhūtaprabhāvāt, Yogi-power).

The sixty may be got by adding the five guṇas of intellect to the five elements plus their fifty characteristic constituents; but the commentator says the true count is seventy-one, five elements with their fifty constituents added to mind and intellect with their nine and five constituents respectively.

Two views are given. One is that there are fifty and nine and five constituents of five (elements), one (mind), and one (intellect) = 71. The other is that intellect has sixty constituents, five of its own, fifty of the elements (as parts of intellect), and the elements themselves (which are different

[1] The commentator paraphrases bhūtaviçiṣṭāḥ with pañca bhūtāny api buddher eva guṇāḥ, "the five elements are constituents of intellect."

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from the constituents). The latter view is repudiated as unorthodox, and the final injunction is given to turn from this calculation to Yogi-discipline.

This unorthodox enumeration is represented elsewhere by the title of Çiva, who is called ṣaṣṭibhāga, xiii, 17, 72, and perhaps also by the mysterious manoviruddhāni in the enumeration of the psychic colors explained below. Seven hundred vyūhas, or forms of activity, are traversed by the soul on its way through red and yellow, to white, when it courses above the eight worlds. Then follows, xii, 281, 46:

aṣṭāu ca ṣaṣṭiṁ ca çatāni cāi 'va
manoviruddhāni mahādyutīnām

"The eight (worlds) and the sixty and the hundreds (of vyūhas) are impediments to the mind of the illuminate." The sixty are here explained as constituents of existence still adhering to the white soul. The commentator, however, gives an entirely different explanation from the one above, and though much the same in regard to the last two cases, his interpretation is not quite uniform. In the former case, the god enjoys tattvas or topics, experienced as stated at the beginning of the Māṇḍūkya, in unconscious slumber, wakefulness, and ordinary sleep, each of the latter being the real or illusionary fine and gross elements added to the nineteen "doors of enjoyment," soul, five breaths, and the usual thirteen (ten organs, mind, intellect, and egoism); while two of the sixty are attributed to dreamless slumber, cetas, soul, and subtilest capacity. In the latter case, the three states are surpassed by a fourth state, to which the impeded white soul cannot attain. The impediments are much the same as those above, but include ignorance, desire and acts (the triad mentioned above), and the states themselves.

The Seventeen.

In the exposition given in xii, 276, 6 ff., above, p. 156, there is a group of seventeen with an added spirit, making eighteen in all. Further there are "eight beings of beings," which re-

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mind one of the "eight sources," but instead of the usual group we find here the gross elements, Time, being, and not-being (egoism is not a factor here at all).[1]

The group of seventeen plays an important part in epic categories, but it is clear from a comparison of the cases that there is no symmetry of system in the explanation. It is in short, as is the case in other instances, a Sāṁkhyan term used because it is an old term, but explained differently in different cases. One form we have just examined; another I gave in the first chapter, above, p. 33, where was shown a late group of seventeen, containing most of the elements of the same group in the Vedāntasāra, five elements, mind, intellect, egoism, five organs of sense, spirit, ātman, and the three guṇas or constituents of all that is not pure spirit.

On the other hand the Sāṁkhyan group, as in Aphorisms iii, 9, may be understood of the bodily constituents (ten organs, mind, intellect, and five elements) in a praise of Çiva who created the "seven guardians and ten others who guard this city,"[2] vii, 201, 76. The city here is the body, as in the Upanishads and Gītā (Çvet., 3, 18; G. 5, 13), elsewhere called "house," as in v, 33, 100, "this house of nine doors, three pillars, five witnesses, under control of the spirit."[3]

[1] This exposition is called "silly talk," duṣtapralāpāḥ, xii, 280, 23, because it does not recognize that the course of transmigration may be brought to an end. For it is taught in the following chapter that not knowledge, penance, and sacrifice, but only self-restraint, can result in the attainment of Vishnu, the supreme God. For as a goldsmith purifies gold in fire so the soul is purified by many rebirths *or by one alone*. Hari creates, whose self consists of the eleven modifications, ekādaçavikārātmā, the sun is his eye, his mind is in the moon, his intellect is in knowledge, etc., and the guṇas are essentially of God, 281, 9, 11–12, 19–21, 24. Here, as I have elsewhere pointed out, eleven modifications take the place of the regular sixteen, evidently the organs and mind without the elements.

[2] In conjunction with the two birds (spirits) and pippal trees (vikāras), mānasāu dvāu suparṇāu vācāçākhāḥ pippalāḥ sapta gopāḥ daçā 'py anye ye puraṁ dhārayanti. Compare for the birds and pippal tree Muṇḍ. Up. iii, 1; Çvet. iv, 6.

[3] The five senses, mind, intellect, egoism, and the gross body, make the nine; the pillars are restraints, ignorance, desire, action; the house is the body; the witnesses are the senses, says the commentator, who at Gītā, 5, 13, gives a different explanation of the nine. The witness (as in popular style, i,

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Another passing allusion is found in xii, 280, 4, "freed from the seventeen," where (since the context excludes objects of sense, guṇas, and the "eight") the seventeen are explained by the commentator as five breaths, mind, intellect, and ten organs (the eight being objects of sense and guṇas). Another passage alluding to the seventeen is taken in the same way: "Who are free of the seventeen, the guṇas, and acts, the fifteen kalās, particles, being abandoned,[1] they are released," xii, 335, 40. So again in xii, 352, 15–16: "The highest spirit is not affected by fruits, as the lotus leaf is not affected by water; but the other, the active spirit, karmātman, is bound by the bonds of salvation[2] and it is bound also by the group of seventeen," where rāçi, group, is used as in the first example above, though the group is a different one.

It follows that the epic is not consistent with itself but interprets the "group of seventeen" in different ways.[3]

74, 31, hṛdi sthitaḥ) is sometimes made sixfold, as the spirit and five senses, xiii, 7, 5. Various poetical modifications occur: "A house, agārakam, of one pillar, nine doors," xii, 174, 59; a city, xii, 210, 37; nine doors again (still differently explained by the commentator) in xii, 240, 32, where the spirit is haṅsa (compare 246, 29–31). A very elaborate working-up of the body-city, with senses as citizens, buddhi as Lord, etc., will be found in xii, 255, 9 ff. The haṅsa passage reflects the Upanishads: 240, 29 = Çvet. iii, 16; 30 = v. l. of Çvet. ib. 20; 31 has the unique *dvāidhībhāva* (ātmanaḥ) of Māitri, vii, 11: 32 = later form of Çvet. iii, 18. On p. 45, I gave kālaḥ pacati in Strīp. as accidental or universal. Not so here, however, where Māitri vi, 15, kālaḥ pacati . . . yasmiṅs tu pacyate kālo yas taṁ veda sa vedavit, appears complete (with the v. l. taṁ vede 'ha na kaçcana) in 240, 25. So too çl. 17 = Kaṭha iii, 15; and 26 = Çvet. iv, 19; while in 15, *manīṣā* manasā viprāḥ paçyaty ātmānam ātmani (evaṁ saptadaçaṁ dehe vṛtaṁ ṣoḍaçabhir guṇāiḥ) there is a direct copy of the older form, Çvet. iv, 17, etc. Çl. 19, 20, 21 copy the Gītā.

[1] ye hīnāḥ saptadaçabhir guṇāiḥ karmabhir eva ca, kalāḥ pañcadaça tyaktās te muktā iti niçcayaḥ. Here the commentator takes guṇas as sattva, rajas, and tamas. On the fifteen kalās, see below.

[2] Mokṣabandhāḥ, perhaps moha should be read, unless mokṣa implies desire.

[3] There are of course other groups of seventeen. Thus in xii, 269, 25–26, Agni is seventeenth in the sacrificial group, plants, cattle, trees, withes, butter, milk, sour milk, ghee, land, points of compass, faith, time (are twelve), the three Vedas, the sacrificer (are sixteen), and seventeenth is Fire, the house-lord.

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The Sixteen (A) Particles.

What has happened in the mixture just described is obvious enough. The fifteen kalās, mentioned above as something to be abandoned, imply a sixteenth kalā, the not-to-be-abandoned psychic entity itself. The impediments are called indifferently kalās and guṇas, the former being the old designation, as in Muṇḍ. Up. iii, 2, 7, "the fifteen kalās disappear." Here as in Bṛh. Āraṇ., i, 5, 15, the sixteenth is the soul; but in Praç. Up. vi, 2–5, the soul is the source of the sixteen, sa puruṣo yasminn etāḥ ṣodaça kalāḥ prabhavanti, Puruṣa makes them, each from the preceding: "breath, faith, five elements, sense, mind, food, energy, austerity, hymns, sacrifice, the world, and the name (individuality)," and they all flow back into Puruṣa in reverse order. In xii, 47, 53 ff., (where the sāṁkhyātman is yogātman, māyātman, vīçvātman, goptrātman) God is "the Sāṁkhyas' Seventeenth, having threefold soul (tridhātman, awake, dreaming, in dreamless sleep), standing in soul, enveloped in the sixteen guṇas." The sixteen in xii, 210, 33 are the eleven organs and five objects of sense, which come from (1) the Unmanifest, producing (2) act-born intellect, which produces (3) egoism, whence come, one out of the other, (4) air, (5) wind, (6) light, (7) water, (8) earth, the eight fundamental sources on which the universe is established (vs. 29, the sixteen modifications, ten organs, five objects of sense, and mind). Compare also above the "freed from six and sixteen." So in xii, 242, 8 = xiv, 51, 31, where every creature has a body, mūrti, and "consists of sixteen," murtimān ṣoḍaçātmakaḥ. The Upanishadic kalās and the Sāṁkhya groups have united, and in turn are affected by other later groups. In xii, 240, 13, there is a group of sixteen "always in the bodies of incorporate creatures," the five senses and the five objects of sense, the svabhāva or individual nature, intellect, cetanā, and mind added to two vital breaths and to spirit itself; while in 302, 24, svabhāva and cetanā are apparently not included in the "sixteen guṇas" which encompass the body; or, if the sixteen be interpreted as including

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them, then in both cases we have a group of sixteen quite distinct from that in the previous section, where organs and objects of sense make the number. Further, in the former of the two last sections, cetanā is distinct from manas, with which it is elsewhere identified (see the section cited on p. 34 from the third book). Compare also the account of creation in xii, 233, 10 ff., already referred to, where the seven mahātmans, intellect, mind, and the elements, unite to make body as a base for spirit, çarīraṁ çrayaṇād bhavati, mūrtimat ṣoḍaçātmakam, 233, 12, into which enter mahānti bhūtāni. The elements are the gross, as they are described in çl. 8 (guṇāḥ sarvasya pūrvasya prāpnuvanty uttarottaram), and there seems no reason for differentiating them from the Great Beings, though the commentator takes them as intellect and tanmātras, and the sixteen as gross elements and eleven organs, explaining the whole process as the creation of the liṅga in the sthūla body.

The group of sixteen plus a seventeenth, as given in the scheme above, is a combination of two schedules, one the regular seventeen of the Aphorisms, the other an earlier group of sixteen only, in which the sixteenth is the permanent spiritual part as contrasted with the fifteen impermanent parts, like those of the moon, xii, 305, 4.

The Sixteen (B) or Eleven Modifications.

The epic (as already cited) gives the modifications as eleven in number. Apart from the usual explanations of these eleven, there is a passage, xii, 253, 11: "Three higher guṇas are in all creatures, besides the five gross elements, with mind, which is essentially analytic, vyākaraṇātmakam, as the ninth, intellect the tenth, and the inner soul, antarātman, as the eleventh." Here the commentator explains the three as ignorance, desire, and action (avidyā, kāma, karma, çl. 9), though in the text bhāva, abhāva, and kāla, are given as three additions (çl. 2), with other departures from the scheme already recognized in what precedes. But apart from this special case, the fact remains that in some parts of the epic, as in iii,

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213, 18 (p. 37), xii, 281, 20, only eleven modifications are admitted.

On the other hand, sixteen modifications, eleven organs and five elements, as in the regular Sāṁkhyan system, are fully recognized, as in xii, 311, 8 ff., and elsewhere.

There is, therefore, no uniform epic interpretation of the modifications.

The Eight Sources.

As given above from xii, 210, 28 and 311, 10, the mūla-prakṛtayaḥ or eight fundamental procreative powers are the Unmanifest, intellect ("born of activity," the result of the equilibrium being disturbed by tejas, energy), egoism, air, wind, light, water, and earth; or in other words (the fine elements being ignored, as usual), the five elements and self-conscious intellect as the first manifest production of the unmanifest produce everything. But in Gītā, 7, 4, the "eight sources" are these elements plus mind, self-consciousness, and intellect. The terminology, it may be observed, is already broken up in the Gītā. In this passage "another source," prakṛti, is the jīvabhūtā, which is the same with one of the "two spirits," puruṣas, in 15, 16, one of which is 'all beings," with a "third spirit," the Lord, Īçvara, paramātman, added in 17, who is not identified with the akṣara but is "higher." When, however, egoism is rejected in favor of spirit, as in the "Secret of the Vedānta," then the group of eight appears as the six senses " (the five senses which are perceptive, vijñānāni, with mind as the sixth), intellect and spirit. Other groups of eight, like the last, seem to be based on this early grouping of productive elements. They are assumed in xiii, 16, 54, where Çiva is "the eight sources (above 'eight forms'), and he who is above the sources," and they are personified in the personal creation of xii, 341, 30 ff., as "eight sages," who are sources, though created from the elements:

Marīcir Āṅgiraç cā 'triḥ Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ
Vasiṣṭhaçca mahātmā vāi Manuḥ Svāyambhuvas tathā
jñeyāḥ prakṛtayo'ṣṭāu tā yāsu lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ

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Compare 210, 28, mūlaprakṛtayo hy aṣṭāu jagad etāsv avasthitam. As already noticed, the system requires that the elements here should be "fine," and this is occasionally expressed (see p. 129), but elsewhere the fine elements are ignored in this group of sources. Then the five (gross) elements are productive, which leaves only eleven modifications.

The Vital Airs and Senses.

In xii, 302, 27, there are seven breaths, the usual five and in addition an adhaḥ anilaḥ and a pravahaḥ. Instances where ten and five vital breaths are mentioned have already been given. So with two, which are often the only airs recognized, as in xii, 240, 13. These are all old groups,[1] and represent as varied opinions in the epic as in earlier literature.

Generally speaking, plants are ignored in the elaborate analysis of categories, but they are specifically mentioned at times. Thus in xii, 183 ff., there is an account of creation. Water was the first creation after space. Water pressing made wind. The friction of wind and water made fire which became solid and thus formed earth. There are five sense-making elements in all created things. Trees do not appear to possess them, but they really do. They have space or how could leaves comes out? They have heat as is shown by withering. They have ears, for at the sound of thunder they lose leaves, and sound is heard only with ears. They have eyes for a withe can wind its way, and there is no path without sight. They can smell, for good and bad smells, of incense, etc., make them flourish or decline. They taste, for they drink water. So all creatures have the five elements. The earth-element is seen in skin, flesh, bone, marrow, sinew; the fire-element, in energy, wrath, sight, heat, and digestive fire; the air (or space) element in ear, nose, mouth, heart, and stomach (usually not as here, 184, 22, but in all the apertures); the water-

[1] Even the ten are recognized in Çat. Br. xi, 6, 3, 5, daçe 'me puruṣe prāṇā ātmāi 'kadaçaḥ (called rudrāḥ). These can scarcely be the organs, for as such they would include the karmendriyas, which do not "depart" at death. The names are given above, p. 36. Compare the rudras of xii, 317, 5.

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element in slime, bile, sweat, fat, blood. There are five vital airs (winds) which cause a person to move, 184, 24–25:

prāṇāt praṇīyate prāṇī vyānād vyāyacchate tathā
gacchaty apāno 'dhaç cāi 'va[1] samāno hṛdy avasthitaḥ
udānād ucchvasiti ca pratibhedāc ca bhāṣate
ity eva vāyavaḥ pañca ceṣṭayantī 'ha dehinam

The five senses belong to the five elements; one smells by reason of the earth-element; tastes because one has the element of water; knows color through the eye as the fire-element; knows touch through the wind. Smell is of *nine* sorts; taste is of six sorts; color (and form), of *sixteen* sorts (color as distinguished from form is of six sorts, white, black, bright-red, yellow, blue, yellow-red); wind has a double characteristic, sound and touch; touch is the characteristic of wind and is of many sorts, viz., twelve; air (space) has but one characteristic, sound. But there are *seven* sorts of sound (the gamut) called ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, dhāivata, pañcama, niṣāda. Whatsoever sound of drum, thunder, etc., is heard is contained in this group of seven sounds (notes).[2]

The more extended account of airs in the next chapter gives ten vital breaths or airs, though it describes but five, nāḍyo daçaprāṇapracoditāḥ, xii, 185, 15 (as noticed above, p. 36, with the correspondence in the third book). In xiv, 50, 42 ff., the same (duplicated) account says smell is of *ten* sorts; color (form), of *twelve* sorts; sound of *ten* sorts (the gamut and also "sounds which are agreeable, disagreeable, and com-

[1] This is the later view that apāna is the anus wind, pāyūpāsthe 'pānam, Praçna Up. iii, 5.

[2] On the six colors mentioned together in the Rig Veda, and the light of thirty-four kinds, see my article on Color Words in the Rig Veda, Am. Journal of Phil. iv, p. 190. Seven recitations or notes are recognized in the Chānd. Up. ii, 22, 1; the roaring note is the Agni note; the unclear is Prajāpati's; the clear or definite is Soma's; the soft smooth, is Vāyu's; the smooth strong, is Indra's; the heron-note is Bṛhaspati's; the inharmonious, is Varuṇa's. The names here are indefinite and apply vaguely to seven divinities. They are found also in other early literature. The epic names have no analogy in the Upanishads till the Garbha. On the other hand the epic grāma, gamut, is late. Compare above, p. 13, vāṇī; also saptatantrī vīṇā, iii, 134, 14, "the seven-stringed lyre," called ṣaḍgrāmarāgādisamādhiyuktā, in H. ii, 89, 68.

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pact"), although the two descriptions are almost identical. Each, however, has added new factors. The Anugītā list betters the careless text above, whereby the sound called "Fifth," pañcama, stands in the sixth place (xii, 184, 39).

The Five Subtile Elements. Gross and Subtile Bodies.

The word for subtile element, tanmātra, is late and, as I think, its equivalent is not often to be understood. The earlier schemes were content with "elements"; the later, or a divergent interpretation, introduced fine elements, sūkṣmāṇi, the latest have the classical term tanmātrāṇi. Of course the commentator often interprets fine elements where none is mentioned. Thus, in xii, 205, 15, "as the elements disappear on the destruction of the guṇas, so intellect taking the senses exists in mind," where subtile forms may be inferred, as they may be in xiv, 51, 13, where viçvasṛj is doubtful (v. l.). In xii, 252, 21, aviçeṣāṇi bhūtāni, and in xii, 311, 8 ff., where the modifications of the five elements are again elements (above, p. 129), fine elements are recognized. In xiii, 14, 423, viditvā sapta sūkṣmāṇi ṣaḍaṅgaṁ tvāṁ ca mūrtitaḥ, "knowing thee as having in bodily form the subtile seven, and having six limbs," the commentator may be right in analyzing the seven as intellect, egoism, and five tanmātrāṇi, as he does in the case of the Yogin's liṅga, soul, also said to have "seven sūkṣmas," xii, 254, 7.[1] Elsewhere there are eight (powers?) characteristics of the subtile body of the Yogin, xii, 317, 6.

But it must have caused surprise in the many schemes given above, that a clear indication of this theory is so often lacking where it would be most in place. The elements are simply mahābhūtās (sic, or bhūtāni). Only the latest part of the epic has the technical word, i, 90, 13–14, where the

[1] Perhaps, however, the sevenfold knowledge of the Yogin is meant as in Sūtra, ii, 27. The passage above, xiii, 14, 423, is a copy of xii, 254, 15, where the seven are explained as senses, objects, mind, intellect, mahat, the unmanifest, spirit (the six are here explained as all-knowing, content, knowledge without beginning, independence, ever-clear sight, endless power).

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spirit, kṣetrajña, is connected with the tanmātras before birth in the body; and xiii, 14, 202, where the order of Çiva's creation is "mind, intellect,[1] egoism, the tanmātras, and the organs."[2]

In xii, 202, 18 ff., when the soul leaves the body and takes another, it is said: "A man leaving his body enters another unseen body. Abandoning his body to the five great (gross) elements, bhūteṣu mahatsu, he takes up a form also dependent on these, tadāçrayaṁ[3] cāi 'va bibharti rūpam. The five (senses) exist in the five great elements and the five objects of sense, in the senses." Here there is another body, but it is composed of the same great elements and no other elements are recognized. The new body is called a liṅga,[4] but so is the old, çrotrādiyuktaḥ samanāḥ sabuddhir liṅgāt tathā gacchati liṅgam anyat, "possessed of hearing and other senses and having mind and intellect he passes out of one body to another," çl. 14.

Elsewhere it is said that the beings that pass out of the gross body pass into a subtile, sūkṣma, body, and are called sūkṣmabhūtāni sattvāni, "fine beings," which "wander about like sunbeams," superhuman, atimānuṣāṇi, xii, 254, 1–3 (sattva is bhūtātman). The passage in xii, 345, 14 ff. has already been referred to. Here the sun is the door (as in the Içā) and the dead become paramāṇubhūtāḥ, then manobhūtāḥ, and then

[1] Here mati stands for buddhi, as it does in xii, 202, 21, sarvāṇī cāi 'tāni manonugāni, buddhim mano 'nveti matiḥ svabhāvam, "the senses follow mind, mind follows intellect, intellect follows the pure entity (here equivalent to paramaḥ svabhāvaḥ of 203, 1).

[2] The word tanmātra occurs only in late Upanishads, according to Col. Jacob's Concordance (his reference s. pañca° includes Māitri, iii, 2). To the last, Garbe, in his Sāṁkhya-Philosophie adds (p. 239) Kaṭha, iv, 8, referring to Regnaud, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde, ii, 31, 32. This is an error. The Kaṭha knows nothing of tanmātras. Praçna must be meant, where mātrās are mentioned, iv, 8.

[3] Compare tan-mātram, but in the passage cited, tad must refer grammatically to the great elements.

[4] So in xii, 307, 18, the Yogin, still in his gross body, becomes quiet as a lamp in a windless place, shines like a lamp (or is like a stone or piece of wood). When he shines forth and is nirliṅgaḥ and moveless, he would not be reborn. Here liṅga seems to be merely a distinguishing mark.

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trāiguṇyahīnāḥ, and enter Vāsudeva (nirguṇātmaka), the sarvāvāsa (compare Īçāvāsya), the home of all (or dwelling in all). We may compare Vāsudeva derived from sarvabhūtakṛtāvāsa, xii, 348, 94. The Yogin soul, "clothed in seven subtile things," has also been referred to above, p. 39.

In these cases there is evidence of a general belief in a subtile body, but evidence against a general belief in subtile elements, negative, of course, but rather strong when the elements called great beings (not necessarily gross, implying antithesis of subtile)[1] are said to be the constituents of the second body. I add another similar case where no mention is made of subtile elements, though the elements and the subtile post-mortem body are discussed, since it is an interesting passage in itself and also offers a particularly convenient opportunity for the introduction of the idea of subtile elements, but no such idea is suggested.

The discussion begins with an account of creation, explains the five elements, and proceeds with an argument in regard to the psychic agent. Life, it is said, is invisible and the question comes whether there is any vital, jīva, spirit, and how it survives apart from the body, when the latter "passes into the five elements" (i. e., into the gross elements, tasmin pañcatvam āpanne jīvaḥ kim anudhāvati, xii, 186, 10). "When a man's body has been eaten by birds, or has fallen from a cliff, or has been burned, how can life come to him again, kutaḥ saṁjīvanam punaḥ, 13. If the root of a cut-down tree does not grow again, but only the seeds of the tree grow, how can the man (cut-down) reappear? The seed alone, which has been started previously, that remains in existence; the seed comes from a seed, but dead men perish when they die," 15.[2] "No," says the teacher, "there is no destruction of the vital spirit, jīva. The vital part of a man, prāṇī, enters another body; the body

[1] The application of great in mahābhūta is expressly said to be (not in antithesis to subtile, but) on account of their unlimited character, amitānām mahāçabdo yānti bhūtāni sambhavam, tatas teṣām mahābhūtaçabdo 'yam upapadyate, xii, 184, 3.

[2] Compare BAU. iii, 9, 28, retasa iti mā vocata . . martyaḥ svit mṛtyunā vṛkṇaḥ kasmān mūlāt prarohati. With the fire-simile, cf. Çvet. i, 13.

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alone is destroyed. The vital spirit supported by the body, çarīrāçrīto jīvaḥ, is not destroyed when the body is destroyed; for it is like the flame when the wood is burned" (implying that though invisible it exists). "Just so," says the objector, "it is like the flame, but no flame is apprehended when the wood is used up, and I regard such a fire, when the wood is used up, as destroyed, since it has no visible course, nor proof (pramāṇa), nor thing to hold to," saṁsthāna. To this the answer is: "The fire is not apprehended, because it has disappeared into air without a support. So the vital spirit, on abandoning the body, exists like air,[1] but like fire it is not apprehended, because of its subtilty, sūkṣmatvāt; the vital breaths are upheld by fire and this fire must be regarded as the vital spirit. When breathing is restrained, the breath-upholding fire is destroyed. When the bodily fire is destroyed, then the body (deham, n.) becomes senseless and falls and becomes earth, yāti bhūmitvam; for earth is the place it goes to, ayana. Breath and fire go to air, for these three are one; the pair (of other elements) is fixed on earth. These (elements) assume form only in connection with bodies (either mobile or immobile, 187, 9–10). . . . The five senses are not universally found[2] (and the body's resolution into elements does not affect the soul); the inner soul alone carries the body, it alone smells, tastes, hears, etc. The inner soul is (not local but) found in all the parts of the body, presiding over that (mind) which has five (characteristics), in that (body) which consists of five (elements) . . . The soul does not die when the body perishes."[3]

This is Paramātman doctrine, ib. 23, and since from the

[1] xii, 187, 6, jīvo hy ākāçavat sthitaḥ (sarvagato nityaç ca, comm.), reminds one of BAU. iii, 2, 13, ākāçam ātmā, only the strange Buddhistic assumption (of Karma alone remaining) is here carefully guarded against, though the preceding simile suggests the soul's fate to be that in the Upanishad.

[2] Literally: "In respect to what you are saying (whether the operation of mind and senses indicates an agent) there is no general application of the five," 187, 19.

[3] mithyāi 'tad āhur mṛta ity abuddāḥ: daçārdhatāi 'vā 'sya çarīrabhedaḥ, 187, 27.

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beginning of the discussion where the elements are introduced, 184, 1 ff., to the close as given above, there is every opportunity to introduce the fine elements, it is evident they have no place in this system. We must either assume, therefore, that they are known in some parts of the epic and are not known in others, owing to a difference historically, or that they are taught and not taught in different passages, owing to a fundamental doctrinal difference. The synthetic interpreter is welcome to either horn of this dilemma.

The orthodox popular belief, which of course is also taught in the epic, is that one can go to heaven with a "divine form," as in xviii, 3, 42. In xvii, 3, 22–28, one goes to heaven "with his (human) body." The reason may be that explained in the words[1] "because of God's residence in them, the gross elements are eternal." These life-breaths and so forth exist eternally even in the other world, for a Çruti says so, in the words: "Even when gone to the other world the life-breaths of incorporate beings always (exist)," xv, 34, 10 (text, above, p. 25).

The body comes, according to the epic, from earth alone or from various elements. According to the scheme given above from xii, 184, 4, the body is made of earth. So the ear comes from air; the eye from the sun, etc., xii, 276, 11, tasya bhūmimayo dehaḥ. Compare xii, 240, 7, "from earth the body, from water the fat, from light the eyes." Here wind is the support of the two vital breaths, prāṇāpānāçrayo vāyuḥ, and air (or space) is in the holes, kheṣv ākāçam, of corporate beings, a scheme of creation which attributes the "great beings" (elements) to the "first creation" of a personal creator.

In xii, 306, 5, the characteristics of male and female parents are traditionally[2] three each, as inherited by the offspring:

[1] mahābhūtāni nityāni bhūtādhipatisaṁçrayāt, xv, 34, 5.

[2] çuçruma . . . vede çāstre ca paṭhyate. It is added: "Authoritative is what is delared in one's own Veda, svavedoktam, and what is read in the Çāstras," a restriction as to the Veda not elsewhere admitted.

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bone, sinew, marrow from the father; skin, flesh, and blood from the mother. But in çl. 24 it is said that skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, bone, and sinew are all eight produced by the male,[1] çukreṇa prākṛtāni. Here tradition is set aside for the sake of the new philosophy.

The growth of the body is described in xii, 321, 114 ff., the seed and blood, male and female, uniting produce a flake, kalala, which becomes a bubble, budbuda, which develops into a lump, peçī. From this lump come the limbs; from the limbs, nails and hair. At the end of the ninth month, "name and form (individuality)" are born.[2]

Besides one subtile body, the epic may recognize two, as do the Vedāntins and later Sāṁkhya philosophers (Garbe, Sāṁkhya Phil., p. 267). But the following text, I think, scarcely supports this interpretation of the commentator: "When the spirit in a body is out with rajas, it would wander about, like sound, with a body; having a mind unaffected by the result of action (the spirit) is established in Prakṛti because of its freedom from affection."[3] The commentator thinks that when the spirit is in Prakṛti it has a very minute body, different from the span-long or thumbkin body.[4] This is his explanation also of the unfinished sentence in xii, 254, 13. In 12 one sentence ends with the statement that unclarified spirits "do not see the bhūtātman in bodies." Then in 13, "those who are devoted

[1] Apparently a clear contradiction of the preceding, but excused by the author on the plea of understanding the inner meaning, and not the words alone, of Veda and Çāstra, granthārthatattva!

[2] The same process is described in late Sāṁkhya texts (Garbe, p. 273). Compare the Garbha Upanishad. "Name and form" is a phrase sometimes amplified: "The Lord creates name and form and acts," xii, 233, 25–26 (as in Bṛh. Up., i, 6, 1, nāma rūpaṁ karma, which may be referred to here, yaduktam vedavādeṣu . . . tadanteṣu).

[3] rajovarjyo 'py ayaṁ dehī dehavāñ chabdavac caret, kāryāir avyāhatamatir vāirāgyāt prakṛtāu sthitaḥ, xii, 217, 21. The next half-stanza, ādehād apramādāc ca dehāntād vipramucyate, is interpreted by the commentator to mean "the three bodies (sthūla-sūkṣma-kāraṇa) being abandoned, the soul (without body), because of its mental freedom, is released definitively."

[4] The subtile body is "span-long" in xii, 200, 22; "the size of a thumb," it wanders by reason of its connection with the liṅga, v, 46, 15, and 27; xii, 235, 175, aṅguṣṭhamātrāḥ puruṣā dehasthāḥ. See above, p. 32.

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to Yoga-Çāstra, desirous of seeing that soul, — (things) without breath, (things) without form, and what (things) are like thunderbolts." Here the commentator takes the three, anucchvāsāni, amūrtāni, yāni vajropamāny 'pi, as bodies devoid of intelligence, sūkṣma or subtile bodies, and, thirdly, bodies indestructible even in the æonic destruction, or kāraṇa-çarīrāṇi, with atikrāmanti, overpass, to be supplied in the text. If anything is supplied it is "they see," but the passage is clearly without sense as it stands and probably represents a later and awkward interpolation of the three bodies.

The Colors of the Soul.

The color of the soul is assumed through its union with the body, in the same way as when one near a fire gets a red color, xii, 202, 17. The incorporate spirit, dehin, is said to be without color, but it is tinged with the fruit of acts, and so is said to attain to color, varṇa, which is of course specifically "darkness." "But when the creature by means of knowledge puts off darkness, born of ignorance, then appears eternal Brahman" (pure, without color, 201, 26). "As wind," it is said, "becomes colored with dust and so itself colors all the air (space), thus the spirit, jīva, without color, because of acts' fruits becomes color-tinged," xii, 280, 9 ff.

This simple idea of pure white soul (as in Çvet. Up. iv, 1) being darkened by contact with impure darkness-born not-soul, and eventually becoming clear and colorless again, is worked up into a confused theory of spirit-color in the next chapter, where jīva, spirit, has six colors, ṣaḍjīvavarṇāḥ, xii, 281, 33, as follows: "Spirit has six colors, black, yellow-green (or grey), and blue, the middle color; red, more helpful and good, bright yellow, and, best of all, white. White is best, spotless, without sorrow, leading to success. . . . The course creatures take is made by their (spiritual) color. Color is caused by one's former acts (Time, as often, represents the Karma). The dark color leads to a low course and hell. After hell the spirit attains yellow-green (harit = dhūmra). When jīva is endowed with sattva it casts off tamas (darkness) by means

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of intelligence, and after blue attains to red and lives as a human creature." Then the spirit attains to yellow as a god, returns to hell, and goes on in the same way to white, finally surpassing the three states (guṇas).[1] The inner meaning of this passage, according to the commentator, is that when the spirit has the three guṇas, tamas, rajas, sattva, in quantitative proportion to this sequence, the result is that the spirit is black; but in the order tamas, sattva, rajas, yellow-green (or grey); rajas, tamas, sattva, blue; rajas, sattva, tamas, red; sattva, tamas, rajas, yellow; sattva, rajas, tamas, white. The whole theory, which is alluded to again in 292, 4 ff., seems to be an elaboration of the simple thesis of the preceding section given above. In the passage following, the "higher color" is gained by "pure acts," varṇotkarṣam avāpnoti naraḥ puṇyena karmaṇā. The identification of light with heaven ("bright-yellow gods," above) is as natural as that of darkness with hell. Thus xii, 190, 1 ff., after it is said that "truth is light and darkness is lies," we read: "Light is heaven and darkness is hell; man gets a mixture of both in this life, truth and lies." Compare Patañjali's Aphorisms, iv, 7: "Yogin's work is neither white nor black." I see no support in the text for the elaborate explanation of the commentator, as recorded above.

In xii, 303, 46, there are "three colors, white, red, and black, with which are affected all things in Prakṛti." Here these are set parallel to the guṇas (red apparently corresponding to energy, rajas), as signs of the soul, which goes to hell if it is tāmasa, humanity if rājasa, heaven if sāttvika; apparently an intermediate view between the six colors and the simple antithesis of pure and impure, white and dark. The tricolored being is known in a phrase common to epic, v, 44, 25, and Upanishad, Çvet., iv, 5.[2]

[1] The commentator, instead of taking the states to be guṇas, takes them as waking, sleeping, and deep slumber, ending in *turya*, the fourth state.

[2] Epic text, xii, 303, 46: çuklalohitakṛṣṇāni rūpāṇy etāni trīṇi tu sarvāṇy etāni rūpāṇi yānī 'ha prākṛtāni vai. Çvet. Up. iv, 5: ajām ekām lohitaçuklakṛṣṇām bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛjamānām sarūpāḥ (Müller gives the varied readings in his note, SBE., vol. ii, p. 250). For v, 44, 25, compare above, p. 28.

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The Five Faults of a Yogin.

In xii, 241, 3 ff., the faults of Yoga as known to the seers, Kavis, are desire, wrath, greed, fear, and sleep, kāma, krodha, lobha, bhaya, svapna, two added to an ancient trio. In xii, 301, 11, the five Yoga faults to be "cut off" are registered as rāga, moha, sneha, kāma, krodha. In xii, 302, 55, the "path-knowing Kāpila Sāṁkhyas" give as the five faults, kāma, krodha, bhaya, nidrā, çvāsa. In xii, 317, 13, the five faults are simply the actions of the five senses. See also the list above, p. 119.

Patañjali, ii, 3, recognizes five kleças "to be abandoned" (heyāḥ), avidyā 'smitā rāgadveṣā 'bhiniveçāḥ. Five to be "cut off" and "to be abandoned" are also recognized in the Dhammapada, 370, pañca chinde, pañca jahe. In the epic the "five" are known as such, but different expositions explain them differently.

Discipline of the Yogin.

The perfected Yogin, who, by means of the sevenfold dhāraṇās, methods of fixing the mind, has overcome seven, the elements, egoism, and intellect, attains to "complete and faultless illumination," pratibhā, in which state he surpasses the guṇas and performs miracles. These technical terms of the Yoga are only two of many found in the later epic. Pratibhā, upasargas, the eightfold power, the various comfortable "sittings," calculated to induce concentration of thought, e. g., vīrāsana, the codanās, "urgings" (by which one controls the breaths), the "pressing of breaths" into the heart-canal, or into the space between the brows, the fixed hours of exercise in mental discipline — all this Yoga-machinery is as well known to the epic rewriters as to Patañjali. That the epic here precedes the Sūtra-maker may be inferred from the fact that in the matter of "faults" (above) and in other technical terms it does not always follow the latter, though it has the Sūtra terminology to a certain extent. But, on the other hand, there can be little doubt that the epic-writers were steeped in Yoga-terms and used to Yoga-

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practices of extreme refinement, for they reveal a very intimate acquaintance with Yoga-technique. Over against these adepts, or scientific Yogins, stand the vulgar ascetics, whose practices consist simply in the austerity of painful posturing. The latter forms are antique, and continue, of course, through the whole epic, as indeed they continue till now in India; but in contrast with those who practise the scientific rules of the skilled Yogin, the "one-legged, up-arm" ascetic belongs to the vulgar cult, inherited as "Veda-enjoined penance," where the wretch is not so much engaged in control and samādhi, graduated concentration, as in mortifying himself to get power or win God's grace. Even Vishnu thus stands by his "eight-finger-high-altar," and performs austerities, "standing on one leg, with upturned arm and face;" and it is the worshippers of such gods who retain as their sole means of winning divine grace the same sort of practices. No sharper contrast can be imagined than the two disciplines, that of the votary and that of the scientific student of psychology (whose theology rests in Brahmaism), as presented in the epic.[1]

The Destructible and Indestructible.

Both spirit and the Source according to the Sāṁkhya system are eternal and indestructible, xii, 217, 8; Gītā, 13, 19. They are therefore not created things. But spirit in other passages is a "created thing" and so is the source, xii, 205, 24. For according to the Brahmaistic interpretation, both of these are destructible so far as their entity goes. The twenty-fifth is reabsorbed and the twenty-fourth is also absorbed into Brahman, xii, 308, 7 ff. See above, pp. 134, 137. "Lord Time's Retaking" pratyāhāra, is the name given to the cosmic reabsorption as explained in xii, 234, 1 ff. The universe becomes subtile and metaphysical, adhyātma. All things are first burned and enter the condition of earth, till earth looks bare

[1] The chief chapters to be compared will be found in Çānti (237, 241, 317; also pp. 44, 107, above), but for details I must refer to a paper read at the Meeting of the Oriental Society in April, 1900 (to be published in the Journal, vol. xxii).

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as a tortoise shell. Then water takes up earth; fire, water; wind, fire; air, wind; mind, air (with sound, etc., i. e., manifest mind passes into unmodified mind); the moon, as saṁkalpa or fancy, swallows mind, citta; then Time swallows this as knowledge.

Up to this point the retroaction is at least intelligible but it is interrupted here by a revealed text: kālo girati vijñānaṁ kālam balam iti çrutiḥ, balaṁ kālo grasati tu, taṁ vidyā kurute vaçe, "Time swallows knowledge, *power swallows Time, and Time swallows power;* then Wisdom overpowers Time." Finally: "The Wise One puts into himself the sound, ghoṣa, of air or space." That is unmanifest, highest, eternal Brahman, "and so Brahman alone is the recipient of all creatures."[1]

The Gods and the Religious Life.

The orthodox Brahman's insistence on the four stadia of life is found in the normal attitude of the poets. Opposed to this is the direct teaching that these stadia are quite unnecessary, xii, 327, 26–27: "In the first stadium one can be perfected, what use is there of the other three?" Compare iii, 297, 25, mā dvitīyam, etc.

In some passages the god Brahmán is indestructible and self-created; in others he is a creation; in some he is below Vishnu, in others above him; in some, he is below Çiva; in others above him.[2] Brahmán, again, appears as the equal of

[1] çl. 17: evaṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāni brahmāi 'va pratisaṁcaraḥ. This absorption is the counterpart to the personal creation of Brahmán (see p. 142), from the "Seed made of Brahman-glory, whence all the world," 233, 1. I do not pretend to understand the final process of reabsorption described above: ākāçasya tadā ghoṣaṁ taṁ vidvān kurute 'tmani, tad avyaktam param brahma tac chāçvatam anuttamam. The eternal sound here implicated in Brahman may be that "Word without beginning or end, Wisdom, uttered by the Self-existent, from which, as Veda-sounds, the Lord (as cited in the note, p. 178) in the beginning creates names, forms, and acts," xii, 233, 24–26.

[2] In xii, 340, 116, Brahmán knows that Vishnu is greatest; but in xii, 285, 165, Vishnu is unable to comprehend the greatness of Çiva. Compare on the mixed ideas concerning Brahmán, Holtzmann's essay, ZDMG. xxxviii, p. 167 ff. I cannot agree with the author in the opinion that Brahmán is the chief God of the "older epic," but only of the older tales incorporated into the epic.

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the other two gods in the trinitarian theosophy, which is represented in the epic, but only sporadically and in its latest additions.[1] He is sometimes looked upon as the chief of all gods, but his supreme attributes are in other passages taken by his later rivals. Three stages are clear, with a top story added last of all. The earliest tales received into the epic know no god higher than Brahmán, the later pseudo-epic knows no god equal to (a Pāçupata) Çiva. Between the two lies the mass of the epic teaching, where supremacy is given to a sectarian Vishnu. The very latest additions to the epic adopt a synthetic view and make of this religious olla podrida one harmonious whole, where all three great gods are one.

Arjuna is a form of Vishnu. He is taught this with wonder and great amaze in the sixth book. But our amazement at his amazement is still greater, for this doctrine, apparently so new to him, was revealed to him long before, in the third book, and on that earlier occasion he appeared fully to appreciate the fact that he was divine and identical with Krishna, facts which in the sixth book he has totally forgotten.[2]

Heaven and Hell. Death.

Inconsistent as is the Karma doctrine with the notion of heaven and hell, the Hindu, like Pindar, successfully combines the two beliefs by imagining that metempsychosis follows the

[1] For the usual caturmūrti, compare iii, 203, 15; vii, 29, 26; xii, 335, 8. In iii, 272, 47, is found the only definite expression of the late trinitarian belief in a trimūrti, an interpolated section (compare my Religions of India, p. 412); though it may be implied in i, 1, 32 and xiii, 16, 15, but only here till we reach the Harivañça, 2, 125, 31. It appears first in the later Upanishads, or in late additions, as in Māitri v (as distinguished from the close of iv), above, p. 46. Among other religious novelties the pseudo-epic introduces Citragupta, Death's secretary, xiii, 125, 6; 130, 14 ff. In several points, such as in this and in grammatical peculiarities, the Anuçāsana shows itself later in some parts even than Çānti, all ignored, of course, by the synthesist.

[2] Compare iii, 12, 16. In this passage, Arjuna exalts Krishna as the supreme Lord of the universe, and Krishna in turn identifies the two: yas tvāṁ dveṣṭi sa māṁ dveṣṭi, etc., ib. 45 (Vishnu says the same thing almost to Rudra in xii, 343, 133; yas tvāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti, yas tvām anu sa mām anu). Arjuna's godhead is proclaimed to him in iii, 41, 35, 43; 47, 7. On the hymn, iii, 12, compare Lassen, Ind. Alt., i, p. 489.

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penalty of hell, or reward of heaven. The two views stand sometimes separate, however, and the hero is promised an abode in Indra's heaven without any allusion to metempsychosis; or one is promised a high or low birth hereafter without allusion to the older teleological fancy. Ordinarily in the former case, the rule is that a good man goes to heaven and a bad man goes to hell, as in the Upanishads, e. g., Muṇḍ. i, 2, 10, and in the epic generally. But in one exegesis quite a different view is taken. The idea here is that a fairly good man goes first of all to hell; while a man who on the whole is rather sinful than good goes first of all to heaven. Afterwards the good man goes to heaven and the bad man goes to hell.[1]

The popular notion of the Yogin is not at all that of absorption into Brahman. "Grieve for the living, not for the dead; this pious hero after his death, like a Yogin, has become a being with a human body and shines glorious like a king."[2] In heaven there are cool breezes and perfume, no hunger, thirst, toil, old age, nor sin, but "eternal happiness," in heaven, which is here, in contrast to hell, the "highest place," xii, 190, 13–14. So in the Sabhās. The Yogin "revels in joy, knows no sorrow, and rides around on high in a heavenly car, attended by self-luminous women," xiii, 107, 130 (compare the rāmāḥ sarathāḥ of Kaṭha Up. i, 25). This is the happiness of a Yogin after death, a view of course diametrically opposed to that of the philosophy taught elsewhere, for it is taught as final, not as preliminary.

In various passages it is taught that a good man should aim at attaining to heaven. This too is not put forth as a half-view with a reservation, as in the case of the Upanishads. But in other cases it is expressly just such a half-view.[3] Heaven is

[1] bhūyiṣṭham pāpakarmā yaḥ sa pūrvaṁ svargam açnute, etc., xviii, 3, 14.

[2] tām āindavīm ātmatanum . . . gataḥ, vii, 71, 17. Compare xii, 332, 53, vāyubhūtaḥ pravekṣyāmi tejorāçiṁ divākaram (not here to the moon, which changes): "In the form of wind I shall enter the sun" (to live with the seers); yatra nā 'vartate punaḥ (50), "whence there is no return."

[3] Here it may be objected: But this is for warriors, and even in the Upanishads those that worship Prajāpati as matter instead of spirit are materially blessed. This raises the question again which I touched upon at the outset.

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here a good place for good but unintelligent people, but it is scorned by the philosopher. "I have done with heaven, away with thee, heaven, whither thou hast come," says an enlightened king; "let the priest receive my merit if he wishes," xii, 199, 77–78. The priest, orthodox, is recognized as still striving for heaven and likely to go to hell, in the old way: "Hell is where priests go," it is said rather bluntly, ib. 14–15, nirayaṁ nāi 'va yātā tvaṁ yatra yātā dvijarṣabhāḥ, yāsyasi Brahmaṇaḥ sthānam. For of all the heavens of all the gods it is said, "these are but hells to the place of the Highest Soul," xii, 198, 6.

All kings but one go to Yama's heaven in the Sabhā account;[1] in the battle-scenes most of them go to Indra's heaven. But in vi, 16, 20, they go to the Brahma-world. Again, the heaven one goes to depends either on one's guṇas (as explained above), or, according to where one dies (Tīrtha), or, as a third explanation, according to the place in the body through which the soul escapes at death. If it goes through the feet, one goes to Vishnu's place; if through the arms, to Indra's place; if through the crown, to Brahmán, etc., xii, 318, 1 ff. (with viçvedevān in 5, common in the pseudo-epic).

Death, it may be observed, is usually a male; but in vii, 53, 17 and xii, 258, 16–21, a female. There are here two accounts which, though together opposed to the view held everywhere else, are of critical value, not on this account (for a poet may perhaps be allowed to unsex death), but on account of their being almost identical, two versions of one tale, one bearing traces of greater antiquity than the other.[2]

In one part the warrior auditors are taught the deepest mysteries, in another they are taught what is not taught in the Upanishads except as introduction to true teaching. Synthetically considered, the epic teaches nothing systematic in these varying expositions.

[1] Yama's home is here a heaven of delight, elsewhere in the epic it is a hell of horrors.

[2] The account in Droṇa is here the later of these two similar scenes, as has been shown by Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxviii, p. 218. In philosophy, death is the dissyllabic Ego as opposed to the eternal, immortal, three-syllable non-ego, or mama versus namama ("this is mine" is a thought deadly to truth, and untruth is death), xii, 13, 4 and xiv, 13, 3 (identical passages).

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The Cosmic Egg and Creations.

According to the old belief, the universe comes from a cosmic egg. The philosophical schemes, of course, discard this egg, but we hear of it in the popular accounts often enough and meet it in the first verses of the epic. Occasionally, however, in the personal creation, which stands in so sharp contrast with the more philosophical schemes, this becomes a subject of controversy. Thus in xii, 312, the "Unmanifest" is a person, who first creates plants as the food of all incorporate things. "Then he produced Brahmán, born in a golden egg. Brahmán lived in the egg a year. Then he came out and put together the four forms of all beings, and earth and heaven above — as it is said in the Vedas, dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ[1] — and then the middle space. After this he created egoism, a being, bhūta, and four sons besides, who are the fathers' fathers. The gods are the sons of the fathers; by the gods the worlds were filled. Egoism, he that stands in the highest, created fivefold beings, earth and the other elements." Several verses follow on the impossibility of the senses acting alone ("the organs do not perceive, etc. Mind alone sees. Mind is the lord of the senses," etc.).[2] Here the egg-born creator is acknowledged in a scheme which is a mixture of mythology and philosophy. But in xiii, 154, 16 ff.: "Some fools say that Brahmán was born of an egg . . . but that is not to be regarded. How could the unborn be born? Air-space is the egg, according to tradition, and out of that was born Brahmán, the forefather. (He required no support, for he is) personified consciousness, the Lord. There is no egg; there is Brahmán . . . the unmanifest eternal Creator Lord" (15). This passage is not merely an allegorical interpretation of the egg-myth; for in the former, Brahmán creates space after he is born of the egg from which he is born, while here the egg is space. The number of crea-

[1] That is, the Vedic form implies the truth of heaven and earth as here stated.

[2] In this passage, ete viçeṣā mahābhūteṣu, 312, 12, repeats the first half-stanza of 311, 14, cited above, p. 129.

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tions in philosophy I have already discussed. They are given as nine, or again as five.[1]

The Grace of God.

The belief in the saving grace of God is found only in the later Upanishads. It asserts that one sees the Self (or Lord) by the grace of the Creator, Kaṭha Up., i, 2, 20 ff.; Çvet., iii, 20; vi, 21; Muṇḍ., iii. 2, 3. One is chosen, and cannot get salvation by knowledge alone. This general view is that maintained by the epic poet, who says: "The Vedas and Orders, though established on various opinions, nānāmatasamāsthitāḥ, unite in worshipping Spirit as the personal God by whose grace one is saved." So again: "That man can see Him, to whom He gives His grace," yasya prasādaṁ kurute sa vāi taṁ draṣṭum arhati, xii, 337, 20, (a verse found also in the pseudo-Rāmāyaṇa). The grace of God is here the chief element of salvation, opposed to what is recognized as the severer school of those who attain salvation scientifically either by knowledge of soul or of God. This older system in the Upanishads is represented by those who are saved by knowledge alone; in the epic, by like-minded men, who have worked out a system or science of salvation, and depend wholly on this science, jñāna, or on ascetic practices, tapas, yoga, super-added to this science. Both of these are recognized as older systems in the epic, compared with the grace-of-God theory, and practically they are thrown over by the adherents of the latter school, who, however, differ from their ancestors in the Upanishads by a clear mark of lateness, in that they specify that the God whose grace saves is Krishna alone. Salvation not through knowledge, even of God, not through the grace of God, but through the grace of the man-god is the saving way, the easier way, or as it is called in the Gītā, the "less troublesome way," 12, 5.

Side by side stand in the epic these two great modern modi-

[1] These are the modifications of God, avidyāsargas and vidyāsargas, five in number in xii, 303, but when the account is repeated in 311, nine in all.

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fications of the older Upanishads: there, knowledge, wisdom, jñāna, vidyā, contrasted with the later grace of the "Creator-Spirit," at most recognized as Çiva. Here, the Sāṁkhya-Yoga system, contrasted with the later Krishna cult. "I will release thee from all thy sins, grieve not," says the man-god, Gītā, 18, 66. But the Yogin replies: "Sink or swim, let one put his trust in science alone," xii, 237, 1 and 238, 1, and claims that he is purified not by Krishna but by Yoga knowledge, rejecting even the purity induced by bathing in the sacred pools (for his purity is "obtained by knowledge"), which elsewhere in the epic are said to purify from all sin.[1] But inasmuch as the Yogin's science postulated what the Sāṁkhya denied, a personal God, the former became a bridge between the atheist and the devotee, a bridge, however, occasionally repudiated by the latter, who does not always, as usually, claim that he is thus philosophic, but exclaims: "By Sāṁkhya and by Yoga rule I meditate the way of God and find it not," xii, 352, 7–8.

The irreconcilable difference between the Sāṁkhya and the faith of the Krishnaite could be removed only by modifying one of these extreme views. Either the atheistic (or even Brahman) philosopher had to win over the adherents of the man-god to renounce him and return to the "ship of salvation of knowledge," or the devotee, having admitted that the Yogin's Spirit was God, had to identify his Krishna with that Purusha Içvara. Late as are all the purely philosophical chapters of the epic, they still show which power prevailed.

[1] There is of course, further, the Çivaite, who worshipped not Krishna but another as the highest God, not to speak of those that remained true to Vedic tradition and went for salvation no further than sacrifices and gifts. There are also, within the group of philosophers, those who recognized only the earlier twenty-five principles, and those who recognized twenty-six, as explained above. There is also the fractional sectary, who regarded Krishna as the "half of the fourth" of the "root-abiding Mahādeva" (as *tatstha*, p. 44, he creates existences, xii, 281, 61–62). All these divergent beliefs are represented in startling and irreconcilable antagonism in an epic concerning which the unhistorical view is dass es ächte zu einer einheitlichen Auffassung abgerundete Elemente sind, welche das Epos bietet, Nirvāṇa, p. 84!

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Faith absorbed unfaith. The religious philosophy of the epic is a successful attempt to uphold Krishnaism not only against the science of atheism, but against a deistic science that postulated God but saw no godship in Krishna; a science which in its turn is technically elaborated, a long advance on the vague speculations of the Upanishads, but not yet as uniform as in the completed system. Krishnaism stands to Sāṁkhya-Yoga chronologically as stands the later grace-of-the-Creator theory to the earlier knowledge of the Upanishads. But both epic Sāṁkhya-Yoga and Krishnaism are later even than this modification of Upanishad teaching. Latest of all is trinitarianism. Side by side stand all these creeds, each pretending to be a definitive answer, each forming part of the contents of a poetic vessel, into which have been poured the vinegar and oil of doubt and faith; but:

ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγχέας ταὐτῷ κύτει
διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλω προσεννέποις.

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CHAPTER FOUR.

EPIC VERSIFICATION.

alaṁkṛtaṁ çubhāiḥ çabdāiḥ
samayāir divyamānuṣāiḥ
chandovṛttāiç ca vividhāir
anvitaṁ viduṣām priyam

A Tale adorned with polished phrase
And the wise lore of gods and men,
With verses turned in various ways
Replete, a joy to scholars' ken.

Epic Versification.[1]

The poetry of the epic is composed in metres, chandas, of three sorts. The first is measured by syllables, the second by moræ, the third by groups of moræ. These rhythms ran the one into the other in the following course. The early free syllabic rhythm tended to assume a form where the syllables were differentiated as light or heavy at fixed places in the verse. Then the fixed syllabic rhythm was lightened by the resolution of specific heavy syllables, the beginning of mora-measurement. The resolution then became general and the number of moræ, not the number of syllables, was reckoned. Finally, the moræ tended to arrange themselves in groups and eventually became fixed in a wellnigh unchangeable form. Part of this development was reached before the epic began, but there were other parts, as will appear, still in process of completion. Neither

[1] I wish to acknowledge in beginning this chapter on epic metres the great help afforded me by Professor Cappeller of Jena, who put at my disposal a manuscript on the metrical forms in the epic, in which all the metres were located and the triṣṭubhs of the first three books were analyzed seriatim. I need hardly say that this loan has materially lightened the labor of preparing the following sketch, a loan the kindness of which was the more appreciated as it was entirely unsolicited, though most gratefully received.

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of the chief metres in the early epic was quite reduced to the later stereotyped norm. The stanza-form, too, of certain metres was still inchoate.

The mass of the great epic (about ninety-five per cent) is written in one of the two current forms of free syllabic rhythm; about five per cent in another form of the same class; and only two-tenths of a percent in any other metre. The two predominant rhythms, çloka and triṣṭubh, are in origin the oldest Indic or pre-Indic rhythms, while of the others some are in turn early developments from the first epic rhythms. For convenience of reference, before discussing these rhythms in detail, I give a list of all those used in one or both of the two epics according as they are free syllabic (çloka, triṣṭubh), fixed syllabic (akṣaracchandas),[1] mora-metre (mātrāchandas), and group-rhythms (gaṇacchandas).

çloka: a stanza of two verses (hemistichs) of sixteen syllables each, restricted to a certain extent as to the place where heavy and light syllables (or long and short vowels) are permitted. Originally the stanza consisted of four verses of eight syllables each and many traces of this division, by independent "quarters," pādas, survive in the Mahābhārata.

triṣṭubh: a stanza of four verses of eleven syllables each, arranged with very little restriction (and consequently of various types) in the Mahābhārata; reduced to one prevailing type in the Rāmāyaṇa. Increased by one heavy syllable in each pāda, this metre is called jagatī, but the two types are interchangeable in the same stanza. Fixed types of this metre are common in verse form, but rare in stanza form[2] except as given in the next group (of four-verse stanzas).

[1] The fixed syllabic is called also varṇavṛtta, "syllabic verse" (vṛtta = versus).

[2] That is, pure in the form (a) and (b), ∪ ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏑ ∪ ∪ ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏒ (⏑); (c) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏑; (f) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ∪ ∪ ⏑ ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏑. These are called (a) upendravajrā; (b) vaṅçastha(bila); (c) çālinī; (f) vātormī; or (a) and (b) with the opening ⏑ ⏑ ∪ ⏑, called (c) indravajrā and (d) indravaṅçā, as they have eleven or twelve syllables, respectively. When (a) and (c) or (b) and (d) are mingled, the stanza is called upajāti.

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akṣaracchandas or varṇavṛtta

with the verse fixed as

- rathoddhatā, a triṣṭubh — ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ —
- bhujaṁgaprayāta, a jagatī ⏑ — —, ⏑ — —, ⏑ — —, ⏑ — —
- drutavilambita, a jagatī ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —
- vāiçvadevī, a jagatī — — — — —, — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
- rucirā, an atijagatī [1] ⏑ — ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
- praharṣiṇī, an atijagatī — — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
- mṛgendramukha, an atijagatī ⏑⏑⏑, —⏑⏑, — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
- asambādhā, a çakvarī [2] — — — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — —
- vasantatilakā, a çakvarī — — ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
- mālinī, an atiçakvarī ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — —, — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
- çārdūlavikrīḍita, an atidhṛti — —, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —; — — ⏑, — — ⏑ —

mātrāchandas (ardhasamavṛtta)

- puṣpitāgrā and āupacchandasika, stanzas of two verses, each verse having sixteen and eighteen moræ in prior and posterior pāda, respectively, the moræ being arranged in syllables more (puṣpitāgrā) or less (āupacchandasika) fixed.
- aparavaktra and vāitālīya, the same in catalectic form, each pādā being shortened by two moræ.
- mātrāsamaka, a stanza of four verses, each verse having sixteen moræ.

gaṇacchandas

- (āryā, āryāgīti, upagīti), stanzas of two verses, each verse containing eight groups of moræ, the group of four moræ each, but with the restriction that amphibrachs are prohibited in the odd groups, but may make any even group and must make the sixth group, unless indeed this sixth group be represented (in the second hemistich) by only one mora or four breves; and that the eighth group may be represented by only two moræ. The metre is called āryāgīti when the eighth foot has four moræ; upagīti, when the sixth foot irregularly has but one mora in each hemistich.[3]

[1] That is, a jagatī with one syllable over, ati, or with thirteen syllables in the pāda. The second atijagatī above is sometimes called praharṣaṇī.

[2] That is, having fourteen syllables in the pāda, fifty-six in the stanza. The atiçakvarī and atidhṛti have fifteen and nineteen syllables in the pāda, respectively.

[3] Brown, Prosody, p. 17, points out that this metre is almost that of Horace, Odes, iii, 12: miserar | est neq a- | mori | dare lu- | dum neque | dul- | ci mala | vino, etc.; and sic te | diva po- | tens Cypri | sic fra- | tres Hele- | nae | lucida | sidera, etc., save that the sixth group is here of two moræ.

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Çloka and Triṣṭubh.

THE PĀDAS.

The number of verses in a çloka or triṣṭubh stanza may be decreased or increased by one or two, respectively; but in the great majority of cases, two in a çloka and four in a triṣṭubh constitute a stanza. Sometimes, however, where one or three hemistichs make a stanza, it is merely a matter of editing. Compare, for instance, i, 90, 22; i, 93, 19–21 with 3,682–83; iii, 4, 17 with 234; iii, 111, 14 ff., with 10,040, ff. But, on the other hand, no arrangement can always group the hemistichs into uniform stanzas. Thus in xii, 350, 49 ff., five triṣṭubh hemistichs follow three çloka hemistichs. A stanza of three hemistichs is apt to close a section, as in vii, 54 and 187. In G. vi, 49, 55, there is one hemistich in excess because 53 a-b were added to the original, and this is doubtless the cause of many such cases; though it is also true that a half stanza is often found where there is no reason to suspect a later addition. Six pādas in a triṣṭubh occur occasionally.

But in the case of the çloka, the pādas are metrically linked in pairs, while triṣṭubh pādas are metrically independent. The çloka, therefore, is a couplet. Its two halves are metrically disjunct and may be treated as independent wholes. Each hemistich is a complete verse. The two halves of this verse, the quarters, pādas, of the whole stanza, are sometimes knit together into euphonic combination and a syntactical whole. But, relatively speaking, this is seldom the case. The unity consists rather in the fact that one half of the verse is metrically different from the other and cannot be substituted for it, whereas in the triṣṭubh any pāda can be substituted, if the sense permits, for any other.[1] The different fall of the çloka pādas may be seen very well when the words are almost identical:

[1] In some forms of the triṣṭubh, however, there is a restriction in the final syllaba anceps of the first and third pādas, not found in the second and fourth pādas. In such cases (discussed hereafter) the triṣṭubh, like the çloka, consists of two parts (hemistichs) and the perfect independence of the pāda is modified. This does not affect the free epic triṣṭubh.

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amitrāṇām bhayakaro mitrāṇām abhayaṁkaraḥ
çalabhā iva kedāram maçakā iva pāvakam
nā 'tantrī vidyate vīṇā nā 'cakro vidyate rathaḥ
rukmapuṅkhāir ajihmāgrāi rukmapuṅkhāir ajihmagāiḥ (G. vi, 20, 26 and 19, 68)[1]
kiṁ nu me syād idaṁ kṛtvā kiṁ nu me syād akurvataḥ
yato dharmas tataḥ Kṛṣṇo yataḥ Kṛṣṇas tato jayaḥ
paçyan çṛṇvan spṛçan jighrann açnan gacchan svapan çvasan
japate japyate cāi 'va tapate tapyate punaḥ

The final syllaba anceps of all pādas indicates, however, that the çloka, like the triṣṭubh, originally permitted the same metrical fall in both pādas, and such we know to have been the case in the older metre from which the çloka derives. The Mahābhārata retains this identical measure here and there, as in

tad vāi devā *upāsate* tasmāt sūryo *virājate*,

but such cases, usually reflecting or imitating the older verse of the Upanishads, as in this example, v, 46, 1, are regularly avoided, even by the substitution of irregular or dialectic forms. Thus in viii, 84, 12, where the same verb is employed,

Duryodhanam *upāsante* parivārya samantataḥ

The çloka verse (hemistich) does not often indicate its unity by its form. Generally its prior half, or the pāda (to retain this word for the division of eight syllables), is not united with the posterior pāda. Verses that do unite the two usually give lists of objects, which is the ordinary case in the early epic, though the later epic does not hesitate to make freer use of this unit-verse. But on the whole, though common enough in post-epical writing, this is by no means typical of the epic itself. The great bulk of the poem does indeed furnish a goodly number of examples, but relatively speaking cases like the following are rare:

[1] The other verses are found in R. vii, 36, 22; 7, 3; ii, 39, 29; M. iii, 62, 10; vi, 23, 28; 29, 8; xiii, 14, 159.

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mahāmaṇiçilāpaṭṭabaddhaparyantavedikām, ii, 3, 32
āikyasaṁyoganānātvasamavāyaviçāradaḥ, ii, 5, 3
vayaṁ hi devagandharvamānuṣyoragarākṣasān, iii, 53, 29
jambvāmralodhrakhadirasālavetrasamākulam, ib. 64, 4
çiṁhaçārdūlamātaṁgavarāharkṣamṛgāyutam, ib. 39
badareñgudakāçmaryaplakṣāçvatthabibhītakāiḥ, ix, 37, 61
gadāmusalanārācaçaktitomarahastayā, ix, 46, 66
dṛçyate hi dharmarūpeṇā 'dharmam prākṛtaç caran, xii, 261, 6
ajāyata mahārājavaṅçe sa ca mahādyutiḥ, xiii, 10, 35
sa bhavān daṇḍasaṁyogenā 'nena hṛtakilbiṣaḥ, G. iv, 17, 58
bhavadbhir niçcayas tattvavijñānakuçalāir mama, G. iv, 32, 5.[1]

The hemistich of the çloka is also generally independent of the rest of the stanza in sense as well as in metre, but it is not infrequently united with it syntactically, as in vi, 19, 12,

na hi so 'sti pumāṅl loke yaḥ saṁkruddhaṁ Vṛkodaram
draṣṭum atyugrakarmāṇaṁ viṣaheta nararṣabham

Not a mortal on earth exists, who deep-incensed Vṛkodara,
Mighty, a chief of awful strength, could a moment behold in war.

So samalaṁkṛtam: çatam, in the first chapter of Nala, 11; krodhasya ca vinigrahaḥ: kāryaḥ, xii, 330, 10; asambhāvyaṁ vadhaṁ tasya Vṛtrasya vibudhādhīpaḥ: cintayāno jagāmā 'çu, R. vii, 85, 15, etc. Inside the hemistich, the pādas are frequently euphonically independent (hiatus);

Prajaṅgho Vāliputrāya abhidudrāva, R. vi, 76, 22.
na kiṁcid abhidhātavyā aham, R. vi, 118, 10
mā vināçaṁ gamiṣyāma[2] aprasādyā 'diteḥ sutam, R. vii, 35, 63

[1] R. (Bombay) has cæsura between pādas and avoids both these forms (saṁyogāt in 18, 64, for saṁyogena, etc.).

[2] G. here, 38, 113, has the future imperative, gamiṣyadhvam. Other examples of hiatus may be seen in R. v, 60, 8; vi, 60, 8; vii, 11, 42, etc., besides the ample collection of Böhtlingk for the first four books.

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Sāumitraṁ samparişvajya idaṁ vacanam abravīt, R. vi, 23, 1
nihanyād antaraṁ labdhvā ūlūko vāyasān iva, R. vi, 17, 19
çaraṇāny açaraṇyāni āçramāṇi kṛtāni naḥ, R. vii, 6, 5

In G. the hiatus is usually avoided, but it is sometimes kept here, as where R. vii, 21, 19 has gorasaṁ gopradātāro annaṁ cāi 'va (adrākṣīt) and G. rectifies the grammar but keeps the hiatus, gopradātṛṇç ca annam.[1] In the last book of the poem, hiatus in G. is more common than in the earlier epic; for example, G. has the hiatus of R. vii, 6, 40, svadhītaṁ dattam iṣṭaṁ ca āiçvaryam paripālitam. On the other hand, within the pāda attempts are sometimes made to avoid hiatus at the expense of form, as in R. vii, 109, 4, brahmam (cf. 88, 20) āvartayan param. Contrast is often the cause of hiatus, both in the pāda, as in apāyaṁ vā upāyaṁ vā, R. iii, 40, 8, and in the hemistich, as in hīnam mām manyase kena ahīnaṁ sarvavikramāiḥ, R. vi, 36, 5.[2] So in the Mahābhārata, satyanāmā bhavā 'çoka, açokaḥ çokanāçanaḥ, iii, 64, 107. The latter epic otherwise presents the same phenomena:

yeṣām mūtram upāghrāya api bandhyā prasūyate, iv, 10, 14
upāvartasva tad brahma antarātmani viçrutam, v, 43, 59
viveça Gaṅgāṁ Kāuravya Ulūpī, xvii, 1, 27
devā 'pi mārge muhyanti apadasya padāiṣiṇaḥ, xii, 270, 22
anāhūtaḥ praviçati apṛṣṭo bahu bhāṣate, v, 33, 36, etc.

There is nothing peculiarly epic in hiatus. It is found in precedent and subsequent poetry. Its occurrence in the

[1] R. in the second hemistich has gṛhāṅç ca gṛhadātāraḥ (acc.) svakarmaphalam açnataḥ, aç for bhuj, as in M. iii, 32, 6.

[2] Emphasis also may cause hiatus, as in dharmātmā iti, R. i, 21, 7; na tu vaktuṁ samartho 'haṁ *tvayi* ātmagatān guṇān, R. iv, 8, 5; or it may be employed to save the life of a word, as in dakṣiṇārthe '*tha* ṛtvigbhyaḥ, xiii, 93, 25 (the commonest hiatus is this before ṛ, as in sarve ca ṛtavaḥ; kārayasva ṛṣe; anye ṛkṣavataḥ, etc.).

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Mahābhāṣya, as in çayānā vardhate dūrvā āsīnaṁ vardhate viṣam, IS., xiii, p. 461, may be epic.

The cadence of the çloka, like that of all other poetry, depends on the sense, and the cæsura cannot be determined by rule. In most cases there is a cæsura at the end of the pāda, but it is frequently shifted, as in kvā 'rjunaḥ nṛpatiḥ? çīghraṁ samyag ākhyātum arhatha, R. vii, 31, 11. A complete sentence seldom exceeds the limit of a stanza, and when it goes further it may be set down as a mark of lateness. Quite anomalous in epic style are those long sentences, usually relative, which, as in Gītā 2, 42–44 and 6, 20–23 run through twelve or fourteen pādas. Still more awkward are the sentences found in the later epic. Thus in xii, 302, occurs a sentence, not of fourteen pādas as in the Gītā, but of fourteen çlokas (5–17): yet this is surpassed in the same section by a sentence of thirty çlokas, which even then has no finite verb and in reality never comes to an end at all (24–52). Such monstrosities, however, belong only to the pseudo-epic.

Like the çloka, the triṣṭubh, in euphony and sense, may be a couplet, the first two and last two pādas making a unit, as in iii, 118, 20 c — d, anyāṅç ca Vṛṣṇīn upagamya pūjām: cakre; vii, 2, 33 a — b, na tv evā 'haṁ na gamiṣyāmi teṣām: madhye çūrānām. Euphonic unity is illustrated by the elision in vii, 163, 14 of a in adṛçyanta at the beginning of the pāda after o; by tāṅç cāpy: upopaviṣṭān between c — d in i, 191, 19; and by the complete hemistichs:

yadā 'çrāuṣam Bhīmasenā 'nuyātenā 'çvatthāmnā paramastram prayuktam, i, 1, 213

sa-Karṇa-Duryodhana-Çālva-Çalya-Drāuṇāyani-Krātha-Sunītha-Vakraḥ, i, 187, 15 (compare in çloka; Bhīṣma-Droṇa-Kṛpa-Drāuṇi-Karṇā'rjuna-Janārdanān, viii, 20, 3; bahuço Vidura-Droṇa-Kṛpa-Gāṅgeya-Sṛñjayāiḥ, ix, 61, 20)

uddhūtalāṅgūlamahāpatākadhvajottamāṅsākulabhīṣaṇāntam, iv, 54, 27.

Ordinarily, however, disjunction and not conjunction of pādas is the rule. Thus between b — c, iii, 132, 5, a + a, and

even between a — b and c — d. Here also hiatus appears even in the pāda, as in i, 1, 214 b, svastī 'ty uktvā astram astreṇa çāntam (so must be read); or in i, 74, 30 c, ahaç ca rātriç ca ubhe ca saṁdhye. It may then be expected between pādas, as in

yadā 'vamaṅsthāḥ [1] sadṛçaḥ çreyasaç ca, alpīyasaç ca, i, 88, 3 a — b

vanaspatīn oṣadhīç cā 'viçanti, āpo (= apo) vāyum, i, 90, 11 a — b

santi lokā bahavas te narendra, apy ekāi 'kaḥ, i, 92, 15 a — b

So in Yājñaseni: ekāmbarā, ii, 67, 34 a — b; utsahāmi: āyuṣmān, iii, 192, 67 c — d; putri: Ikṣvāku, ib. 70 c — d; tapaç ca: amātsāryam, v, 43, 20 a — b; ācāryeṇa: ātmakṛtam (text -ṇāt), v, 44, 14 a; apo 'tha adbhyaḥ salilasya madhye, v, 46, 3 a. B. occasionally rejects (betters) the text of C., as in vi, 129 c — d, stands na cā 'pi te madvaçagā maharṣe, 'nugrahaṁ kartum arhā hi me matiḥ, where B. 3, 61, has na cā 'dharmaṃ, etc. So in viii, 4,340, paçcād vadhiṣye tvām api, sampramūḍha, aham, etc., where B., 85, 33, has mūḍham. Both, however, continue with ahaṁ haniṣye 'rjuna ājimadhye, and in the next verse both have prasahya asyāi 'va in c — d.[2] Other cases are: çatruhantā: uvāca, viii, 85, 30 c — d; mudaṁ ca lebhe ṛṣabhaḥ Kurūṇām, ix, 17, 18 d; uttāna-āsye na havir juhoti, xii, 246, 27 a; bibheti: açraddheyam, xiv, 9, 27 c — d; Madaṁ nāma asuraṁ viçvarūpam, xiv, 9, 33, c (from the text in B., nāmāsuram, and in C. 251, Madaṁ nāmānam); Tilottamā cā 'py atha Menakā ca: etās, H. 2, 89, 71 a — b. Examples from the Rāmāyaṇa are given by Böhtlingk, or may be seen in the conjunction of mahārathasya: Ikṣvāku, R. vi, 14, 12 a — b; abhyupetya: uvāca, R. vi, 59, 45 c — d. In both metres, to

[1] The first foot consists of five syllables.

[2] B.'s reading in iii, 112, 15 d, caliteva cā 'sīt for caliteva āsīt, 10,065, may be to avoid hiatus. In ii, 63, 6 d = 2,116, both texts have acintito 'bhimataḥ svabandhunā, where hiatus may be assumed, though not necessarily, as also in iii, 197, 13 b, na (vāi) vāsaṁ pitaro (a)sya kurvata. Ib. 15 a — b, both texts have hiatus, ukṣāṇam paktvā saha odanena asmāt kapotāt prati te nayantu (give you for).

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avoid hiatus, irrational particles are often inserted. A good example is: purā kṛtayuge tāta *hy* āsīd rājā *hy* Akampanaḥ, vii, 2,029, where B., 52, 26, omits the first hi.

Rhyme.

Connection of pādas by rhyme is not uncommon. It is less noticeable in çlokas than in triṣṭubhs on account of the alternate trochaic and iambic cadence employed in the former, and some, for example, may think that in iii, 65, 65–66,

vasasva mayi kalyāṇi
prītir me paramā tva*yi* . . .
ihāi 'va vasatī bhad*re*
bhartāram upalapsya*se*

the rhymes of the nameless queen are practically unfelt,[1] but this is scarcely possible when alternate rhymes occur, as in R. ii, 88, 7:

prāsādavaravar*yesu*
çītavatsu sugan*dhiṣu*
uṣitvā Merukal*peṣu*
kṛtakāñcanabhitt*iṣu*

In çl. 13 of the same section, three successive pādas end in -am; in 14, two end in -ā; and in 23–25 seven end in -ām, or -āṁ, with some inserted besides:

bāhuvīryābhirakṣ*itām*
çūnyasaṁvaraṇāra*kṣāṁ*
ayantritahayadvi*pām*
anāvṛtapuradvār*āṁ*
rājadhānīm arakṣ*itām*
aprahṛṣṭaba*lāṁ* nyūn*āṁ*
viṣamas*thām* anāvṛ*tām*

So in triṣṭubhs, rhymes are both irregular and regular, as in R. iv, 24, 13,

[1] Compare, however, the affected initial assonance (with the same difference) in R. iv, 33, 62:

Tārayā cā 'py anujñātas
tvarayā vā 'pi coditaḥ

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acintan*īyam* parivarjan*īyam* anīpsan*īyaṁ* svana-
vekṣan*īyam*

and in R. vi, 73, 55, where three pādas end in *-dhāni*, *-bhāṇi*, *-kāni*, respectively; the same (in *-tāni*, *-jāni*, *-nāni*) appearing also in a puṣpitāgrā stanza, R. v, 20, 36. In R. iv, 28, 41, we find:

pramattasaṁnāditabarhiṇ*āni*
saçakragopākulaçādval*āni*
caranti nīpārjunavāsit*āni*
gajāḥ suram*yāṇi* vanāntar*āṇi*
navāmbudhārāhatakeçar*āṇi*
dhruvam pariṣvajya saroruh*āṇi*
kadambapuṣp*āṇi* sakeçar*āṇi*
nav*āni* hṛṣṭā bhramarāḥ pibanti

In the following passage the effect of rhyme is given by simple repetition of the whole word, R. iv, 28, 25 (not in G.):

nidrā çanāiḥ keçavam *abhyupāiti*
drutaṁ nadī sāgaram *abhyupāiti*
hṛṣṭā balākā ghanam *abhyupāiti*
kāntā sakāmā priyam *abhyupāiti*

words put into the mouth of love-sick Rāma (kāmapradhānaḥ, as he is called) by some late poetaster, who, not content with the last stanza, adds to it (27):

vahanti varṣanti nadanti bhānti
dhyāyanti nṛtyanti samāçvasanti

Compare also in the same section, weak rhymes in -tānām, -vāṇām, -kānām, -rāṇām (at the end of the pāda in 31). This reaches its height in the ridiculous (late) section R. v, 5, where the same word is repeated at the end of each pāda till even 6 is a relief, where occurs the alternation: -pañko, -pañkaḥ, -lāñko, -çāñkaḥ. But elsewhere in R., e. g., ii, 16, 47, three pādas of a triṣṭubh end in -am, the other in -aṁ(d); and in the preceding stanza three pādas end in -āiḥ-, though jagatī pādas are here interchanged with triṣṭubh.

Foot may rhyme with foot or with alternate foot in the

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çloka, just as pāda rhymes with pāda, that is, either with a modification of the precedent syllable, thus, x, 15, 34,

evaṁ kuru
na cā 'nyā tu

or even with alternate rhyme, as in R. v, 59, 24,

pativratā
ca suçroṇī
avaṣṭabdhā
ca Jānakī

but the same sound may also be repeated without any such precedent difference, as in x, 15, 14,

adharmaç ca
kṛto 'nena

Such light fundamental rhymes cannot be said to be produced without design. They are, in fact, the vulgar rhyme of the common proverb, such as is conspicuous in all popular sayings. Compare for instance the following Marathi proverbs:

(a) icchi parā
yei gharā
(b) jyātse kuḍe
tyātse puḍhe
(c) svarga lokī
vāitaraṇī
(d) zase zhāḍa
tase phala[1]

Alliteration.

Alliteration, according to the native rhetorician Daṇḍin, is affected rather by the Gāuḍas than by the Vidarbhas, the

[1] (a) what is wished for another will come to one's own house; (b) evil is in front of an evil man (honi soit qui mal y pense); (c) in heaven the river Vāitaraṇī (the river of death precedes the joy of heaven); (d) as is the tree, so the fruit. Manwaring, Marathi Proverbs. The earlier anuṣṭubh shows the rhyme better on account of the iambus in the prior pāda, e. g., RV. v, 86, 5:

arhantā cit puro *dadhe*
aṅçeva devāv *arvate*.

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latter preferring cognate sounds to mere repetition. The reference is rather to classical affectations than to epic style, where alliteration is a common trick, but is not so overdone as it is in the works of later poets. A great deal of it is probably unconscious, or at least required and almost unavoidable. Still, the later epic writers certainly affect the anuprāsa, which Daṇḍin says is not liked by the Vidarbhas. Thus in vii, 118, 16,

mudā sametaḥ parayā mahātmā
*ra*rāja *r*ājan sura*r*ājakalpaḥ

and in viii, 94, 54,

nihatya Kar*ṇ*aṁ *r*ipum āhave '*r*junaḥ
*ra*rāja *r*ājan pa*r*ameṇa va*r*casā
yathā pur*ā* v*ṛ*t*r*avadhe çatakratuḥ

So in ix, 35, 24,

*d*eçe *d*eçe, tu *d*eyāni *d*ānāni vivi*d*hāni ca

and in iii, 63 21,

*j*a*g*rāhā '*j*a*g*aro *g*rāhaḥ

or iii, 64, 118,

*k*ā 'si *k*asyā 'si *k*alyāṇi, *k*im vā, etc.

Cf. iv, 14, 12,

kā tvaṁ kasyā 'si kalyāṇi, kuto vā, etc.

or iii, 64, 99,

*p*hala*p*us*p*o*p*açobhitāḥ

The taste for jingling is clearly seen in such examples from both epics as the following:

Tāro 'bravīt tatas tatra, G. v, 1, 49
çayānāṁ çayane çubhe, R. v, 10, 50
pralīnamīnamakaram, vii, 146, 3
Kuruçreṣṭha Kurukṣetre kuruṣva mahatīṁ kriyām, ix, 37, 57.

Alliteration is sometimes built on a foundation of older phrase, such as bhīmo bhīmaparākramaḥ, Rāmo ramayatāṁ varaḥ. Thus in R. vii, 42, 22–23,

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mano 'bhirāmā rāmās tā
Rāmo ramayatāṁ varaḥ
ramayāmāsa dharmātmā

A good deal of this is due to the later revisors. Thus R. v, 56, 51 (also a pun in sa lilaṁ), not in G.,

sa lilāṅghayiṣur bhīmaṁ salilaṁ lavaṇārṇavam
kallolāsphālavelāntam utpapāta nabho hariḥ

As it is quite impossible to tell what proportion of such verses reverts to the original epic, it must suffice to show that epic poetry as we have it, while not attaining to the perfected abominations of classical works, nevertheless employs alliteration to portray situations. Thus the rāudrarasa in R. vi, 65, 41,

rāudraḥ çakaṭacakrākṣo mahāparvatasaṁnibhaḥ

where the "harsh thunder-sound" is well given by çakaṭacakrākṣo. Admirable, too, is the phonetic imitation of motion, stumbling, falling, and dying in Mbh. vii, 146, 86:

babhramuç *caskhaluḥ petuḥ*, sedur *mamluç* ca, Bhārata

The rhapsode's clay is moulded variously, but it is the same stuff, the last example being a studied improvement, to suit the situation, of viii, 19, 2:

vicelur babhramur neçuḥ petur mamluç ca, Bhārata,

repeated in 21, 16, with varied reading, but leaving (tresuḥ) petur mamluç ca (sāinikāḥ), and varied in 19, 15 with the fatal *māriṣa* of the later poets (here in place of Bhārata).[1] The examples given above show both the Northern and the Southern style used in both epics.

That Vālmīki was copied by his successors goes without saying. The pseudo-Rāmāyaṇa shows, e. g., vii, 32, 64:

[1] One of the signs that the completed Mahābhārata is posterior to the Rāmāyaṇa. Compare A. J. Phil., vol. xix, p. 142. It is a Buddhistic term, māriso, foreign to the Rāmāyaṇa but current in the Mahābhārata and later Sanskrit works. The word, be it noted, is as old as one pleases, but its stereotyped employment in the Bhārata puts that whole work from a synthetic point of view on a par with other non-Buddhistic literature using it.

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sa tu *b*āhusahasreṇa *b*alād gṛhya daçānanam
*bab*andha *b*alavān rājā *B*aliṁ Nārāyaṇo yathā,

and this atrocity in G. v, 32, 45 (not in B.):

suvarṇasya suvarṇasya suvarṇasya ca bhāvini
Rāmeṇa prahitaṁ devi suvarṇasyā 'ṅgurīyakam,[1]

where the poetaster alliterates the whole word in an attempt at pathetic repetition. Though this is not in B., yet the latter countenances iii, 39, 18, where "words beginning with R" frighten Rāma's victim:

ra-kārādīni nāmāni Rāmatrastasya Rāvaṇa
ratnāni ca rathāç cāi 'va vitrāsaṁ janayanti me.

Similes and Metaphors. Pathetic Repetition.

On epic similes and metaphors an interesting essay remains to be written. As these subjects lie quite apart from a study of the verse itself, I shall at present make only one or two observations touching on the significance of these figures. First of all, the presence in the epic of rūpakas, metaphors, of this or that form, no more implies acquaintance with a studied ars poetica than do such phenomena in other early epic poetry. The pseudo-epic has a disquisition on rhetoric, as it has on every other subject, but rhetoric is older than Rhetoric, and I cannot see that illustrations of later norms found in the epic prove acquaintance with those norms.

In the rewritten Gītā, unquestionably one of the older poems in the epic, though not necessarily an old part of the epic, we find that the current dīpo nivātasthaḥ simile is introduced as a "traditional simile," upamā smṛtā, 6, 19. Such stock similes belong to neither epic, but to the epic store in general, as may be seen by consulting the long list of identical similes in identical phraseology common to both epics. But the epics lack the more complicated figures of classic form, just as they lack the later complicated *yamakas*. What they have

[1] Compare G. iv, 42, 12 = 44, 12 (aṅgulīyam, sic, in the latter), where the ring is "engraved with the mark of Rāma's name" (as arrows are marked in M.). So R. v, 36, 2, (aṅgulīyakam) Rāmanāmāṅkitam.

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in abundance is (a) the simile; (b) the simple metaphor; (c) the double metaphor. They have also a most atrocious mixture of metaphor and simile, as in R. vi, 41, 45, te tu vānaraçārdūlāḥ çārdūlā iva daṅṣṭriṇaḥ, "those ape-tigers like fanged tigers." The simile is sufficiently illustrated in Appendix A. I note only that it may be doubled, Rāhur *yathā* candram *iva*, "he, like Rāhu, him, as if the moon" (overcame). Illustrations of the double metaphor are found, for example, in xiii, 107, 33, sarasvatīṁ gopayānaḥ, keeping silence ("herding fluency"); xiv, 90, 95, svargārgalaṁ lobhabījam, "heaven's bar has greed as its seed!"

For my present purpose it is necessary only to point out that the later part of the epic exceeds the earlier epic in involved metaphor. Nothing, for example, in the early epic is quite equal to xiii, 107, 26, where after mentioning billions, sāgara, in 21, the poet adds:

āvartanāni catvāri tadā padmānī dvādaça
çarāgniparimāṇaṁ ca tatrā 'sāu vasate sukham,

which means that one remains in bliss fifty-one padmas of years, sixteen plus the aggregate of the (five) arrows (of Love) into the (seven)[1] flames = 35 (+16).[2] But parallels almost as extravagant (including the *gopay* simile above) have been noticed by Professor Lanman in the interesting essay referred to in the last note. Not so striking, though in style more rhetorical than is found in the love-passages of the early epic, is the metaphor of iv, 14, 25:

ātmapradānavarṣeṇa saṁgamāmbhodhareṇa ca
çamayasva varārohe jvalantam manmathānalam,

"O graceful maid, quench the mind-shaker's (Love's) glowing fire with the rain of self-surrender and the water of union."

[1] PW., s. çarāgni, says three fires. But compare yad agne te çivaṁ rūpaṁ ye ca te sapta hetayaḥ, i, 232, 10, and saptārcis, passim: and Muṇḍ. Up. ii, 1, 8. Besides, the result is 35 and one multiple is 5, so the other must be 7 (flames).

[2] These high numbers, while not confined to the pseudo-epic (Ind. Streifen, i, p. 97 ff.), receive fresh additions there in names of numbers before unknown. Compare xiii, 107, 63, for example, where occur the çaṅku and patākā: tathā çaṅkupatāke dve yugāntaṁ kalpam eva ca, ayutāyutaṁ tathā padmaṁ samudraṁ ca tathā vaset. On similes, cf. Lanman, JAOS. xx, p. 16.

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Another rhetorical trick, which appears not to have been noticed in the epic, is the occurrence of distinct attempts at "pathetic repetition." A comical example is given above. I have noted cases but rarely, and only from late parts of the great epic, but I cannot say they are not found elsewhere.[1] The first is from viii, 75, 6–7 a:

ratham sasūtam sahayam ca kaṁcit
kaçcid rathī mṛtyuvaçam ninâya
ninâya cā 'py ekagajena kaçcid
rathān bahūn mṛtyuvaçe tathā 'çvān
rathān sasūtān sahayān gajāṅç ca
sarvān arīn mṛtyuvaçam çarāughāiḥ

Another is found, H. 3, 118, 9 = 15,776:

adrākṣam adrākṣam[2] aham sunirvṛtaḥ
piban pibaṅs tasya vapuḥ punaḥ punaḥ,
(B. has purātanam)

and in the next stanza:

saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya tam eva nirvṛtaḥ.

This differs from simple repetition, such as that of jānāmi in R. iv, 33, 53 ff., but only in the effect aimed at. Perhaps the yadā 'çrāuṣam passage may be included.

Cadence in Çloka and Triṣṭubh.

The gibberish of xii, 10,399 (v. l. in 285, 125),

hāyi hāyi huvā hoyi huvā hoyi tathā 'sakṛt

is interesting as showing the epic's recognition of this form of interjectional piety (gāyanti tvām suraçreṣṭha sāmagā brahmavādinaḥ);[3] but I introduce it here as illustrating the

[1] Without the attempted pathos, mere repetition is an ancient trait exhibited as early as the Rig Veda, as pointed out, e. g., by Weber, Vedische Beiträge, 1900, p. 7, on RV. ii, 11. Repetition of the same words in succeeding stanzas is perhaps best illustrated by R. ii. 28, where duḥkham ato vanam is the pathetic refrain.

[2] Compare RV. i, 25, 18, dárçam . . . dárçam.

[3] Compare the stobha ib. 105: hūṅ hūṅ hūṅkārapārāya, etc.

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common occurrence of the repetition of the final foot of the prior at the beginning of the posterior pāda. This extreme example duplicates even the syllables, but in the pathyā form of the çloka the duplication of the whole foot, while not reproducing the syllables, may extend backward as well as forward, thus giving three identical feet, as in R. vii, 28, 6,

na bhetavyaṁ na gantavyaṁ nivartadhvaṁ raṇe surāḥ

Such a verse, however, is often modified as in iii, 168, 80:

nibodhata mahābhāgāḥ Çivaṁ cā 'çāsta me 'naghāḥ,

or, if the first two are maintained, by making the third foot ⏑ – ⏑ – or – – – –. The different possibilities concern us here only as they affect the cadence, for the monotony of the pāda is varied quite as much by the rhetorical cadence as by the foot. Even the stereotyped diiambic close of the posterior pāda is constantly broken by a choice of words which, far from lending themselves to iambic rhythm, impede it. So instead of the posterior ⏑ – – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ – the pāda must often be read as ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ –; while in the prior pāda ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ – – ⏑ is frequently to be read as ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ –, – ⏑. Pronounced cretics and dactyls often claim recognition, as at R. vi, 17, 12,

Rāvaṇo, nāma, durvṛtto, rākṣaso, rākṣaseçvaraḥ,[1]

or ib. 17, 67, vidyate tasya saṁgrahaḥ; ib. 18, 7, iti ho 'vāca Kākutstho vākyaṁ, satyaparākramaḥ. Hence even in the more rigid posterior pāda the çloka presents great variety. The effect, for example, of the diiambic ending is quite lost in the following typical examples:

balād ādāya, vīryavān
nava, pañca ca, sapta ca
sandhiṁ Rāmeṇa, Rāvana

To read such pādas mechanically, as if they had a pause before the diiamb (as Occidental scholars almost always read

[1] A stock phrase, the parallel to Rāvaṇo lokarāvaṇaḥ, R. vi, 20, 21, etc.

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them), is vicious. The çloka, more than any other metre, must be read by sense rather than by scheme. The latter method is bad enough in all metres, but peculiarly so in the short çloka, where, unless the stress jibes with the words, the result is a peculiarly painful tum-tum, which in no way gives the rhythm; for in reality the çloka is a metre of great subtlety and force, in which neither iambic nor trochaic cadence has ever held sway, but both interchange with pleasing variety even in pathyās,[1] often uniting in a dactylic or choriambic measure, as in iii, 56, 24,

kim abravīc ca naḥ sarvān,
vada, bhūmipate, 'nagha

or R. vi, 65, 11,

gaccha çatruvadhāya tvaṁ,
Kumbhakarṇajayāya ca

or ib. 59, 47,

tam abravīn mahātejā
Rāmaḥ, satyaparākramaḥ,
gaccha, yatnaparaç cā 'pi
bhava, Lakṣmaṇa, saṁyuge

With the same freedom at the outset, the triṣṭubh, instead of embracing all forms, as it might have done, continued on a more and more restricted path. It kept the iambic cadence much more closely than did the çloka and contracted its middle to an almost unvarying shape. It thus grew more and more monotonous, and not having even the advantage of hemistich-unity it became a mere collocation of hendekasyllabic verses, each pāda having the same unvarying quantity:

⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

[1] Still greater variety is given by the melodious vipulās, of which I shall speak below. But seven-eighths of epic verse are in pathyā form, that is, half the syllables in the verse are unalterably fixed as ⏑ – – ⏑ and ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑, so that it is of interest to see how with this self-imposed restriction the Hindu poet still manages to make verses so melodious, energetic, and varied, when read properly.

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(called upajāti), as in Horace's

trahuntque siccas machinae carinas.[1]

The only way to save from dead uniformity a rhythm so stereotyped was to shift the cæsura frequently.[2] In the Rāmāyaṇa, where upajātis are the rule (the Mahābhārata triṣṭubh did not reach the same level of monotony), there is often a constant play from fourth to fifth or a remoter syllable, as the place of rest. With the usual pause at the fifth, the dactylic middle foot is converted into an anapæstic iambic slide, as in the following examples from R. iv, 43, 62; 44, 16; v, 32, 10, the last two examples showing also the lighter cæsura not of sense-pause but of breathing:

(a) tataḥ kṛtārthāḥ
sahitāḥ sabāndhavā
mayā 'rcitāḥ
sarvaguṇāir manoramāiḥ
cariṣyatho 'rvīṁ
pratiçāntaçātravaḥ
sahapriyā
bhūtadharāḥ plavaṁgamāḥ

(b) sa tat prakarṣan
hariṇām mahad balaṁ
babhūva vīraḥ
pavanātmajaḥ kapiḥ
gatāmbude
vyomni viçuddhamaṇḍalaḥ
çaçī 'va nakṣatragaṇopaçobhitāḥ

(c) svapno hi nā 'yaṁ
na hi me 'sti nidrā

[1] Brown's Sanskrit Prosody, p. 9. On the other hand the jagatī corresponds in outer form to the iambic trimeter with twelve syllables. I treat the jagatī throughout as a triṣṭubh with one syllable added (the final syllaba anceps of the former becoming fixed as brevis), ∪ — ∪ —; not assuming this as a genetic fact but as a convenience, the same body appearing in both and the pādas being interchangeable except in the akṣaracchandas.

[2] On the derivation of types fixed in respect of the initial syllable (the upendra and indravajrā being derived from the upajāti and not vice versa), see below, the section on the Stanza.

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çokena duḥkhena ca
pīḍitāyāḥ
sukhaṁ hi me
nā 'sti yato vihīnā
tene 'ndupūrṇapratimānanena

But this tendency ran to extremes also, and as the syllabic arrangement became fixed, so the cæsura became stereotyped, till stanzas showed an almost unvarying cæsura of the painful type of R. v, 47, 30,

iti pravegaṁ tu
parasya tarkayan
svakarmayogaṁ ca
vidhāya vīryavān
cakāra vegaṁ tu
mahābalas tadā
matiṁ ca cakre 'sya
vadhe tadānīm

or of R. vi, 126, 55,

tataḥ sa vākyāir
madhurāir Hanūmato
niçamya hṛṣṭo
Bharataḥ kṛtañjaliḥ
uvāca vāṇīṁ
manasaḥ praharṣiṇīṁ
cirasya pūrṇaḥ
khalu me manorathaḥ

Even if Vālmīki did not write these stanzas, which may be doubted, a greater poet than he is guilty of the same sleepy iteration of cadences, as may be seen in Raghuvaṅça iii, 30; v, 18; vii, 19 (cæsura after the fifth in all pādas); vii, 16 (after the fourth in all pādas).

Tags.

Alternation of triṣṭubh and jagatī pādas in the same stanza helped somewhat to mitigate the weary effect of this metre; but it gradually yielded before the çloka or passed into other

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forms. One of its decadent uses was to furnish new tags for the end of chapters of çlokas. This was an old use, but it is extended in the later epic. The different texts show no uniformity in the insertion of these tag-triṣṭubhs, one text having several, where another has one or none, just as in the case of other tag-metres, for example, a puṣpitāgrā, G. iii, 39, 42; two rucirās between G. iii, 56 and 57, but none in R. Plainly a late insertion, for instance, is the imitation-stanza which serves as a tag to G. iii, 43, 42 (not in R.),

kālasya kālaç ca bhavet sa Rāmaḥ
saṁkṣipya lokāṁç ca sṛjed athā 'nyān,

Manu, ix, 315; Mbh. ix, 36, 40,

sa hi kruddhaḥ sṛjed anyān devān api mahātapāḥ

xiii, 152, 16,

adāivaṁ dāivataṁ kuryur, dāivataṁ cā 'py adāivatam
lokān anyān sṛjeyus te.

Such tags may, in fact, be made of adjacent çlokas. An instance is given below where a rucirā has thus been created. As regards triṣṭubhs, G. iii, 62 ends with a tag made out of a çloka omitted in this text but kept in the other, na çarma labhate bhīruḥ and na vindate tatra tu çarma Māithilī. A good example is found in R. vii, 75, 18 ff., where a triṣṭubh tag is added in almost the same words with those wherewith the following chapter begins, showing that with the division into two chapters a tag was simply manufactured out of the next stanza; as is still more clearly indicated by the fact that 76, 2 answers the question of 75, 18, vāiçyas tṛtīyo varṇo vā çūdro vā ('si)? çūdrayonyām prajāto 'smi. Evidently only one verse intervened, the çloka: tasya tad vacanaṁ çrutvā avākçirāḥ . . . uvāca ha.[1]

[1] The same thing occurs in R. iv, 50, where the chapter closes with the çloka: papraccha Hanumāṁs tatra kā 'si tvaṁ kasya vā bilam. Then follows the tag: tato Hanūmān girisaṁnikāçaḥ kṛtāñjalis tām abhivādya vṛddhām, papraccha kā tvam bhavanam bilaṁ ca ratnāni ce 'māni vadasva kasya, simply repeating the last çloka in triṣṭubh form. G. very properly drops the çloka; but it is clear that originally the çloka closed the question.

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The tag-function of the triṣṭubh is also known in the Mahābhārata, notably in the one triṣṭubh found in the Nala, iii, 76, 53, which has been regarded as spurious on account of its isolation. But the following sections, after the Nala episode, show just the same conditions, the end of chapters 83 and 100. So, too, at the end of ix, 24 and 28. Hariv. 2, 66, and 69 end with one jagatī each; 2, 68, with three.

The present text of the Rāmāyaṇa shows many cases of triṣṭubhs and jagatīs interpolated into the middle of a çloka section. Some of these at least are clearly the finale of former chapters. Thus R. vi, 69, 15 looks like an inserted jagatī, but its function is to close the chapter in G. 48, 13. So R. vi, 69, 88–96 appear as a group of interpolated triṣṭubhs; but in G. the same group is a tag to chapter 49. Probably the break in R. vi, 69, 44, G. 49, 31, is the original finis of a chapter. Occasionally, when one edition breaks a chapter, only the new division is found to have triṣṭubh or jagatī, as an accepted sign of conclusion, as in R. iii, 11, after 70; G. 16, 41.

A special function of the later triṣṭubh is to produce pathetic effect.[1] In this guise it wins new life and makes whole chapters, as in R. v, 28, where the burden of the chapter is expressed by hā Rāma hā Lakṣmaṇa hā Sumitre, etc.; or in R. iv, 24 (not in G.), a lament, the dolorous style of which may be illustrated by the reminiscent verses, 13–14:

prāpto 'smi pāpmānam idaṁ vayasya
bhrātur vadhāt Tvāṣṭravadhād ive 'ndraḥ
pāpmānam Indrasya mahī jalaṁ ca
vṛkṣāç ca kāmaṁ jagṛhuḥ striyaç ca, etc.

Closely allied is the employment of the triṣṭubh to describe not mental conditions but operations of nature. The Vedic pra vātā vānti patayanti vidyutah, RV., v, 83, 4, appears in

[1] This begins in the Mahābhārata as an extension of the tag-function. Compare the illustrations given in A. J. Phil., vol. xix, p. 18 ff. A good example of the sentimental effect, intensification of horrors, etc., deputed to the triṣṭubh by predilection, is found in R., v, 54, 30 ff. The action is in çlokas. The moral effect is given by the following triṣṭubhs.

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R. iv, 28, 45 as varṣapravegā vipulāḥ patanti pra vānti vātāḥ samudīrṇavegāḥ, in a long section wholly descriptive. Another example is found in R. iv, 30, 28–57.

Çlokas and triṣṭubhs are not often commingled, save in a few late passages of the great epic, i, 232, 10 ff.; Hariv. 3, 82, 3 ff.; and in R. v, 41; G. 37 (chiefly upendras), throughout a section. In R. a few long passages occur in the sixth book, 59–61, 67, but apart from these books the exchange of the two metres is avoided.[1] In the Sanatsujātīya, v, 46, there is, indeed, a regular çloka refrain besides other çlokas intermingled with triṣṭubhs, but this is because the author is reducing Upanishad stanzas, and at the same time adding some of his own. The practice belongs to those scriptures, and is not generally kept up in the epic, though occasionally a çloka or two appears among triṣṭubhs, as in ii, 64, 9–10. In xii, 350, 49 ff., two triṣṭubhs (the second having three hemistichs) are inserted between çlokas (after a çloka of three verses).

Common Forms of Çloka and Triṣṭubh.

From a mechanical point of view, the prior pāda of the çloka and the triṣṭubh are identical, except for the fact that to the eight syllables of the çloka pāda the triṣṭubh appends a scolius or amphibrach. The natural division of the eight syllables in each case is into groups of four or five, followed respectively by four or three. For convenience the group of four, which is found oftenest, is usually called a foot, and to have a name I shall so designate it. Now in epic (Mahābhārata) poetry, every foot of the çloka pāda is found in the triṣṭubh, and, vice versa (as will be seen from the following table), every prior foot and every last foot of the triṣṭubh's eight syllables is also a corresponding çloka foot:

[1] G. ii, 110, 3 ff. is not in R., and appears to be an interpolation. The parallels to G. v, 89 are also lacking in R. Verse 7 in G. vi, 34, is prakṣipta (the passage is not in R., but compare R. iv, 33, 53).

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Prior foot of Çloka and Triṣṭubh.	Last foot of Çloka and Triṣṭubh.
1, ⏑ – ⏑ –	1, ⏑ – – ⏓
2, ⏑ – – –	2, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –
3, ⏑ ⏑ – –	3, – ⏑ ⏑ –
4, ⏑ – – ⏑	4, – ⏓ – –
5, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	5, – ⏑ – –
6, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	6, ⏑ ⏑ – –
7, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	7, – – ⏑ –
8, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	8, ⏑ – ⏑ –

But, curious as is this purely mechanical identity, it is subject to three limitations, which prevent the effect one might think would be caused by it. First, the triṣṭubh's eighth syllable is long, while in the çloka, since the pāda ends here, the same syllable is anceps. Second, the scolius of the triṣṭubh is usually closely united with the second foot, while in the case of upajātis and some other triṣṭubhs the cæsura occurs in a majority of cases after the fifth syllable, so that the feet are not in reality what they are in the measured division given above; but the pāda appears, for example, as ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑, whereas in the çloka the usual cæsura is after the fourth, and only in certain cases falls after the fifth syllable. But the third difference, that of the general effect given by the çloka cadence and that of the corresponding syllables in the triṣṭubh, is produced by the interrelation of the first and second foot. Here there is a wide divergence, and it is the preference for one combination over another that makes the greatest difference between the form of the çloka as a whole and the triṣṭubh as a whole. Although it is true, as has been remarked by Professor Jacobi, that the essential difference in metres lies not in the opening but in the close of the pāda, yet in this case the interrelation just referred to is almost as important. Thus, to take a striking example, while ⏑ – – – is a second foot both in çloka and triṣṭubh, in the former it is pathyā, "regular," in all combinations, the commonest of all, while in triṣṭubh it is a rarity in any combination. So ⏑ ⏑ – – occurs after four or five forms of the first foot in çloka, yet is never a favorite, in triṣṭubhs after six forms, and is here everywhere common.

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It is, however, interesting to see in how many cases a permissible form of both metres is used, so that one cannot tell which metre one is reading till the pāda is nearly complete. Ordinarily the general rhythm determines the anticipation and the expected metre is duly met; but not infrequently is the justified anticipation deceived, and the metre, still keeping on the lines of the preceding form, suddenly changes. A penultimate verse, for example, in R. ii, 38, 14, begins mayā vihīnāṁ varada prapannam, but we no sooner learn that this is a çloka verse, not a triṣṭubh tag (as we might expect from its form and position), than in 15 we read imām mahendropamajātagardhinīm, the real tag of the section.

The form just cited is the usual one in which the çloka coincides with the body of the triṣṭubh. Sometimes, as in set phrases, the same words are used; thus in G. ii, 18, 33, and 55,

prasādaye tvāṁ çirasā kariṣye vacanam pituḥ
prasādaye tvāṁ çirasā yatavrate (triṣṭubh)

or in R. vi, 106, 4 and 59, 36,

tam āpatantaṁ sahasā svanavantam mahādhvajam
tam āpatantaṁ sahasā samīkṣya (triṣṭubh)

With the prevalent upajāti cæsura and almost after a system of upajātis (one çloka intervening), appears in R. vi, 69, 130, sa vāyusūnuḥ kupitaç cikṣepa çikharaṁ gireḥ, a perfect upendravajrā pāda in a çloka verse. Such alien pādas are not very common in the midst of a çloka system,[1] but are common in close conjunction with triṣṭubhs, as if the poet either wished to trick or could not himself get the last metre out of his ear. Another instance like the one above is found in R. v, 54, 48 ff., where only a çloka hemistich intervenes between a triṣṭubh system and the triṣṭubh-like cadence of the çloka: vyarājatā 'ditya ivā 'rcimālī; Laṅkāṁ samastāṁ sampīḍya lāṅgūlāgnim mahākapiḥ, nirvāpayām āsa tadā samudre (haripuṅgavaḥ). Cases where a whole çloka is interposed

[1] But compare R. v, 2, 31, anena rūpeṇa mayā na çakyā rakṣasām purī; R. vi, 43, 17, çarīraṣaṁghāṭavahāḥ prasusruḥ çoṇitāpagāḥ; Nala, 3, 1, tebhyaḥ pratijñāya Nalaḥ kariṣya iti, Bhārata; and ib. 12, but no more cases till 6, 8.

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are not at all rare. In R. vi, 67, 99–101, 99 ends in a triṣṭubh, 100 is a çloka pathyā, 101 begins sa Kumbhakarṇasya çarān çarīre (sapta, vīryavān). Less striking is the case where only one pāda of a çloka of choriambic form (second vipulā) corresponds to the triṣṭubh it follows, for here the former's cadence is not kept up. Such a pāda needs no intervening pathyā, but may follow directly on the triṣṭubh, as in R. vi, 67, 21–22,

pradudruvuḥ saṁyati Kumbhakarṇāt
tatas tu Nīlo balavān (paryavasthāpayan balam)

When an unimportant word or a superfluous adornment, an unnecessary adverb or epithet, is added, it arouses a suspicion that some of the çlokas may be reduced from an older form. Thus vidyunmālī appears to stop a jagatī in R. vi, 43, 41 a,

çilāprahārā 'bhihato (vidyunmālī) niçācaraḥ

So in R. vi, 69, 138 a,

khaḍgaprahārā 'bhihato Hanūmān (mārutātmajaḥ)

So, too in the verse cited above, haripuṅgavaḥ fills out the verse where mahākapiḥ precedes, a sufficient subject. In G. iv, 60, 2, nivedayāmāsa tadā maharṣiṁ (samhatāñjaliḥ); in the other example above, sapta, viryavān; and in the following example both terminals (even the accusative) are unnecessary, R. vi, 71, 37,

tato 'tikāyo balavān praviçya (harivāhinīm)
visphārayāmāsa dhanur nanāda ca (punaḥ punaḥ)

And very likely, since an inspection of epic phraseology shows that there were many stereotyped turns of expression, there were phrases used first in the triṣṭubh which were preserved in a crystallized form in the general çloka solution in which the epic was immersed. But to say, except in the case of such stereotyped phrases, whether this happened in any one instance, would be at best rather an idle expression of opinion.[1]

[1] In sādhu sādhv iti (te) neduç (ca) dṛṣṭvā çatrum (or rakṣaḥ) parājitam, R. vi, 44, 31, G. 19, 37, a stock phrase in either form, an old triṣṭubh, ⏑ — — —, might be preserved, but a varied reading is more likely.

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Certain verbal forms lend themselves best to one cadence and it is not surprising, for instance, that one turn should go to make both çloka and triṣṭubh (R. v, 47, 10; vi, 106, 14), or that the exact form here is elsewhere, G. vi, 89, 25 (R. has hayān), used as part of another triṣṭubh, so that we find:

pracodayāmāsa rathaṁ sa sārathiḥ
pracodayāmāsa rathaṁ surasārathir uttamaḥ

pracodayāmāsa çitāiḥ çarais tribhiḥ
pracodayāmāsa çitāiḥ çarāir hemavibhūṣitāiḥ

On this point I have only to add that a complete jagatī pāda, as well as a triṣṭubh pāda, may thus appear in a çloka, as in the example above and in R. v, 57, 15 b,

sa pūrayāmāsa kapir diço daça (samantataḥ)

and that, next to the choriambic form, the old triṣṭubhs in ⏓⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑, and ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ are most often incorporate in çlokas, as in Nala, 4, 28, varṇyamāneṣu ca mayā bhavatsu; 9, 4, vyadīryate 'va hṛdayaṁ na cāi 'nam; and 12, 39, patatribhir bahuvidhāiḥ samantād, etc., etc. Professor Jacobi has suggested that the çloka has borrowed such forms from the triṣṭubh. This seems to be a reasonable suggestion, yet it should be said that the argument advanced in favor of it is scarcely valid. Professor Jacobi bases the derivation of the second vipulā from the triṣṭubh on the assumed fact that in this form of the pāda "– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ almost never takes the place of – ⏑ ⏑ –," IS. vol xvii, p. 450. This statement, however, is based on a rather restricted area of examples. In the Bhārata çlokas, – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ is not uncommon except in late passages, and even there two or three cases out of twenty-five to thirty are not very unusual. All that we can say is that final brevis is much less frequent than in the first vipulā.

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The Epic Çloka.

The Prior Pāda of the Çloka.

The Pathyā.

The pathyā, or ordinary form of the first pāda, should exclude sporadic cases, but including them for convenience we may say that the pathyā foot ∪ – – ⏑ is preceded by five kinds of feet, sporadic choriambus or proceleusmaticus; iambic, ⏑ – ∪ –; pyrrhic, ⏑ – ∪ ∪; trochaic, ⏑ – – ∪ and ⏑ ∪ – ∪; spondaic, ⏑ – – – and ⏑ ∪ – –. The frequency of these feet advances in the order here given. With the exception of a sporadic choriambus or other wild irregularity, all these forms occur passim, even that with precedent iambus. This last is sure to be found so many times in a given number of çlokas and it must therefore be marked as occurring passim rather than as common; but it is far less frequent than the other forms, often less than half as frequent as the pyrrhic, as this is often only half as common as the precedent trochee. The relation between the trochee and spondee is from one-half to two-thirds. A curious fact in regard to the avoided iambus (before the iambus of the pathyā, as in the posterior pāda) is that when used it is sometimes preferred in its double form. Thus in xii, 312 ff., for about two hundred hemistichs, the precedent spondees, trochees, pyrrhics, and iambs are (respectively) 82, 54, 29, 11; but of the 11 iambs, 10 are double ∪ – ∪ – (against – – ∪ –). On the other hand, in xiv, 59 ff., these precedents are 73, 38, 31, 20; and of the 20 iambs, only 8 are double; while the opening stanzas of the Gītā (introduction, ch. 13) show 96, 62, 27, 14; but only 6 double iambs out of the 14. The precedent double iambus is characteristic also of Pāli verse. It does not seem to me that any great weight is to be laid on this or that ratio in the use of these feet, since all are used by epic writers everywhere, and the only striking distinction as regards their employment is that spondees naturally (it is a matter of nice ear to a great extent) occur oftenest before an iamb, and iambs least often; while

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trochees and pyrrhics lie between. But very often a double trochee (_ ∪ _ ∪) is preferred to a spondee (_ ∪ _ _).[1] As regards minor differences, as for example whether ⏑ ∪ _ ∪ or ⏑ _ _ ∪ is used more frequently, I have not thought it worth while to gather the statistics. Only the curious preference in later writers for three successive iambs seemed worth noticing, as it leads to the hemistich of eight iambs sometimes affected by doggerel epic poets.[2] Such a combination regularly occurs only at the beginning of a prior pāda, being tabooed in the posterior pāda, though occasionally found there. The general (not inviolate) rule for the pathyā is that any foot may stand before ∪ _ _ ⏑ which does not make tribrach or anapæst after the initial syllaba anceps of the pāda. The final syllable of the pathyā is long in about two-thirds of the cases.

More important are the facts in regard to the preference for certain forms combined with the vipulās, although these make but a small proportion of prior pādas.

The Vipulās.

The vipulās (syllables five to eight) are four in number: (1) ∪ ∪ ∪ ⏑, (2) _ ∪ ∪ ⏑, (3) _, _ _ ⏑, (4) _ ∪ _ ⏑. Only the third (as indicated) has an almost invariable cæsura. In respect of the general rules for these vipulās, from an examination of a considerable mass of material, I would state first that the epic çloka generally conforms, as far as I can formulate them, to the following conditions:[3]

[1] The preference for _ ∪ _ ∪ instead of _ ∪ _ _ is illustrated below. Cases of double iambus before the pathyā seem to me rather characteristic of the popular and late scholastic style than an archaic survival (the late scholastic often coincides with the popular through a common carelessness or ignorance). To be compared are Simons, Der Çloka im Pāli, ZDMG., vol. xliv, p. 84 ff., and Oldenberg, ib. liv, p. 194. The latter seems inclined to see (with due caution) evidence of antiquity in the precedent iambus. I regard this combination rather as a sign that the writer is more careless.

[2] See below for an example.

[3] Besides the articles above, see Colebrooke; Gildermeister, ZKM. v, 260; Weber, IS., vol. viii; Oldenberg, Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Çloka, ZDMG. xxxv, p. 187; and Jacobi, IS., vol. xvii, p. 443; Das Rāmāyaṇa; and Gurupūjākāumudī. Professor Jacobi's rules given first as "valid for the older epics"

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1. The first vipulā, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒ usually follows ⏒ — ⏑ —, ⏒ — — —, or ⏒ ⏑ — —, though it is sufficient to have the preceding syllable long (even this restriction is not always observed). The later style has fewer cases of the first of these combinations. The cæsura is after the (pāda's) fourth or fifth syllable, sometimes after the sixth. The last syllable of the vipulā is prevailingly long but not infrequently short, especially apt to be short after the diiambic opening. When the cæsura is after the fifth syllable of the pāda the last syllable of the vipulā as a rule is long (which would indicate that this cæsura is later than the one after the fourth).

2. The second vipulā, — ⏑ ⏑ ⏒, usually follows ⏒ — ⏑ —, though a preceding ⏒ — — — or even ⏒ ⏑ — — is not a great rarity. Any other precedent foot is sporadic only. The cæsura is after the fourth or fifth syllable of the pāda, inclining to the latter place (at times twice as frequent). The last syllable of the vipulā is sometimes short, most often when the cæsura is after the fourth syllable of the pāda, but is prevailingly long, especially in the later epic, where a short final is often rather rare (rarer than in the first vipulā).[1]

3. The third vipulā, —, — — ⏒ usually follows ⏒ — ⏑ —. The cæsura is very rarely after any other syllable than the fifth, and is seldom neglected. The last syllable is indifferently short or long. This is the most rigid form, both in

were modified in the later articles cited (1884, 1893, 1896). Professor Oldenberg's observations give an excellent comparison of Manu's practice with that of an epic passage. The statements in Colebrooke's and Weber's works mentioned above, based on the rules of native metricists, often conform, through no fault save that of the metricists, neither to epic nor to classical usage and historically considered are useless as regards the extant epic çloka. Professor Jacobi's rules, as modified by him, though not exhaustive, are generally quite unimpeachable and give the best (as did Gildermeister's in his day) presentation of epic conditions. I follow his order in numbering the four vipulās, and his rules, with some revision.

[1] The age of the piece affects the quantity of the final syllable. For example, of the two lotus-theft versions, the prior (as is often the case) is the more modern (xiii, 93). Here there is no case of — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, but fourteen cases of — ⏑ ⏑ — (one hundred forty-nine çlokas). But in 94, in the compass of forty çlokas, — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ occurs six times (against — ⏑ ⏑ —, four times).

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respect of cæsura and of precedent foot, so that the pāda is almost always ⏑ – ∪ – –, – – ⏑.

4. The fourth vipulā, – ∪ – ⏑, usually follows ⏑ – ∪ –, but in some sections is found quite as often after ⏑ – – – and ⏑ ∪ – –. The cæsura rarely changes from the fourth syllable. The last syllable of the vipulā is generally long.

5. The Mahābhārata has what may be called a fifth vipulā, ∪ ∪ – –. It occurs sporadically in all parts of the epic and is not very uncommon, though not so current as in the Upanishads. This form crops up occasionally in the Purāṇas, but is ignored by Vālmīki and later Kavis.

These epic conditions may be condensed into one short rule of general usage: All vipulās are found after ⏑ – ∪ –, but with occasional exceptions[1] only the first vipulā after ⏑ – – – and ⏑ ∪ – –, and no other precedent feet are admitted before vipulās. The cæsura is free (usually after the fourth or fifth syllable) in the first and second vipulā; after the fifth in the third; after the fourth in the fourth vipulā.

The chief difference between the normal type of the epic pāda and that of classical writers lies in the circumstance that, as contrasted with the facts stated above, in classical works there is

1) almost complete absence of the fourth vipulā,

2) greater rarity of the first vipulā after diiambus,

3) greater strictness in the cæsura of the third vipulā,

4) very rare exceptions in the employment of other precedent feet (e. g., the third vipulā after ∪ – – –, Ragh. xii, 71),

5) almost exclusive use of long finals in first and second vipulās.[2]

Thus it will be seen that there is still an appreciable advance

[1] The commonest exception is found in the case of the fourth vipulā. On an average half-a-dozen exceptions occur in the course of a thousand hemistichs, but excluding the fourth vipulā only one or two exceptions, generally in the form ⏑ – – –, – ∪ ∪ –.

[2] On the rarity of the fourth vipulā in classical writers, see Jacobi, IS., vol. xvii, pp. 443. The rule for the long finals is cited by Weber, IS., vol. viii, p. 345: sarvāsāṁ vipulānāṁ caturtho varṇaḥ prāyeṇa gurur bhavati.

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to be noticed in the classical style as compared not only with the style of older parts of the epic but also with the normal epic. Fewer vipulās (especially fewer second vipulās) in general, avoidance of the fourth vipulā, and greater strictness in the use of vipulās mark in some passages an advance even on the normal epic.

There is no "epic usage" in respect of the proportion of vipulās to pathyās. The fact that there is considerable variety proves little in regard to difference of authors, since many conditions affect the ratio. Not only is there apt to be a larger number of vipulās in scenes of excitement, as Professor Jacobi, I think, has somewhere observed, but also a monotonous list develops vipulās, partly because it is apt to be composed of names which, as they are harder to manage, always receive a certain latitude of treatment, partly because the dulness of the subject requires the livelier effect of the skipping vipulā. The vipulā (in excess of the normal) may then be due to a) personal style; b) intensity; c) formality; d) avoidance of dulness; to which must be added imitation or actual citation of older material. For this reason there is, in mere ratio of vipulās to pathyās, no especial significance, as may be further shown by the fact that on an average this ratio is about the same in the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata, though each poem shows great variations within itself. Thus in the first thousand verses (hemistichs) of the Rāmāyaṇa's third and fourth books respectively the vipulās are 125 and 118, or one-eighth. But twenty thousand hemistichs, which I have examined from all parts of the Bhārata, give twenty-six hundred vipulās, or a trifle over the same ratio. I do not then lay much stress on the presence or absence of vipulās in an epic section unless it shows remarkable extremes. Thus if we compare the 1098 çloka verses of the Raghuvaṅça and the 1070 which make the first half of Nala, we find that in Nala the ratio of vipulās is one-sixth, while in the Raghuvaṅça it is one-fourteenth (184 in Nala, 76 in Raghuvaṅça). But this paucity of vipulās, though common to most classical writers, is not found in Māgha (according

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to Professor Jacobi because he was a Westerner, loc. cit. p. 444), so that in itself it is no criterion of lateness.

The number of vipulās gives the general average (of 12½ per cent) already noticed.[1] But this ratio is sometimes almost halved and sometimes nearly doubled, small sections of two hundred verses (hemistichs) not infrequently showing from fourteen to forty-six non-pathyā forms; while in special cases even greater disproportion may be observed, some of which when taken into consideration along with other elements may still be worth noting. Thus as between the old tale, Upākhyāna, of Namuci, as told in ix, 43, 33 ff., and the following account, hanta te kathayiṣyāmi, of Skanda, in 44, 5 ff., the weight of probable seniority lies with the Vedic tale. Here there are vipulās enough to make the ratio 33⅓ per cent, instead of the average 12½ per cent; whereas in the Skanda tale there are only half as many. But again, the list of Skanda's followers, ib. 45, 86 ff., shows fourteen vipulās in fifteen çlokas, as the list of Mothers in 46 shows forty-six in one hundred çlokas, and the list of nations in xii, 101, 3 ff., has thirteen vipulās in twenty çlokas, all of these, however, being names and therefore exceptional. There are, on the other hand, good reasons, apart from vipulās, for considering that the conversation of Sulabhā and Janaka is not an ancient part of the epic (bad grammar is one item), and here in nearly four hundred cases there are but eight vipulās, or less than 3 per cent; instead of the average 12½ per cent.

Not the number of vipulās per se, but the use of vipulās may be a determining factor. The refined classical style differs, however, not from the epic alone but from the Purāṇas, where obtains even greater freedom than in the epic, especially in the nice test of the fourth vipulā. Thus, fifteen fourth vipulās is not a high number in a thousand Puranic verses, e. g., exactly this number is found in Vāyu

[1] In simple narrative, with no disturbing factors, the compass ranges from fourteen to thirty vipulās in one hundred çlokas (two hundred cases), three times more often above twenty than below it, and seldom exceeding thirty, for instance, only once in the first 4,000 cases of the ninth book.

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Purāṇa, ch. 4–9, five hundred çlokas; and in the epic section of Çānti from the end of the prose in 243 to the end of 351 (13,224–13,740). The Agni Purāṇa has as many as fifty-seven fourth vipulās in the same number of verses, the first twenty chapters, five hundred and five çlokas. But if we compare the use of the vipulās we see at once a striking difference in these passages. The epic selection has fifty second vipulās and thirty-two third vipulās; the Vāyu selection, thirty-three second and fifty-one third; the Agni selection, twenty-six second and fifty third; withal, despite the carelessness in the last, which gives four cases of the second after ⏑ ∪ – – and three of the third after ⏑ – – –. That is to say, even the late and careless Puranic style still inclines to the third instead of second vipulā, which is the classical preference. If, however, we revert to an older selection of the epic, we find, for instance, in the heart of the Bhagavad Gītā (830–1,382), that the second vipulā (in the same number of verses, hemistichs, namely one thousand, which in all the examples now to be given is the number to be assumed) has twenty-nine cases and the third but eleven; that is, the proportion is not only reversed but is in very striking contrast both to the norm of the Rāmāyaṇa and Raghuvaṅça on the one hand and the Purāṇas on the other. Coincident with this is the further fact that, whereas Vālmīki and Kālidāsa have proportionally few first vipulās after diiambus, both epic selections above have more first vipulās after diiambus than after any other combination; while the Puranic specimens are quite classical in this regard, the Vāyu having only one-fourth, the Agni only one-third of all the first vipulās after diiambus. An extract from the Anuçāsana Parvan of the epic, çl. 3,732–4,240, shows also an approach to the classical model (ten first vipulās after diiambus, twenty-three after ⏑ – – – and ⏑ ∪ – – each). The last case has thirty-six second vipulās against fifty-four third vipulās and only seven fourth vipulās (whereas the Gītā extract has twenty-two fourth vipulās).[1]

[1] The five texts, Gītā, Nala, Anuç. P.; Rāmāyaṇa iv, 1–11, and Raghuvaṅça show as fourth vipulās (in 1000 verses) 22, 10, 7, 2, 0, respectively

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A curious fact is, further, that, while this extract of the Anuçāsana, which is a medley on the gifts of cows, origin of gold, and other late stuff, has but seven fourth vipulās in five hundred çlokas, the following chapter on Çrāddhas, the basis of which is old (rules expanded from Manu's list of guests), has four in sixty çlokas. Another interesting fact is that the thousand verses which lead up to and follow after the extract from the Gītā given above, 495–830, 1,382–1,532 do not keep the ratio between the second and third vipulās, but approach the later norm, having an equal number of each vipulā. The Anugītā itself contains only one-half as many "irregular" forms as does the Gītā in the same amount of matter;[1] but following this the epic narrative is expanded in modern form, and here, where the subjects are the mountain festival, recapitulation of the Bhārata war (xv, 61, 1), digging for buried treasure, Parikṣit's birth, demise, and restoration to life, loosing the white horse, and Arjuna's renewed battles, the metre becomes almost classical, with scarcely a single violation of vipulā rules and with only five cases of the fourth vipulā to the thousand verses. Compare for instance the vipulās in Raghuvaṅça, the Rāmāyaṇa (iv, 1–11), and Āçvamedhika[2] Parv. 59–77, according to vipulās:

	i	ii	iii	iv
Ragh.,	33	17	26	0
Rām.,	62	20	34	2
Āçv.,	74	27	34	5

The vipulās of the first thousand verses (hemistichs) of Nala are, in their order, 91, 33, 50, 10. Though modernized, the irregularities in Nala are antique: 3, 13, iva prabhām; 12, 105, Nalaṁ nāmā 'rimardanam (changed to damanam); 16, 37, kathaṁ ca bhraṣṭā (?) jñātibhyaḥ; 20, 18, tvam iva yantā (now eva); in 12, 55, and 91, vilapatīm must be read (grammar is of no importance here, as will be shown below).

[1] They are three cases of the second vipulā after ⏑ – – – – and ⏑ ∪ – – respectively; five and one each of the fourth vipulā after the same feet respectively.

[2] The strictness here may be measured by the fact that there is only one case of final brevis in the second vipulā and only three in the first; no case of second or third vipulā after any precedent foot save ⏑ – ∪ – (and only one of the fourth vipulā). Further, only one-third of the first vipulās follow a diiambus.

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Also in the first thousand hemistichs of Āçrama there are only four cases of the fourth vipulā. Like Māgha of the West, the Māusala, on the other hand, which treats of Dvāraka and was probably a clan-tale of the West, comes much nearer to the antique standard, having ten fourth vipulās in five hundred hemistichs, three of them irregular, besides one further vipulā irregularity (stz. 47, 132, 211, 253).[1] It should be added too that, though (as just stated) there are four fourth vipulās in the first thousand hemistichs of the fifteenth book, yet they are all found in the first seventy-seven verses, and from this point on there is not another case of fourth vipulā for one thousand hemistichs, which is as classical as Vālmīki. This last selection is, in fact, almost precisely on the classical model, and differs from it anyway only in having two second vipulās after ⏑ – – –. This would imply an acquaintance with the classical norm, which can perhaps scarcely be doubted in the case of the writers who finally completed the poem.

A very interesting example of how the antique will make the poet hark back to an older norm is given by the Sāuptika. It will be remembered that this is almost pure narrative, but that at one point Çiva is addressed with a hymn and his demons are briefly described. This occurs just at the middle of a selection like those above of one thousand hemistichs. Now up to this point there is no fourth vipulā at all, but with the hymn and names come five fourth vipulās within thirty-five çlokas. Then the narrative is resumed, and till the end of the thousand hemistichs appear only three more. Some smaller points here also deserve attention. The num-

[1] In the next Parvan, there are four fourth vipulās in two hundred verses, but three are at the beginning and in three successive hemistichs, and of these, two are forced by proper names. That proper names are quite important may be shown by the catalogue at the beginning of the Harivañça, where the names force up the fourth vipulā to twelve (seven of these being in nom. prop.), and a third vipulā occurs after ⏑ – – – (in a name); as contrasted with the next thousand verses, where there are only four fourth vipulās. Bhaviṣya, partly owing to imitation of Gītā and Smṛti, partly to names, has nine in its first thousand verses.

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ber of first and second vipulās with cæsura after the fifth is double that of those with cæsura after the fourth, and there is only one first vipulā, and no second vipulā, with final brevis. Finally, there are only fourteen cases of first vipulā after ⏑ – ∪ – out of fifty-four in all. Thus from every point of view the same result is obtained. The little Parvan is comparatively refined in style (number of vipulās, 54, 30, 35, 8).

No doubt this parisaṁkhyā philosophy is tiresome reading, but as it is even more tiresome to obtain the facts than to glance at them, I shall beg the reader to have patience while I give the results of a few more reckonings, since I believe they are not without a certain value. What I want to show is that the treatment of the fourth vipulā goes hand-in-hand with that of other factors involving a more or less refined style, but not necessarily with all of them. I will take as my first illustration the tent-scene from Droṇa 72–84, and ib. 51–71, a group of apparently old stories on the "sixteen kings that died" and allied tales. In the former there are four, in the latter twenty-one fourth vipulās to the thousand hemistichs; in the former there is but one slight irregularity (⏑ ∪ – –, – ∪ ∪ –); in the latter there are six. But in the former there is one more second vipulā than there is third; in the latter these stand thirty to forty-seven; while after diiambus in the former there are nine out of forty in all, and in the latter sixteen out of fifty-five in all. In other words, in the last test there is scarcely any difference, but in that of second and third vipulās such evidence of antiquity as is furnished at all by this test is in favor of the former, whereas in the other tests it is in favor of the latter specimen. I have not selected these specimens, however, to show that all these tests are useless. On the contrary, I believe they may be applied, but all together and with constant reference to all other factors. The modifying factor here, for example, is that though the tales of the "kings that died" are undoubtedly old, yet they are told (or retold) in such modern careless Sanskrit that final i is here kept short not only before br but even before

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vy. It is not enough then to say that a story in Droṇa or Anuçāsana is "undoubtedly old," because perhaps it smacks of antiquity or even is found in a Buddhist record. It is not the age of the story but the age of the form in which it is couched that marks the age of the literature. This specimen, for example, enumerates earth's islands as eighteen in number, a sure mark of lateness, but here supported by other data. Another extract from Droṇa, an ordinary battle-scene, adhy. 92–100, has, to be sure, thirteen fourth vipulās, but the vipulās, in their order, run 44, 14, 37, 13, with not a single irregularity of any sort, while only ten of the forty-four are after diiambus; in other words, as clean a scheme as might be met in Vālmīki, except for the fourth vipulā, and even here eight of the thirteen are in proper names. Less classic in appearance, but still far removed from the free epic type, is the passage dealing with the deaths of Bhūriçravas and Jayadratha (vii, 141–146, not quite a thousand verses), important because of its mention of Vālmīki, 143, 67. Here the vipulās run 43, 33, 18, 11 (four of these in nom. prop.), with three irregular forms of the second vipulā.[1] A fourth of the first vipulās follow iambus. On the other hand, in the death of Droṇa and the following scene, vii, 190–198 = 8,695–9,195, only one-sixth of the first vipulās follow iambus and there are no certain exceptions. The scheme of vipulās is here 30, 28, 43, 9 (two in nom. prop.), that is, a more modern preponderance of third vipulās. Several other features show modern touches. Thus in 192, 7, Rudrasye 'va hi kruddhasya is either a very careless vipulā or contains an example of the Puranic licence (taken from Prākrit) of short vowel before kr; while in the same passage, çl. 13, eṣo or eṣa hi pārṣato vīraḥ, we have to choose between careless sandhi or careless metre. In 190, 33, the antiquity of ∪∪ — — is in an inherited name, Jamadagniḥ, where, as in similar cases, the old licence persists even into Puranic writings.[2] In 195, 44, kadarthī-

[1] In 146, 7, occurs the rare combination ∪ — — ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ —. The reading of C. 6,245 = 146, 92 is vicious, and is corrected in B.

[2] Names, formulæ, and numerals often retain this licence, e. g., ṛṣayaç ca,

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kṛtya is a late phrase, and in 191, 37, the stereotyped manœuvres are twenty-one in number (the earlier epic having fourteen). Here, then, the vipulās (110 in number, slightly below the average) do not badly represent the period of the selection, which is a worked-over piece, intended to save the heroes from blame, and is often incongruous with the rest of the epic; as in the humbug of the war-car "not touching the ground hitherto." When Yudhiṣṭhira tells a lie his car drops to the earth for the first time! But "hitherto" there has been no mention of this conscientious chariot, which here is represented as having floated just above the earth.

In Karṇa we may compare the thousand verses of 18–29, where there is late battle-action (guṇa for jyā for example), with the five hundred fifty verses of old tales in 33–34. Each has seven fourth vipulās, though one is only half the length of the other. In Sabhā the interest centres on the gambling-scene, certainly the kernel of the old tale. Here, ii, 50 ff., for a thousand verses, there is the greatest number of fourth vipulās (thirty-six, nine of which are in proper names) and the most irregular forms; three cases of a third vipulā after a spondee, one case of a prior pāda ending in iambus, two cases of the "fifth" vipulā, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, one case of first vipulā after a brevis, besides six cases of ordinary exceptions (second vipulā not after ⏑ – ⏑ –), all of which remove the piece far from the almost classical norm found in some of the cases given above. It is in fact Puranic.[1] Of course the scene is intense and exciting; but I opine that no poet who had once learned to walk the straight and narrow way of the later stylists would ever get so excited as to use thirty-six fourth

xii, 349, 78; daça devāḥ, Ag. P. xvii, 6. The same cause induces the fourth vipulā in many cases of the Rāmāyana. For example, the only fourth vipulā in the first thousand verses of R. iii, vāikhānasāḥ vālakhilyāḥ, 6. 2.

[1] Compare for instance the 505 çlokas or 1010 verses in the first twenty chapters of the Agni Purāṇa, where the vipulās in their order are 41, 26, 50, 57, with six irregular second vipulās (not after iambus); five third vipulās not after iambus; and only nineteen of the fifty-seven fourth vipulās after iambus. The first vipulā in the gambling-scene is run up by the repetition of one phrase. They are in order, 60 (odd), 34, 51, 36.

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vipulās in a thousand verses! Besides, there are other passages almost as dramatic. If we compare the Jaṭugṛha and four hundred verses of the Hiḍimbā stories, which together make about a thousand verses, we find eleven fourth vipulās, half of which are in proper names, only one case of a third vipulā not after ⏑ – ∪ –, and three ordinary exceptions in the case of the second vipulā. The Kīcaka in Virāṭa is also a lively scene, which with a slight addition of circumjacent verses contains a thousand verses (325–825), and here the vipulās are in order, 42, 24, 52, 6, with no unusual exceptions and only three ordinary exceptions in the second vipulā;[1] while five of the six fourth vipulās are in proper names and in the title rājaputrī.

But since it may be objected that the subject matter is after all the essential factor, I will compare a philosophical section where the matter is that of the Bhagavad Gītā, for example Çānti, adhy. 311 and following for one thousand verses. Here the vipulās in their order are:

Gītā,	38	29	11	22
Çānti,	50	31	29	8
Compare R. iii, 1–16, 60		33	31	1

It will be seen that the extract from Çānti is almost on a metrical par with the ordinary narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa (1010 verses). But further, of the three cases of fourth vipulā in Çānti, one is in a proper name and there are no anomalous forms of unusual character, and only two ordinary exceptions (second vipulā), while the Gītā has a dozen irregularities of all kinds (including "fifth vipulās"). I may add to these specimens the instructive opening of Udyoga, where for nearly two hundred çlokas there is epic narrative followed by the old tale of Nahuṣa and Indra. The vipulās, for one thousand hemistichs, are here 55, 25, 46, 10, respectively, but nine of the ten are in the old tale, adhy. 9 ff., çl. 227, the other one being in a proper name. In the old-style didactic

[1] By ordinary exceptions I mean cases where the second vipulā does not follow an iambus.

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verses, v, 35, 60 ff., on the other hand, there are six fourth vipulās in only five çlokas.

Whether we are entitled to draw from these data conclusions in regard to the time when the several selections were written may be doubted in all cases when the percentage of fourth vipulās is not sustained by other factors. But it seems to me, as I have said, that it is not unreasonable to assume a more modern authorship in the case of a sustained refinement of style. Even in cases where the data are not of an extreme character I think it is legitimate to question whether a comparative refinement is not of significance. Take for example the thousand verses of Udyoga, 119–133 (4,000–4,500). Here the subject-matter of the selection is the Bhagavadyāna. Nothing in the account seems antique; on the contrary, the whole story appears on the surface to be a late addition. Now, going beneath the surface, we find that the vipulās are in order 48, 23, 39, 13, but that eight of the last are in proper names. The collateral evidence agrees with the two factors here shown (preponderance of third vipulā over second, comparative scarcity of fourth vipulā); for of the forty-eight only twelve are after iambus; of the twenty-three, nineteen are after iambuṣ; while of the four ordinary exceptions (after ⏑ – – –) two are in the same phrase, yathā Bhīṣmaḥ Çāntanavaḥ; the third vipulā is perfectly regular or has at most one exception, mānena bhraṣṭaḥ svargas te (though, as a matter of fact, there cannot be much doubt that we have here the late light syllable before bhr); the five fourth vipulās not in proper names are all after iambus except one, contained in an hereditary phrase, eṣa dharmaḥ kṣatriyāṇām. Here then, though there is not the striking classical smoothness found in parts of the pseudo-epic, the few fourth vipulās agree with the other data in marking the piece as rather refined, perhaps modern, when compared with the oldest epic style.

When, however, the data are contradictory, as often happens, we may imagine a rehandling, as in the suspected[1] Nārāyaṇa exploitation in Çānti, from the end of the prose in

[1] Compare Bühler in Indian Studies, No. ii, p. 52.

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343 to the end of 351, about a thousand verses, 13,224–13,740, where the scheme of vipulās is in order 80, 50, 32, 15; thirty-one of the eighty being after iambus; with five cases of irregular second vipulā and perfectly regular third vipulā (save for a slightly neglected cæsura, dharmapratiṣṭhāhetuç ca). The fourth vipulā here owes its large number solely to names, numbers, and an old phrase. Thus we find, not after iambus, tasmin yājñe vartamāne (like the regular phrase tasmin yuddhe vartamāne); Vāsudevam (second foot); Sāṁkhyaṁ Yogam Pañcarātram; Sañkhyayogam (second foot); Pañcarātram (second foot); Vāikhānasāḥ phenapebhyaḥ; Sarvakṛcchram (name of vrata); aṣṭadaṅṣṭrāu; leaving two cases, durvijñeyo duṣkaraç ca and jāyamānam (as second foot) after ⏑ – – –; with five more after iambus.

Rather a striking example of the mixture of styles is given by ix, 48, where Indra and the jujube-girl are concerned. This is plainly interpolated with a Çiva parody. Compare, for instance, prīto 'smi te çubhe bhaktyā tapasā niyamena ca, in the Indra dialogue, with çl. 45 (in the interpolation), prīto 'smi tava dharmajñe tapasā niyamena ca. Now the original Indra tale has fifteen vipulās in the first thirty odd verses; but the same number of çlokas in the following Çiva parody shows only five vipulās.

Again it must be remembered that some rather modern selections are interspersed with old material. In the six hundred odd verses of the Çakuntalā episode, for instance, the style is modern to a certain extent, the first vipulā being less common after iambus than after spondee, and only one ordinary exception occurring in the second vipulā, while there are no unusual anomalies. But the passage has thirteen fourth vipulās, which is not a refined ratio and may be explained only partly by the presence of Dharmaçāstra material, hṛdi sthitaḥ karmasākṣī, bhāryām patiḥ sampraviçya (Manu, ix, 8). In my opinion the episode is old, but, like many ancient tales in the epic, it has been rewritten and in its present shape is not so old as the vaṅça and Yayāti episodes following, where there are as many fourth vipulās and more

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anomalies. This episode has recently been made the subject of an interesting study by Dr. Winternitz,[1] who believes that it is of very doubtful antiquity, because it is lacking in the Southern manuscript examined by him and because the knot is untied by a "divine voice," instead of by a ring. One point not noticed by Dr. Winternitz must be remembered, however, namely that the Harivaṅça recognizes the episode and cites from it, apropos of the "divine voice,"[2] so that it existed in the present version, if not in its exact form, before the Harivaṅça was added to the poem; though I should not deny on that account that it was of doubtful antiquity.

I think I have now shown sufficiently that the different parts of the epic cannot revert to one period, still less to one poet, and will leave this minute analysis with a repetition of the statement that, whereas the parts already cited clearly reveal more styles than we may attribute to one age or man, occasional freedom of style in respect of vipulās does not in itself indicate antiquity; but when all the elements agree in refinement, this sustained refinement certainly points to a different environment and may imply that some parts of the epic are later than others. There is a refined style and there is a careless style, but the latter is late Puranic as well as antique, and mere carelessness proves nothing beyond the fact that the poet either did not know or did not regard classical rules. On the other hand, even the careless Puranic writers generally show a greater number of first vipulās after spondee than after iambus and more third than second vipulās. When, therefore, even these rules are not upheld and we find besides other irregularities, such as the three cases of the fifth vipulā in the Gītā, we may rest assured that the writer was rehandling material more antique than that of other passages. I say rehandling, because the Gītā has clearly been rewritten by a modernizing hand, as is shown not only by the circumstance already noticed that the heart of the poem differs in style from its beginning and ending, but also, for example, by the

[1] Indian Antiquary, 1898, pp. 67 and 136 ff.
[2] i, 74, 111 = H. i, 32, 12.

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fact that in Gītā, 12, 15 we read yasmān no 'dvijate lokaḥ, a metrically bettered form of yadā cā 'yaṁ na bibheti, a phrase found intact in other parts of the epic.[1]

The usual epic çloka, apart from occasional variations, differs, as I have said, from the classical model most conspicuously in vipulā licence; as will clearly be seen at a glance on comparing the normal epic forms with the classical in the following tables, where is given first the average epic usage:

First Foot	Second Foot			
	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓	– ⏑ ⏑ ⏓	– – – ⏓	– ⏑ – ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ –	passim	passim	passim	passim
⏓ – – –	passim	common	rare	common
⏓ ⏑ – –	passim	common	sporadic	common

and then the forms permitted and almost never exceeded in Kālidāsa ("common" here means not unusual yet not passim):

First Foot	Second Foot			
	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	– ⏑ ⏑ –	– – – ⏓	– ⏑ – ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ –	common	passim	passim	
⏓ – – –	passim			
⏓ ⏑ – –	passim			

[1] Per contra, in the Sanatsujāta Parvan, v, 46, 26, yatho 'dapāne mahati is a metrical improvement on Gītā, 2, 46, yāvān artha udapāne. Other later features in the Gītā are the long sentences already referred to; the sporadic intrusion of the Māyā doctrine (discussed above in Chapter Three), and perhaps also the recognition of the Vedānta Sūtra.

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The usual Rāmāyaṇa çloka agrees with this later scheme, except in admitting sporadic cases of the fourth vipulā after an iambus.[1]

But, to get a comprehensive notion of the epic çloka, in its rarer forms as well as in its normal or average appearance, one must contrast these tables with the next, which gives, I believe, about all the Bhārata combinations for the prior pāda:

First Foot	Second Foot of Prior Pāda of Çloka in the Mahābhārata							
	⏑ – – ⏒	⏑ ⏑ – ⏒	– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏒	– ⏑ – – ⏒	– ⏑ – – ⏒	⏑ ⏑ – – ⏒	– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏒	⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏒
⏑ – ⏑ –	p 1	p 9	p 14	p 21	p 28	s 34	r 39	s 43
⏑ – – –	p 2	p 10	c 15	r 22	c 29	s 35	s 40	s 44
⏑ ⏑ – –	p 3	p 11	c 16	s 23	c 30	s 36	? 41	s 45
⏑ – – ⏑	p 4	s 12	s 17	? 24	s 31	s 37	s 42	
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	p 5		s 18	s 25	s 32	s 38		? 46
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	p 6		s 19	s 26	? 33			
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	s 7	s 13	s 20	s 27				
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	s 8							
	Pathyā	First Vipulā	Second Vipulā	Third Vipulā	Fourth Vipulā	Minor Ionic	Major Ionic	Diiambus

Abbreviations: p, passim; c, quite common; r, rare; s, very rare, sporadic. The interrogation marks indicate doubtful cases, for which the illustrations (as numbered in the table) must be consulted in Appendix B. For the corresponding table of triṣṭubh forms, see below.

[1] For the few exceptions to these much more restricted forms of the Rāmāyaṇa, see Jacobi's Rāmāyaṇa. There is to this uniformity not a single exception, for example, in the two thousand hemistichs found in R. iii, 1–16; iv, 1–11. Final brevis is rare in the second, but not in the first, R. vipulā.

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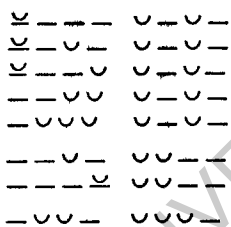
Midway between the classical and the normal Bhārata çloka stands that of the Rāmāyaṇa. The latter does not admit many forms found in the Mahābhārata. Some of these are older, some are later. But in its aberrations from the subsequent type of the classical writers the Mahābhārata is much freer than the Rāmāyaṇa; freer not only in admitting other types of çloka than those found in the Rāmāyaṇa, but also in the way of handling çlokas common to both epics. The çloka of the Upanishads (Kaṭha, Kena, Içā) admits as prior pādas,



Quite so free the Mahābhārata çloka is not, but it admits here and there as second foot ⏑ – ⏑ – and ⏑ ⏑ – –, and as first foot, – ⏑ ⏑ –, which is also found as first foot of the second pāda. So free as this the Rāmāyaṇa is not. From the occurrence of these freer forms we are entitled, however, to say only that the Mahābhārata is occasionally freer in its çloka-foot than is the Rāmāyaṇa. But it is generally freer, and much freer, in the non-observance of vipulā rules. This "characteristic stamp" of the Mahābhārata, as Professor Jacobi calls it,[1] in distinction from the Rāmāyaṇa, is one that it shares to a great degree, as I have said above, p. 79, with the early Buddhistic and Upanishad çloka, which is so wide a province that the explanation given by Professor Jacobi seems to me to be inadequate.

Yet if, as I think, the çloka of the Rāmāyaṇa shows that it is in its present form not only more refined (which is conceded) but also later than parts of the Mahābhārata, the latter no less is later than the Rāmāyaṇa in other parts. There are five sorts (perhaps stages) of çloka reflected in epic and pre-

[1] Gurupūjākāumudī, p. 53.

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epic literature (besides its parent Vedic anuṣṭubh). The first is the free çloka of the Upanishads. The second is the less free, but still unrefined, çloka of certain parts of the Mahābhārata. The third is the current Bhārata çloka. The fourth is the çloka found in parts of the pseudo-epic, a çloka *which stands on a par with the çloka of the Rāmāyaṇa.* The fifth is the continuous iambic çloka, which is found only in the Mahābhārata and is certainly later than other epic forms of çloka. Nearly forty stanzas of this type, consisting of iambs only (allowing final anceps), that is, over six hundred successive iambs — evidently a late tour de force — occur in xii, 322, 33–71, written by a poetaster who presents old ideas in a new style,[1] as in this specimen:

purā vṛkā bhayaṁkarā manuṣyadehagocarāḥ
abhidravanti sarvato yataç ca puṇyaçīlane
purā hiraṇmayān nagān[2] nirīkṣase 'drimūrdhani
na mātṛputrabāndhavā na saṁstutaḥ priyo janaḥ
anuvrajanti saṁkaṭe vrajantam ekapātinam
yad eva karma kevalam purākṛtaṁ çubhāçubham
tad eva putra sārthikam bhavaty amutra gacchataḥ
ihā 'gnisūryavāyavaḥ çarīram āçritās trayaḥ
ta eva tasya sākṣiṇo bhavanti dharmadarçinaḥ

So far as I have observed, although the prior pāda may end either in ∪∪–– or in ∪–∪–, the union of both in one çloka is unknown to the epic. This is a combination of one freedom with another. The forms, therefore, were felt as liberties and consequently were not multiplied in narrow compass. Such çlokas, however, are found in the early style, and even the Mahābhāṣya gives us a sample, apparently from some defunct epic source, where one prior pāda is aharahar nayamāno and the following is Vāivasvato na tṛpyati.[3] This

[1] Found, for example, in the Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda: satattvato 'nyathāprathā vikāra ity udīritaḥ, 162, etc. For the single pāda, diiambic prior, see vii, 55, 49, cited below under Diiambus. A single pāda of this sort is both Vedic and Puranic.

[2] See Proverbs and Tales in the Sanskrit Epics, A. J. Phil., vol. xx, p. 24.

[3] Cited by Weber, Indische Studien, vol. xiii, p. 483.

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may indicate that our epic has been metrically refined; otherwise we should perhaps find in it the same freedom. Noticeable also, I may say in view of the paragraph below on the posterior pāda, is the absence of any certain case of a hemistich ending like the prior pāda in ∪ – – –. This Gāthā form is found in the examples from the Bhāsya (compare, for instance, rātriṁ rātriṁ smariṣyanto rātriṁ rātrim ajānantaḥ[1]); but the utmost freedom of the epic is – – ∪ – at the end of a hemistich, except in the semi-prose example given below (on the Diiambus); a circumstance that makes it impossible to believe that the epic in its present form is older than the second century B. C.

The Posterior Pāda of the Çloka.

Owing to the prevailing diiambic close of the hemistich there is little variety in the posterior pāda. The first foot may have (sporadically) any one of seven forms, that is, with the exception of the unique opening of the prior pāda in proceleusmaticus, the first foot of the posterior pāda may be identical with any of those of the prior pāda. The second foot is a diiambus, or sporadically – – ∪ –, and ∪ – – – (doubtful).

	First Foot.	Second Foot.
1.	⏑ – ∪ ⏓	
2.	⏑ – – –	regular
3.	⏑ ∪ – –	∪ – ∪ ⏑
4.	⏓ – – ∪	sporadic
5.	⏑ ∪ – ∪	– – ∪ ⏑
6.	⏑ – ∪ ∪	[∪ – – –]
7.	⏑ ∪ ∪ –	

Of these forms, the first three and the fifth occur also as prior pādas (with diiambic close). The seventh form is avoided because it is the jagatī measure; but in general three final iambs are avoided. The first form is an oddity. Illustrations of all the forms of prior and posterior pādas will be found in Appendix B. The rules for this pāda are given below.

[1] Weber, loc. cit., p. 485.

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Of the forms of the first foot (third of the hemistich), all except Nos. 1 and 7 are found passim in both epics; of the forms of the second (fourth) foot, with rare exceptions only the diiambus is found. The commonest forms are Nos. 2 and 3 (ending in spondees). After the first vipulā both of these are equally common and each is about twice as frequent as No. 4, and from two to four times as common as No. 5 (final trochees). No. 6, ending in a pyrrhic, is sometimes surprisingly frequent after this vipulā; but at other times is lacking for whole test-sections of a thousand verses. After the second vipulā, which usually ends in an iambus, as after the first vipulā (also iambic), Nos. 2 and 3 are favorites; No. 3 being perhaps a little more frequent. Here Nos. 4, 5, 6, are much less common; No. 6, however, is rarest of all. After the third vipulā, No. 2 sometimes yields in frequency to No. 3; but in other sections this foot still holds its own, and as in the former examples is even twice as common as other combinations, though it practically repeats the vipulā, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –. Here Nos. 4 and 5 are about on a par, sometimes only a third as common as No. 2, sometimes more frequent, with No. 6 half as common as Nos. 4 and 5.[1] After the fourth vipulā, however, No. 6 is as common as any other, sometimes slightly in excess, with the others about on a par; No. 4 being perhaps the rarest.

Such varying ratios are not worth tabulating. They show that while the posterior pāda is not absolutely uninfluenced by the form of the prior, yet the determining factor is rather the inevitable presence of the former's diiambus, since the only marked choice is for spondees before it, as in the first pāda before an iambus (pathyā). The other cases reveal merely a shifting predilection for one of several forms, all of which are used pretty freely, the strongest influence of the preceding vipulās being simply that the usual prefer-

[1] For example in one text case of a thousand verses, there were twelve cases of No. 2; four each of Nos. 4 and 5; and two of No. 6. In another, nine of No. 2; eleven each of Nos. 4 and 5; four of No. 6.

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ence for a spondee before the final diiambus is changed into a natural aversion after a spondaic vipulā, —, — — — or — ∪ — —, but this is what might have been predicated in advance. After pathyās one foot is as permissible as another. Occasional variations here are of even less significance than in the case of precedent vipulās.

As all the forms of the prior and posterior pādas may have syllaba anceps, both initial and final, each pāda may appear in four forms.[1] Not to speak of the important modifications introduced by a varying cæsura, the syllabic combinations resulting from joining any one of the four kinds of each form of the posterior pāda with any one of the four kinds of each form of the prior pāda results in a large number of possible verse (hemistich) forms; while, since any form of the first hemistich may be united with any form of the second hemistich — to take only the commonest eighteen forms of prior pāda[2] and the five current forms of posterior pāda — the resultant variations in the form of the verse (hemistich) are 1440; in the case of the whole stanza (çloka), 2,073,600; so that one could write twenty Mahābhāratas in çlokas (the present one in the Calcutta edition contains 95,739 çlokas) and never repeat the same metrical stanza. Despite this latitude, however, the poets are not at all shy of repeating the same syllabic hemistich in juxtaposition, showing that they were indifferent to the vast possibilities before them and cared for cæsura more than for syllables. Thus Nala v, 45 b–46 a:

> Damayantyā saha Nalo vijahārā 'maropamaḥ
> janayāmāsa ca Nalo Damayantyā mahāmanaḥ

[1] In explanation of the number of examples in Appendix B, I would say that, for the sake of showing the truth of this anceps theory, I have given the four forms, syllaba anceps at both ends of the pāda.

[2] That is, the first six pathyās, the first four forms of the first and second vipulās respectively, the first form of the third vipulā, and the first three forms of the fourth vipulā. These, by the way, are the forms "approved" by modern native scholars, according to Brown, Prosody, p. 6.

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The Diiambus

The rule of diiambic cadence appears to be violated in the epic. Far from regarding this as an archaism on the part of epic poets, one should recognize in such cases only a Puranic licence or adaptation of the Gāthā freedom conspicuous in all popular and therefore loose composition. Not only is that rule for Sanskrit which allows a syllable to remain light before kr, pr, br, hr, valid for the later epic, but the extended Prākrit licence is also found, whereby almost any conjunct[1] may be treated for metrical purposes like a single consonant. Examples are found both in the Mahābhārata and the later Rāmāyaṇa. For the latter epic, Jacobi, Das Rāmāyāṇa, p. 25 ff., should be consulted, where are given examples in br, pr, mr, ml, tr, hr, kl, and çr, e. g., kiṁ tu Rāmasya prītyartham, R. v, 53, 13; vināçayati trāilokyam, ib. 1, 65, 13. From the Mahābhārata (in the appended illustrations of epic çloka forms) I have drawn several examples which are doubtful, because they may be regarded either as irregular (unusual) forms without this licence or regular forms with it. Such are daça pañca ca prāptāni (No. 25); hate Bhīṣme ca Droṇe ca (No. 22); sarvaçāuceṣu Brāhmeṇa (No. 23); abhijānāmi brāhmaṇam (No. 41); mānena bhraṣṭaḥ svargas te (No. 22); Rudrasye 'va hi kruddhasya (No. 24). But further, in a few cases, çr also seem to leave the syllable light behind them, as in R.; e. g., adyaprabhṛti çrīvatsaḥ (Nos. 15, 26, 39). Nor are we aided as much as we should like to be, when, turning from these doubtful priors, we examine the posterior pādas. For though at first it seems decisive that such a pāda appears as putram īpsanti brāhmaṇāḥ, vii, 55, 21; toṣayiṣyāmi bhrātaram, viii, 74, 30; yet it is not quite settled whether we have here a syllable to be read light because, as in Greek, mute and liquid really make insufficient position, or whether the syllable is heavy but is allowed to stand for a light. For there are other cases where mute and liquid are not the

[1] Colebrooke, Essays, vol. ii, p. 65, note ("any conjunct" in Prākrit).

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components of the conjunct. First we have double semivowels, which ordinarily make position, but fail to do so, for example, in vii, 55, 50, abhi Çvāityе 'tī vyāharan, which appears after a çloka with a diiambic prior pāda (sa cen mamāra Sṛñjaya). So the syllable remains light before cch and kṣ and dv, or the metrical rule is violated. In the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Mahābhārata, cases of liquid and kṣ are found more rarely in triṣṭubhs, but often enough to show that they are occasionally allowed. Thus in R. iii, 63, 6 b, °etya kleçam (triṣṭubh).[1] In M.:

viii, 37, 24 d, tyaktvā prāṇān anuyāsyāmī Droṇam
xii, 73, 7 a–b, yadā hi[2] brahma prajahātī kṣatram
kṣatraṁ yadā vā prajahātī brahma
xii, 319, 89 b, sarve nityaṁ vyāharante cā brahma

In sum, the cases where this licence may be assumed for the later epic style[3] are before dr, br, bhr, mr, kr, pr, kl, tr, çr, hr, ty, vy, çy, dv, cch, kṣ. For dv, compare striyaç ca kanyāç ca dvijāç ca suvratāḥ, iv, 37, 33; āvartanāni catvāri tathā padmānī dvādaça, xiii, 107, 26; for cch, yugeṣv īṣāsŭ chatreṣu, vii, 159, 36, where the texts avoid the third vipulā by writing ch for cch. But whenever a short syllable is needed before cch it is got by dropping c (sometimes in one text, sometimes in another). For kṣ, ca kṣīyate, xii, 343, 87; raṇabhītāç cā kṣatriyāḥ, vii, 73, 39 (apparently an interpolated passage); exactly as we find the same licence in Vāyu Purāṇa, viii, 155, where the çloka ends °sā kṣatriyān, or as ib. v, 28, we find the common licence before *br*, lokān sṛjati brahmatve. For çy, see below on the triṣṭubh scolius; mr, ml, ty, tr, I have not found in the Mahābhārata. They seem to belong to the latest parts of the Rāmāyaṇa.

[1] Jacobi, Rām. p. 27, gives cases from the later R. In G. v, 28, 5, na tyajet (B. correct v. l.); G. ii, 27, 24, tvayā sāham (B. correct v. l.).

[2] This section is free; but in xii, 202, 22 b, there is an upajāti group where we find tad evā pratyādadate svadehe (⏑ — ∪ — being demanded).

[3] Examples of regular (heavy) position before mute and liquid are found everywhere, e. g., ix, 17, 41, 43, 44, 47, 51, 52; xii, 63, 8, 27; 64, 16, 18, etc. This is the rule; failure to make position or neglect of quantity is the exception and is characteristic rather of the later epic, as shown by the examples above.

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We may, I think, assume that the liberty in respect of liquid and consonant was first introduced into epic Sanskrit, and that then in the later epic this was extended, with Gāthā freedom, to cases where the precedent syllable cannot be light, but is reckoned so. Therefore, while the early epic has only diiambic close, the later epic (like the Purāṇas) admits ⏑ – ⏑ – as an equivalent; not of course generally, but sporadically, where the writer is late and careless, as is indicated by the character of the sections where such illegitimate freedom is found. So in the triṣṭubh scolius, there are a few cases of careless writing where a heavy syllable stands in the place of a light one. To say that this heavy syllable is light because it ought to be, is misleading. The weight may be ignored, as in Prākrit (though there mutilation explains much that appears of this nature), but it must exist. Even the Greek poets occasionally pretended that a heavy syllable was light. In fine, ⏑ – ⏑ – must be admitted as an occasional fourth foot of the hemistich, though it is avoided whenever possible.[1] For the foot ⏑ – – – –, I have only the hemistich etac chrutvā tu Kāuravyaḥ Çibim pradakṣiṇaṁ kṛtvā, iii, 194, 7, but this is apparently an accidental verse in a prose narration.

Poetic Licence.

In general, however, while the epic poets are here and there rough and uncouth in their versification, the normal epic style sacrifices a good deal to what is regarded as good metrical form. Such a sacrifice, which culminates in the classical rule that one may use bĕn for bean (maṣa for māṣa) if one only follows the metrical norm, is found most clearly exemplified in this very case of the diiambic close; a proof that the diiambus was regarded in general as obligatory.[2] But it is also to be noticed in the observance of preferred vipulā forms at the sac-

[1] Its restitution in Praçna ii, 6, ṛco yajūṅṣi sāmāni, yajñaḥ kṣatraṁ [ca] brahma ca, is at least probable.

[2] Compare even in the Rig Veda the regular irregularity of yaviṣṭhiam, for yaviṣṭham, for the sake of the diiambus; and see now an article by Professor Bloomfield on this very point, JAOS. xxi, p. 50 ff.

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rifice of (Sanskrit) grammatical accuracy. There are, indeed, cases where word-structure appears to be needlessly sacrificed; but the vast majority of cases in which Sanskrit grammar is violated have to do with metrical necessity or predilection.

As already stated, the most frequent cause of such violation is the well-nigh obligatory diiambus at the close of a verse, as in phullaṁ Gomatī-tīrajam, iv, 17, 12. The diiambic rule, as ordinarily stated, is included in this presentment of çloka restrictions: "The second, third, and fourth syllables of a posterior pāda should not form a tribrach, anapæst, or amphimacer, and the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth syllables should make a diiambus or second pæon, while the tribrach and anapæst rule apply also to the prior pāda." Obviously, in the posterior pāda, the tribrach rule, forbidding

⏑ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑

is to avoid a succession of four or five short syllables; while the anapæst and amphimacer rule, forbidding

⏑ ⏑ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ⏑

is to avoid the (jagatī) close of three final iambs. The rule then for the even pāda is simply: Posterior pādas must end with diiambs, but must not end with triiambs, and must not contain a proceleusmaticus.

The following examples illustrate how secondary is Sanskrit grammar to this metrical rule: yaç ca çūnyam upāsate (for upāste),[1] v, 33, 39; na sma paçyāma lāghavāt, vii, 146, 5 (necessarily present); bhāryāyāi gacchatī vanam, R. ii, 32, 8; setihāse că chandasi, xiii, 111, 42; kathākhyāyikākārikāḥ, ii, 11, 36, and svadhā ca svadhābhojinām, R. vii, 23, 23; yathā hi kurute rājā prajās tam anuvart*ate*,[2] R. vii, 43, 19; madhūni droṇamātrāṇi bāhubhiḥ parigṛhy*ate*, R. v, 62, 9 (not in G.); apākrămat, ix, 11, 62.

[1] So we find at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, upāsate yaḥ, iii, 5, 19 b. Less common is the second person, mokṣadharmam upāsase, xii, 315, 15.

[2] This is simply a case of sacrifice to metre by a pedant who imitates Manu viii, 175, where prajās tam anuvartante is the close of a *prior* pāda. Another form of this proverb, by the way, is shown in R. ii, 109, 9: yadvṛttāḥ santi rājānas tadvṛttaḥ santi hi prajāḥ (Spr. 1,643, 1,652, 5,768).

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These examples comprise different classes, where, metri causâ, are changed (a) the conjugation or mode; (b) the temporal termination; (c) the feminine participle; (d) the euphonic rule; (e) the gender; (f) the syntactical combination;[1] (g) length of root-vowel and other sporadic cases.

Of these, by far the commonest are irregularities in the temporal termination, and in the ending of the feminine participle. Of these two, the usual changes are the substitution of preterite for present endings and *atī* for *antī;* less often, present for preterite and *antī* for *atī*. The participial change is the commonest of all, and what is most important is that scarcely any of the irregular participial stems are irregular from any other cause than that of metrical preference, and the greater number are fashioned simply to give diiambus at the end of the hemistich. I lay especial stress on this because in the lists of such changes occasionally published either no weight at all has been laid on the motive of the change, or the motive has been only incidentally acknowledged, or thirdly the lists have been made with reference to the class of the participle, as if the conjugation were especially important.[2] The only thing of importance, however, is the metre. What has been lost sight of, or not seen, is that not only the obvious diiambic rule but also the vipulā preferences come strongly in play, especially in the Rāmāyaṇa. A few examples will illustrate this.

First for the diiambus: cā 'nyāṁ gatim apaçyatī, R. vi, 47, 10; kurarīm iva vāçatīm, Nala, 11, 20; so elsewhere in Mbh., abhilapsatī, cikīrṣatī, nādayatī, avekṣatī, anveṣatī; and in Rām., parigarjatī, yācatī, anudhāvatī, janayatī mama, etc. Likewise in the verbal ending: adho gacchāmă medinīm, i, 13, 18; duḥkham prāpsyāmă dāruṇam, ix, 59, 30; yuddhe kiṁ kurmă te priyam, ix, 32, 62; kathā drakṣyāmă tām purīm,

[1] See below, on dialectic Sanskrit.

[2] At the same time I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following lists as collections of material: For four books of the Rāmāyaṇa, Böhtlingk, Berichte d. philol. histor. Classe d. Königl. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. 1887, p. 213; Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata.

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R. ii, 47, 11; na ca paçyāmă Māithilīm, R. iv, 50, 15; 56, 13. Compare also the striking example in R. ii, 91, 59: nāi 'vā 'yodhyāṁ gamiṣyāmo na gamiṣyāmă Daṇḍakān. These ordinary irregularities might be exemplified with hundreds.[1] Other cases are less frequent; but to the same cause is due the close of hemistichs in tāv akurvătām, i, 176, 9; the frequent change of voice, as in svargam īhantī nityaçaḥ, vii, 71, 14; the change of vowel-length in upākrămat, apākramat, parākramet, vii, 54, 58; ix, 11, 47; 11, 62; xii, 140, 25; so 'pi niṣkrăman, R. iv, 50, 9; Lakṣmīvardhanaḥ (passim) and the frequent loss of augment.[2] One of the most striking verbal changes is in na bibhyati for na bibheṭi in i, 75, 53; na bibhyase, R. iii, 46, 30.

The other half of the rule for the posterior pāda is kept by avoiding three iambs and a succession of four breves, with a sacrifice of the normal quantity, in prācetaso daça (so explained in PW. s. v.); sakhĭgaṇāvṛtā, Nala, i, 24; na çrīr jahăti vāi tanūḥ, xi, 25, 5 (jahanti for jahati, below); upāsante mahāujasaḥ, R. vii, 37, 19 (upāsate in 20) and 21; āyatīhitam ucyate, G. iii, 44, 11; and instead of adhārayam (mahāvratam), samadhāram, R. vii, 13, 25. Compare also na svapāmi niçās tadā, Nala, 13, 61, patois for svapimi; and the middle drakṣyase vigatajvaram, ib. 12, 93, with drakṣyasi in 92 and 95; drakṣyase suṛasattamam, v, 14, 5.[3]

In the prior pāda, to avoid the anapæst the same form is used, drakṣyase devarājānam, v, 11, 24; the sandhi of eṣo hi

[1] One of the commonest cases is the substitution of sma for smaḥ. This is found oftenest in the prior pāda but also in the posterior, e. g., R. iv, 65, 11, anuprāptāḥ sma sāmpratam.

[2] Compare also the endings patnĭṣu, prakṛtījanaḥ, R. i, 37, 6; 42, 1; gṛhagṛdhnŭnām, R. vi, 75, 14, manyŭnām, ib. 15 (dīrghābhāva ārṣaḥ says the scholiast); kopenā 'bhiparīvṛtaḥ, R. vii, 58, 22 (below); anūdaram, xiv, 46, 47.

[3] Here too belongs the use of the future imperative in ix, 25, 44, drakṣyadhvaṁ yadi jīvati, followed by yudhyadhvaṁ sahitāḥ sarve. Böhtlingk, loc. cit., denies to the epic a future imperative. The case I have cited, however, is not in Holtzmann's list (loc. cit. § 938), on which B. draws for his material, and it seems to me conclusive in favor of such a form (and meaning). Were it not for the breves the poet would have used paçyata (not drakṣyatha), as is shown by yudhyadhvam and the general situation.

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pārṣato viraḥ, vii, 192, 13; the long vowels in Pūṣāṇam abhyadravata, vii, 202, 59; çrutāvatī nāma vibho, ix, 48, 2; and the change of conjugation in dadanti vasudhāṁ sphītām, xiii, 62, 46. To avoid diiambus at the close of the prior pāda we find, for the genitive, dadarça dvāiratham tābhyām, vii, 98, 26; the participial exchange noted above, kusumāny apacinvantī, R. iii, 42, 32; jānantī, R. ii, 10, 35 and Mbh. i, 78, 6; and various sporadic irregularities in the latter poem: pradakṣiṇam akurvanta, viii, 72, 12; puṣṇāmy āuṣadhayaḥ sarvāḥ, i, 78, 40; Duryodhanam upāsante, viii, 84, 12; çayānam samupāsanti, vii, 72, 40 (so G. vii, 41, 2); vālūkām, pattībhiḥ, etc., R. iii, 73, 12; iv, 25, 23; çaktībhiḥ, R. vi, 71, 14. For a like reason, but to avoid a final minor Ionic, we find paçyate rājā, R. vii, 32, 25; drakṣyase tatra, ib. 34, 10, etc.

Less generally have been recognized irregularities due to vipulās. But here too Sanskrit grammar yields to the decided tendency to have an iambus or diiambus precede in three of the four forms and also to less marked tendencies. Even the pathyā shows similar cases, though in this foot more latitude is allowed. But there often is, for example, in the pathyā a decided preference for the opening ⏑ ∪ – ∪ rather than ⏑ ∪ – –, and in accordance with this we find arditāḥ sma bhṛçaṁ Rāma, in R. iii, 10, 11, and āgatāḥ sma, ib. 15, 2; where sma must be for smaḥ (in some cases this is doubtful).[1] Of the vipulās, the third is naturally chiefly affected. In the last passage, for example, çl. 19, we read iha vatsyāma Sāumitre, which is changed as certainly for metrical reasons as are the similar cases in the diiambic ending. So in R. ii, 17, 10; 40, 22, etc. So, too, loss of augment in sa praviçya ca paçyad vāi; the participle in -ant, tathā rudantīṁ Kausalyām, R. ii, 40, 44; duḥkhāny asahatī devī, R. ii, 12, 89; kācic cintayatī tatra, R. vii, 24, 11 (as opposed to sā cintayantī buddhyā 'tha, Nala, 5, 12); and shortening of a long vowel, sapatnīvṛddhāu yā me tvam, R. ii, 8, 26; pitur iṅgudīpaṇyā-

[1] In upāsanta mahārājam, iv, 18, 16, the form is chosen not from any aversion to ∪ – ∪ ∪, but for variety, because this foot precedes in the same çloka. In R. i, 4, 4, agṛhītām ("Vedic") is merely an error.

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kam, R. ii, 104, 8; so 'marāvatīsaṁkāçam, R. vii, 33, 4. The commonest form here is the sma just referred to: pitṛmatyaḥ sma bhadraṁ te; kṛtapuṇyāḥ sma bhadraṁ te, R. i, 33, 3; ii, 55, 12. So, adharmaṁ vidma Kākutstha asmin, R. vii, 63, 2. Offensive is the heavy third vipulā preceded by a succession of heavy syllables, and so we find: aho tṛptāḥ sma bhadraṁ te, R. i, 14, 17; nūnaṁ prāptāḥ sma sambhedam, R. ii, 54, 6; vyaktam prāptāḥ sma taṁ deçam, ib. 93, 7.[1]

The Mahābhārata is not so strict in its vipulā regulation, but even here we find the same condition of things, though in less careful observance. Thus, tvayy adhīnāḥ sma rājendra, v, 8, 22; tvadadhīnāḥ sma rājendra, xv, 3, 54; upaçikṣāma te vṛttam, xii, 16, 2;[2] ihāi 'va vasatī bhadre, Nala, 13, 66. Both texts, merely in accordance with the vipulā rule or predilection, have kim māṁ vilapatīm ekām in Nala, 12, 55, and 91, which modern editors, sure of grammar but ignorant of metre, change to vilapantīm (compare R. iv, 20, 22, kim mām evam pralapatīm); evaṁ vilapatīṁ dīnām, vii, 78, 36. Other examples are tato rudantīṁ tāṁ dṛṣṭvā, Nala, 16, 33 (as in R. vii, 80, 18, arajā 'pi rudantī sā, to avoid the Ionic; but visaṁjñakalpāṁ rudatīm, vii, 78, 39, etc.); mām anusmaratī çete, viii, 44, 17; paitīm anveṣatīm ekām, Nala, 12, 34. Most participial changes of this sort not due to the diiambus (avoided or sought) are due here as in the Rāmāyaṇa to the natural disinclination to heap up long syllables and the grad-

[1] About half the cases of sma for smaḥ are due to metre. This word before sonants on account of its monosyllable would lose its character, and for this reason most of the cases not due to metre are before sonants to avoid smo. Of all the cases in Böhtlingk's list only two are before surds. At the pāda-end, where length is indifferent, sma stands only before sonants. With the exception of sma, in the first four books of the Rāmāyaṇa (according to Böhtlingk's list) the only examples of ma for maḥ which appear to be independent of metre are vidma pūrvam and pravekṣyāma at the beginning of posterior pādas. The first is not in G.; the second appears in G. as *vekṣyāmi*. I may add of *sma*, as indicative of the pseudo-epic, that the thirteenth book has three forms of this word, smaḥ, sma (perhaps dialectic), and smahe. The last, a modern form, is found not only in xiii, 1, 13, but in 93, 41, na smahe mandavijñānā na smahe mandabuddhayaḥ . . . pratibuddhā sma jāgṛma.

[2] Holtzmann, at § 548; but I should not entertain the notion that any of these forms (as here suggested) was other than indicative.

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ual creation of the iambic rule for the third ˘vipula.[1] The change to *antī*, illustrated by muṣṇantī and kurvantī in Nala, 5, 8, and 16, 11, respectively, and āyāntī, R. vii, 26, 47; 96, 11, etc., is in part explained by preferred combinations and in part by analogy, the great mass of verbs making the form antī. The best case of change for metre is furnished, however, by the triṣṭubh in ii, 67, 53 (⏑ – ∪ ∪ begins a triṣṭubh only before ⏑ ∪ – –):

tathā bruvantīṁ karuṇaṁ rudantīm [2]

The first vipulā is responsible for the form upāsanta in ix, 38, 53, tvām upāsanta varadam; the second, for aho mūḍhāḥ sma suciram, xiii, 16, 27; the third, for vicariṣyāma loke ˘smin, viii, 33, 12. For the fourth I have no sure case.

In regard to the augment, it is omitted so freely that only in pronounced cases are we sure that it is dropped for metre, especially as the endings ta and tha are interchanged (as they are in the later Upanishads). Thus in R. iv, 53, 8 kiṁ na budhyata may be present, or, as the commentator says, stand for nābudhyata (diiambus); but again there appears to be no reason for samantāt paridhāvata in R. vii, 28, 17, for the augmented form would serve as well. But in this category, besides the influence of patois, we have a more than usual source of pseudo-archaisms. For in many other cases we can but assume that copyists have tampered with the text, correcting after their wont, sometimes for grammar and sometimes for metre, according to their individual taste; a process that explains in our printed texts the frequent divergences that depend on these points.[3] But with the augment it is especially easy to give an archaic effect, since, while Sanskrit

[1] In Holtzmann's list, for example, the only case of atī for antī that does not come under these rules is caratī in Nala, 12, 10; which may be attracted by anveṣatī in the same verse (the latter caused by the diiambic rule).

[2] Holtzmann registers rudantī for i, 6, 5, where B. has rudatī; and for Nala, 17, 12, but B. has rudatyāu.

[3] For this reason I have elsewhere called them "unguarded texts," meaning of course that they were not protected, as were the poems of sacred character, by artificial methods of transmission.

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kept the augment, most of the other forms dealt with are current side-forms as well as antique. So we find, for example, in R. vii, 28, 26, nānāvadyāni vādyanta, but in G. 36, 26, °ny avādyanta, and here, as in parallel cases, it is quite impossible to say whether we have a grammatically emended text or a mere imitation of the antique on the part of a copyist.

Instances of alteration in triṣṭubh verse are of the same sort as those just mentioned and need not be specifically detailed. Here too we find the same imitation of the antique. One example will illustrate both cases. In xiii, 102, 55 a – b, occurs, budhyāmi tvāṁ Vṛtrahaṇaṁ çatakratum, vyatikrāmantam bhuvanāni *viçvā*.[1] Compare also na cā 'pi jānīmā tave 'ha nātham, iii, 265, 4 d; nā 'bhūtikāleṣu phalaṁ *dadanti*, xii, 25, 7 a; and the following examples:

na tāṁ vaded uṣatīm pāpalokyām, xii, 300, 8 d
prayāma sarve çaraṇam bhavantam, i, 197, 4 d
Karṇam bi*bhed*uḥ sahitāḥ pṛṣatkāiḥ, viii, 82, 16 c

jahāra pāpas taruṇīṁ viceṣṭatīm, R. iii, 53, 26 c
apaçyatī Rāghava-Lakṣmaṇāv ubhāu, R. iii, 52, 44 c
hatāḥ sma sarvāḥ saha mantribhiç ca, R. ii, 61, 26 b

Here, as will be seen from the structure of the triṣṭubh, the cases of grammatical irregularity are of the same type and character as those in çloka. The prevailing type, namely, is the patois substitution of ma for mas as verbal ending, and the alternate participial form. The change here also, as in çloka, induces a preferred or "regular" form against a more unusual, more disliked, or more irregular form. The last example above, for example, gives a cadence common to both epics; but to have smaḥ for sma would be a cadence of the Mahābhārata, not of the Rāmāyaṇa.

To sum up for the çloka: In the occasional modification of accepted Sanskrit forms purely for the sake of metre and in the lack of a thorough observance of metrical laws, which have

[1] This form occurs also in i, 3, 57 bhuvanāni viçvā; and vii, 201, 77, bhuvanānī 'ha viçvā, in the same formula. Generally sapta takes its place.

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yet obviously affected certain parts of the epic, we can see the rules themselves in process of making. For the greater part of the Bhārata there is no fixed rule, but the foundation of the rule is there in popular liking and dislike. Thus cases do exist, and they are not infrequent, of ⏑ ∪ – – before a second vipulā, but there is a decided tendency against such a combination, and as a result we find bhakṣayiṣyāva sahitāu, i, 152, 13; to explain which we need only say that the first vipulā favors, while the second does not favor, this precedent foot; just as ib. 154, 35, çīghraṁ gacchāma bhadraṁ te is merely a present indicative with a preterite (patois) ending, substituted because the Sanskrit ending would oppose a metrical combination to which there is a growing though not yet thoroughgoing aversion.

Finally, as already abundantly illustrated, the statement that "the laws of the çloka are the same in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the classical poets"[1] is certainly much too strong. What is quite fixed in the last is not so rigid in the first, and is much looser in the Bhārata than in either of the other two.[2]

The Hypermetric Çloka.[3]

A ninth syllable is often attached to the octosyllabic prior çloka pāda, regularly prefixed, sporadically incorporated; the hypermetric syllable in the former case being, with the next also, a brevis, while the third is long before an iambus, the whole foot preceding a pathyā or any vipulā, thus: —

[1] Das Rāmāyaṇa, 1893, p. 24.

[2] It is indeed enough if the vipulā be preceded by a heavy syllable or long vowel, as has justly been remarked by Jacobi, in his article Ueber den Çloka im Mahābhārata, but this rule does not mark the distinction between precedent iambs and spondees. The rule is to have a precedent iamb, and a spondee is always exceptional; but in R. it is a very rare exception; in Mbh. a very common exception.

[3] Analogous to the freedom in triṣṭubhs we might expect to find also cases of catalectic, or more properly abridged, çloka-pādas, such as, e. g., puraç cakre dvipadah, BAU. ii, 5, 18 (cakāra?); but I have not noticed any such epic pādas.

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pathyā:

anubhūyatām ayaṁ vīrāḥ, Nala, 2, 9

first vipulā:

prakṛtir guṇān vikurute, xii, 314, 15

second vipulā:

katham Ārṣṭiṣeṇo bhagavān, ix, 40, 1

third vipulā:

navanītapañkāḥ kṣīrodāḥ, xiii, 80, 6

fourth vipulā:

çaraṇāgataṁ na tyajeyam, v, 12, 16

The regular hypermeter thus coincides in its opening with the irregular and unusual octosyllabic pāda, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – – –. For instance, akṛtavraṇaḥ çubhāir vākyāiḥ, v, 184, 14, is hypermetric, while apakāriṇam māṁ viddhi, xiii, 96, 7, is an acatalectic pāda; for which reason, probably, the latter is so rare.

Such hypermeters are not unusual in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, though more frequent in the former, not only on account of the mass, but in the same amount of matter. They seem to be at times rather affected by the later epic poets; perhaps to give an appearance of antiquity, whereby, as often, the effect is overdone. I know at least of no passage in either epic where, as in Harivaṅça, 1, 3, 54, and 87, and 91, and 108, four hypermeters can be found in the space of fifty odd çlokas. They are common too in the Purāṇas.

Certain phrases are apt to appear in this form. The commonest is abhivādayanti or some similar derivative, which often introduces hypermeters in çlokas (as also in triṣṭubhs). Thus, for example:

abhivādayanti bhavatīm, v, 90, 98
abhivādayanti vṛddhāṅç ca, v, 47, 16
abhivādaye tvāṁ rājendra, iii, 291, 37
abhivādaye tvām bhagavan, iii, 207, 13 and R. iii, 11, 72
abhivāditaḥ kanīyobhiḥ, iii, 257, 8
abhivādya cāi 'naṁ vidhivat, v, 179, 13

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abhivādayitvā çirasā, v, 176, 28
abhivādayīta vṛddhāṅç ca, xiii, 104, 65
abhivādayiṣye hṛṣṭe 'ti, xiv, 68, 19
abhivādayāmas tvāṁ sarvāḥ, R. vii, 49, 15

Although avamanyase māṁ nṛpate, v, 189, 22, might suggest the possibility of pronouncing omanyase, and abhivādenti in the examples above, yet this explanation is almost excluded by the fact that parallel examples, in overwhelming majority, admit of no such solution. Many of the cases have been collected by Gildermeister in his excellent article in the fifth volume of the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, p. 269.[1] It is easy to add many parallel examples. Thus abhiṣektukāmas taṁ rājā, G. ii, 74, 55, is a parallel to abhiṣektukāmaṁ nṛpatim, Mbh. i, 85, 19, and çaraṇāgatam is an opening used repeatedly, e. g., v, 178, 9; viii, 90, 112; xiii, 32, 2 and 34 (but in 38 b, çaraṇāgatasakṣaṇam).[2] Some difference of texts is to be noticed. Thus in xiii, 93, 119, çaraṇāgataṁ hantu sa vāi, C. omits vāi, an impossible pāda. On the other hand, in xiii, 94, 27, anṛtāu vratī jaṭī cāi 'va, of C. 4,573 is converted into anṛtāu ca vratī cāi 'va. So in G. v, 63, 2, abhayaṁ dadāmi te vīra; but in B., abhayaṁ te pradāsyāmi. The commonest words thus employed, owing perhaps merely to opportunity, are abhivādayanti, or an equivalent, çaraṇāgata°, and Janamejaya. Those mentioned by Benfey, in the notes to his Chrestomathie, are chiefly of the same character, but he also adduces long initials, of which I shall speak presently. Although, as shown above, any form of vipulā or a pathyā may contain the hypermetric pāda, and the fourth vipulā is very common, yet the pathyā is the usual place for it, so that the last may be regarded as itself the pathyā or regular form of this irregularity.

Besides the cases noticed by others, to which references will be found loc. cit., Janamejaya, abhiṣaryamāṇam, aditir

[1] Compare also Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 24 and in the Gurupūjākāumudī.

[2] In v, 12, 15, and 16 (cited above), çaraṇāgatā 'smi te brahman, and çaraṇāgataṁ na tyajeyam, respectively. But in v, 15, 33, çaraṇaṁ tvām prapanno 'smi.

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ditiḥ, balavat sapat-, upajīvanam, vṛṣalīpatiḥ, puruṣaṁ tv idānīm, aruṇodaye, tam ahaṁ smayann iva raṇe (one of the repeated phrases, v, 179, 22, etc.), atithivratī (also repeated, iii, 260, 4, etc.), akṛtavraṇaprabhṛtayaḥ (repeated opening, v, 180, 17, etc.),[1] and a few more hitherto cited, I add with references:

aparājito jyotikaç ca, i, 35, 13; upagīyamānā nārībhiḥ, etc., ii, 58, 36 (iii, 158, 83; vii, 82, 28); kapilāvaṭam, iii, 84, 31; (kapilasya goḥ, xii, 269, 5); bhagavān anekaçaḥ, iii, 99, 39; 188, 9; viyunajmi dehāt, iii, 142, 26; paricārakeṣu, iii, 200, 9; amitāujase, v, 4, 12; Sumanomukho Dadhimukhaḥ, v, 103, 12 (in i, 35, 8, as Sumanākhyo Dadhimukhaḥ); kṛtakilbiṣāḥ, v, 165, 22; puruṣaḥ sanātanamayaḥ, vi, 21, 14 = 773, v. l.;[2] madanugrahāya paramam, vi, 35, 1; avamanyamāno yān yāti, vii, 73, 30; aruṇāṁ Sarasvatīm prāpya, ix, 5, 51; Garuḍānanāḥ kaṅkamukhāḥ, ix, 45, 83; madadhiṣṭhitatvāt samare, ix, 62, 18; Çakune vayaṁ sma devā vāi, xii, 300, 4; avyaktarūpo bhagavān çatadhā ca sahasradhā, çatadhā sahasradhā cāi 'va tathā çatasahasradhā, xii, 315, 2; tadanantaraṁ ca Rudrasya, xii, 319, 62; araṇī mamantha brahmarṣiḥ, xii, 325, 9; Uçanā Bṛhaspatiç cāi 'va, xii, 336, 45; ayajad dhariṁ surapatim, xii, 338, 30; paramāṇubhūtā bhūtvā tu, xii, 345, 15; sahasā jagṛhatur vedān, xii, 348, 29; tridaças trikāladhṛk karma, xiii, 17, 62; animantrito na gaccheta, xiii, 104, 143; Vidurādayaç ca, xv, 3, 76; aṭavībalam, xv, 7, 7; Upadānavī sutāṁl lebhe, H. i, 32, 8; asatīṁ Vapuṣṭamām etām, H. 3, 5, 21; dhvajinaḥ patākinaç cāi 'va, R. v, 4, 20; Amarāvatīṁ samāsādya, R. vii, 5, 26; Yamalārjunāu, R. vii, 6, 35; Kṛtavān Pracetasas putraḥ, R. vii, 111, 11.

It will be observed that Yamalārjunāu and Amarāvatīm (these Rāmāyaṇa passages have already been cited by Jacobi) are exactly of the same type as are dhvajinaḥ patākinaḥ, abhivādaye, and abhiṣektukāmaḥ, though the first two occur together in a late addition to the epic and the other three examples are in the body of the work. As the type per se

[1] These are complementary references.

[2] Ends, yataḥ Kṛṣṇas tato jayaḥ, variant on the older phrase, just preceding, yato dharmas tato jayaḥ.

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is old (Upanishads),[1] the occurrence of hypermeters denotes rather lack of refinement than lack of antiquity, so that the phenomena as a class stand parallel to the care or carelessness in the making of vipulās.

When on two short syllables a third short follows, the phrase is rudely adapted to metrical needs. Hence aho manyata for ahar amanyata in R. iv, 35, 7.[2] Some exceptions occur to mar the uniformity of the phenomena, but for the most part they are in words or phrases which are forced upon the poets and which they have to handle as best they can. So we find a variant on the daça proverbs[3] in the form daçaçrotriyasamo rājā ity evam Manur abravīt, i, 41, 31, where there are two departures from the norm and the verse is a hypermetric form of the pathyā ⏑ – ∪ ∪, ∪ – – ⏑.[4] A similar case occurs in R. iii, 35, 9, where we find daçagrīvo viṅçatibhujaḥ. Here I can scarcely agree with Professor Jacobi in regarding daça as monosyllabic (Rām., p. 24). So in the case of Daçakandhara-rājasunvoh, cited by the same author (in Gurupūj, p. 52) from iii, 290, 19, which is like pratibodhaviditam matam, simply hypermetric but answering to the type ⏑ – ∪ ∪, – ∪ – – (not to be read as Daçakandharā, as Jacobi suggests). Either this or the explanation offered below of suppressed *a* seems to me most probable.

Hypermeters with long initial syllable are sometimes found. They are of two sorts and should be carefully distinguished. The first is where the pāda corresponds exactly to those just discussed save that a long syllable takes the place of the first brevis. So far as I know, this occurs only in the later epic portions (also Puranic). It is a clumsy or careless form which, induced generally by proper names, regards only the mechanically counted syllables and entirely disregards the

[1] For example, pratibodhaviditam matam, Kena, ii, 4; abhayaṁ titīrṣatām pāram Kaṭha, iii, 2. Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 275.

[2] Compare Böhtlingk, loc. cit., p. 214 ad fin. So puno pi, Gāthā and Pāli.

[3] Compare xii, 108, 16, daçāi 'va tu sadā 'cāryaḥ çrotriyān atiricyate; xiii, 105, 14, daçā 'cāryān upādhyāyaḥ.

[4] The partial parallel, uttarāyaṇam from Manu vi, 10, cited by Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 272, is a later text for turāyaṇam (see Jolly's text).

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essence of the hypermetric light dissyllable. This consists in a mora measurement of two breves, or light syllables, as a substitute for one long vowel or heavy syllable, which is impossible in pādas that have such initials as

Ekata-Dvita-Tritāç co 'cuḥ, xii, 337, 20
Āçvamedhikaṁ samāsādya, xviii, 278, corrected in B. 6, 69 to āsādya.[1]
Nāimiṣāraṇye kulapatiḥ, H. 1, 1, 4 (C. 11)
dakṣiṇāyanaṁ smṛtā rātriḥ, H. 1, 8, 9 e [2]

Where a short vowel follows (as in other parallel cases mentioned hereafter) it is practically suppressed. So asthīny antarato dārūṇi, BAU. iii, 9, 28 (asthīny antar 'to)[3] and in the epic:

pakṣivānararutajñāiç ca, i, 70, 45 (vān 'ra),

or the two breves must be read as a mora-equivalent. It is a mark of the popular style, as in Agni Purāṇa, iii, 11, bibhrata kamaṇḍalam pūrṇam; ib. x, 28, brahmaṇā Daçarathena tvam. Prefixed extra metrum is āum in xii, 348, 38, āum, namas te brahmahṛdaya, and elsewhere.

The cases of long initial cited from the older epic are of quite different character from the form with initial long. The supposed parallel from Manu vi, 10, adduced by Gildermeister, and cited above, being removed in the revised text, there remain only a few pādas of entirely different formation. Instead of having a long syllable prefixed they follow a distinct type of triṣṭubh. The pāda does not begin with a long syllable and then continue with a short, but begins with two long vowels or heavy syllables, or a short followed by a long:

(a) retodhāḥ putra unnayati, i, 74, 111; H. 1, 32, 12
(b) Bhīṣmo vasūnām anyatamaḥ, v, 185, 18
(c) çrāddham pitṛbhyo na dadāti,[4] v, 33, 35

[1] Compare Amarāvatīṁ samāsādya, v. l. āsādya, R. vii, 5, 26.

[2] In Manu i, 67, rātriḥ syād dakṣiṇāyanam. Compare the similar "Puranic" verse, dakṣiṇena 'ryamnaḥ panthānam, cited above, p. 6, note 2.

[3] Compare the subsequent pādas: retasa iti mā vocata: dhānāruha iva vāi vṛkṣaḥ, though here we may read a(ḥ) + i = e, as also occasionally in epic verse.

[4] Cited by Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 273.

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One case (cited like these by Jacobi) is found in the later Rāmāyaṇa, vii, 21, 14,

saṁtāryamāṇān Vāitaraṇīm

with the first syllable short and second long, e. g., v, 43, 11,

(d) kathaṁ samṛddham asamṛddham

It will be noticed that the cæsura is after the fifth syllable. The forms in the corresponding (a, b, c, d) triṣṭubh pādas, where the initial length is indifferent, may be illustrated by:

(a) na cen māṁ Jiṣṇur | āhvayitā sabhāyām
(b) āmantraye tvām | brūhi jayaṁ raṇe me
(c) yasyā 'vibhaktaṁ | vasu rājan sahāyāiḥ
(d) samānam mūrdhni | rathayānaṁ viyanti

Many cases of these forms will be shown in the next section on triṣṭubhs. The two formations are evidently identical; but what occurs passim in the triṣṭubh is sporadic in the çloka. The pāda in each case consists of a complex of two metrical groups, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ and – ∪ ∪ – or ∪ ∪ – –.[1]

An extra syllable in the posterior pāda is indicative merely of late carelessness under the power exerted by names and titles which are hard to coerce into normal metrical form; as in the spurious verse cited by Professor Jacobi from R. vi, 105, 10, Hiraṇyaretā divākaraḥ. Such cases as Pulastyovāca rājānam or Lakṣmaṇas tu tatovāca indicate not a precedent hypermeter but the looseness of epic sandhi. They are very common.

There is, however, a more regular interior hypermeter which is old. Thus in Kaṭha Upanishad, vi, 8 and vi, 11, respectively, we find

avyaktāt tu paraḥ puruṣaḥ
apramattas tadā bhavati

[1] The references for the triṣṭubh pādas will be given below. The pāda cited from the Mahābhāṣya, IS. vol. xiii, p. 459, avidvāṅsaḥ pratyabhivāde is without parallel, I believe, in the epic. The same *rule* appears in Manu ii, 123 with abhivāda, which may have stood here originally, unless abhi was monosyllabic.

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It was suggested by Gildermeister, loc. cit. p. 274, that in such instances in the epic, bhavati might be read as two syllables, but he seems inclined to reject the notion. Professor Jacobi, on the other hand, favors this reading, and says of such cases, "All is in order if one pronounces bhavati as bhoti" (Gurupūj., p. 52). But he is forced to add immediately, "It is more difficult to decide how one could have managed with kiṁsvit suptaṁ na nimiṣati and kathaṁ samṛddham asamṛddham."

The explanation lies, I think, in the fact that mora-measurement was at work in syllabic verse. This is very clear in triṣṭubh; in fact, it is the only possible explanation for a mass of forms which from a syllabic point of view are wildly irregular but with this admission of mora-measurement are easily understood. The çloka cases are generally found at the end of pādas, where cæsura aids the reading of two breves as equivalent to one long. In the case of bhavati itself and a few similar forms, where we know that bhoti or hoti is a dialectic equivalent, there is, to be sure, no great objection to reading bhavati as bhoti, but the general explanation of the phenomena as a class is not that ⏑ ⏑ is *contracted*, for some of the intervening consonants would make this impossible, but measured as the metrical equivalent of one long. In the examples above bhavati and puruṣaḥ and nimiṣati are thus parallel cases. In Kaṭha iii, 5–6, both pādas are hypermetric:

yas tv avijñānavān bhavaty
ayuktena manasā sadā
yas tu vijñānavān bhavati
yuktena manasā sadā

I see no reason to separate these cases from their epic analogues.[1] Here we have the oft-cited examples of prior pādas ending in -triyo bhavati, priyo bhavati, nivartayitum, unnayati, iii, 313, 45–48.[2] In the cases cited above from this passage,

[1] For more examples from the Upanishads, compare Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 275, ff.

[2] The irregular use of *svit* in this passage probably explains the impossible pāda, kena [svid] dvitīyavān bhavati, ib. 47. In the following question, svit

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313, 61, and from v, 43, 11, the same principle is extended, exactly as we shall see it in triṣṭubh verse, where the second foot after the first dipody, ⏑ – ⏑ –, may be resolved from – ∪ ⏑ – into ⏒ ∪ ∪ ⏑. So here, kiṁ svit suptaṁ na nimiṣati may be on the triṣṭubh model, – – – – ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, which passes into and appears as – – – –, ⏒ ∪ ∪ ∪, as in the triṣṭubh, v, 16, 5, prāpte kāle pacasi punaḥ samiddhaḥ, tvam evā 'gne bhavasi punaḥ pratiṣṭhā. So we shall find labhate in a triṣṭubh, where it must be equal to ⏑ –, just as in the çloka of the Dhammapada, No. 131, we find pecca so na labhate sukham, where the two breves must be measured as one long (so the MSS., but changed in the new text), but is not contracted (compare in prior, prajāpatiç carasi garbhe, Praçna ii, 7; çrīç ca prajñāṁ ca vidhehi naḥ, ib. 13).

A very interesting phase of this question is the relation of the Sanskrit to the Pāli. We have a proverb in R. ii, 103, 30,

yadannaḥ puruṣo bhavati tadannās tasya devatāḥ,

which Professor Lanman at the Meeting of the Oriental Society in 1899 argued was from the Pāli form because there hoti actually occurs in the same proverb.[1] But against the certainty (though not the probability) of this conclusion stand the facts that the form of the verb is undetermined in Pāli and the hypermeter of this sort is just as common there as in Sanskrit. It is clear, for example, that in such verses as na tena bhikkhū hoti, Dhammapada 266, must be read (as the text now stands) bhavati (compare tatrāyam ādi bhavati, sic, in 375, and in other verses of the same collection); while on the other hand, in 387, sannaddho khattiyo tapati (= tap'ti) stands parallel to similar uncontractile forms in Sanskrit çloka

is omitted, as it should be here. The other cases are all parallel to kena svic chrotriyo bhavati, çrutena çrotriyo bhavati, 47–48.

[1] Since publishing an article on the Parallel Proverbs of the two epics in A. J. Phil., vol. xx, p. 22, ff., I have found a parallel to this yadannaḥ proverb in the Mahābhārata, viz. yadannā hi narā rājans tadannās *tasya* devatāḥ, where tasya is still preserved though the plural noun precedes! It is (of course) from the careless pseudo-epic, xiii, 66, 61.

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and triṣṭubh forms. There is then no real necessity for changing the latter to khatyo (a possible form.)

Nevertheless, in the case of bhavati itself, which like bhos may have been current as bhoti in Sanskrit as well as in dialectic form, the latter may have been used, and a dual pronunciation may be accepted and given as a probable reason for its frequent recurrence in apparent hypermeters.[1] In other words, pādas with this word *may possibly* not be true hypermeters, as *must* be other forms which are not thus contracted or contractile. That a hoti in Pāli may stand for an original bhavati, may be seen by comparing Dhammap. 260 with Mbh. iii, 133, 11:

na tena thero hoti [bhavati] yen' assa phalitaṁ siro
na tena sthaviro bhavati yenā 'sya palitaṁ çiraḥ

Compare Manu ii, 156, na tena vṛddho bhavati (v. l. sthaviro in some of the commentators). Another of these numerous bhavati proverbs is found in Dhammap. 268, na monena munī hoti, Mbh. v, 43, 60, māunān na sa munir bhavati.[2]

Dialectic Sanskrit.

Accepting bhoti (= hoti) as a possible dialectic Sanskrit form, I have next to show that the maṣa for māṣa principle, as illustrated in the paragraph above, is subject to an important restriction. It would be quite wrong to suppose that the mass of grammatical irregularities are of a form entirely arbitrary, or that, in general, a grammatical modification that is found repeatedly in one category may be utilized for metrical purposes in any other of the same outer appearance. I say in general, because I admit that here and there in the epic occur grammatical monstrosities and forms not subject to metre, though irregular, but what is of moment is that *most of the grammatical irregularities in the epic are merely dialectic*

[1] Thus xii, 233, 12, çarīraṁ çrayaṇād bhavati, mūrtimat ṣoḍaçātmakam, and often.

[2] On the variant to the yadannaḥ proverb contained in the words yaccittas tanmayo bhavati, see p. 42.

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variations. For this reason in the paragraph above, headed Poetic Licence, I have been careful to state that the modifications were those of Sanskrit forms, not that they were absolute alterations of received forms, independent of any grammatical basis. I believe the latter cases to be excessively rare, while on the contrary there is some sort of grammatical authority for most of the changes so abundantly introduced. Metre surpasses Sanskrit grammar but not grammar altogether. What then? Where Sanskrit grammar fails, the poets had recourse to patois.[1]

As I have already shown, a large majority of the cases under consideration are comprised under the head of feminine participles and first plurals of verbs, with a smaller number of various forms.[2]

Some of these, like brūmi, are at once dialectic and yet accepted as Sanskrit. There is no reason why we should not regard kurmi, Gāthā kurumi, in tathā kurmi and kiṁ kurmī 'ti kṛtāñjaliḥ, iii, 142, 44; H. 3, 14, 12, as on a par with brūmi. The latter occurs not only in R. vi, 9, 20 (where G. reads bravīmi, v, 80, 22), but also in R. ii, 19, 4; iii, 13, 17; iv, 7, 14. So R. ii, 12, 36, añjaliṁ kurmi; vii, 78, 20, āhāraṁ garhitaṁ kurmi. So too vedmi and dadmi, e. g., R. ii, 53, 21; vi, 124, 17, aham apy atra te dadmi, which in the later Bhārata is more and more frequent. Others appear to be gross violations of grammar, like °nắti and viduṣaḥ, nominative, as in parallel forms, tasthuṣam puruṣam, xii, 317, 17, etc.,[3] but they may be not only Vedic but dialectic, as Pāli °ắti and vidū (= vidvān) may imply. Doubtless some are pure archaisms,

[1] So far as I know, this important subject has only been touched upon in a note by Kielhorn, JRAS., 1898, p. 18, who says: "In the so-called epic Sanskrit there are not a few forms and constructions which seem to me to be Pāli rather than Sanskrit."

[2] Lengthening of a vowel metri gratiâ is called ārṣam almost invariably by the commentators. Some of the cases are really archaic; others are clearly a sacrifice of form to metre, generally for the diiambus, as in R. v, 36, 21, sukhānām ucito nityam asukhānām anūcitaḥ.

[3] To Prof. Holtzmann's list I add (the reduplicated forms, § 803) tasthuṣī, x, 8, 70, and neduṣām (apsarasām), ix, 57, 68.

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as in viçvā, lack of augment, vā for iva, and varying final vowel length (athā parī, nā, etc.); but when we consider that the participle is indifferently bhavatī and bhavantī, and that the first plural verb ends regularly in *ma* in all forms,[1] that, for instance, asma is regular, we shall hesitate to speak of any general grammar-sacrifice save that of Sanskrit. Thus krămati (for krām) is Prākrit.[2] In the older epic, arbitrary changes were not introduced at will, but dialectic forms were borrowed. Even upāsante for upāsate (compare the older hiṅsate for hiṅste, R. iv, 53, 16) is merely a dialectic change of conjugation, just as is the case with the forms dadanti, jahanti (compare Dhammap., hiṅsati and dadanti, okam okaṁ jahanti te, etc.). These forms, it is important to observe, cannot be explained on the assumption that epic Sanskrit precedes the differentiation of correct (Sanskrit) and vulgar (Prākrit) forms, because, were that the case, they would appear passim; whereas they appear usually, as in svapāmi for svapimi and gṛhya for gṛhītvā (cited above, pp. 205, 247), only when the metre requires them. Take, for instance, the clear case of patois, geha for gṛha. It occurs in iii, 69 (Nala 17), 15–16 to prevent a diiambus at the end of a prior pāda (though gṛha is used in the preceding verse); again at v, 36, 34, to prevent the minor Ionic; in ii, 68, 1, to prevent a third vipulā from following a brevis, bhavanti gehe bandhakyah; in iii, 303, 13, to prevent an anapæst, mama gehe mayā cā 'sya (for the same reason in R. vii, 68, 20); in xii, 336, 25, to avoid triiambus in an even pāda. Dialectic are further, in all probability, the exchange of weak and strong perfect forms

[1] The change is not really grammatical but phonetic, as Dr. Thorp has shown, since the preterite is not used for the present but the primary ending is reduced from mas to ma (and may be contracted, as in na jānīme 'ty athā 'bruvan, v, 120, 21).

[2] Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen, § 481. For svapāmi, compare ib., § 497; for asiyā as na syāt, § 464; for neuter instead of masc., § 357. Professor Pischel's mine of wealth came to hand only after this book had gone to press, or I could have given a more systematic as well as fuller treatment of a comparison based chiefly on Sanskrit and Pāli, and such few dialectic forms as chance furnished. But I think the more the epic is studied the more Prākrit will be found.

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and perfects without reduplication, when needed for metre, ākarṣatuḥ, i, 153, 44; bibheduḥ, viii, 82, 16 (to avoid a brevis before a second vipulā); the exchange of nominative and accusative, auṣadhayaḥ (acc.),[1] though this is also Vedic.

But the epic took long in making, and while the earlier poets drew on dialectic forms (thereby creating a sort of Gāthā dialect, though not so gross as the genuine article), the later poets did exactly what the later Greek hexameter poets did, viz., copied their predecessors instead of borrowing from the life. Consequently they made blunders. The early poets, for example, used, metri causâ, optative for indicative, viii, 89, 22, and often (as in late Upanishads, e. g., Çvet. v, 5) a vulgar confusion; and ma for mas and dadanti for dadati; because they knew that these were spoken forms, if not the polite forms (which they used by preference when convenient); but the later poetaster knew only that the old epic poets had mixed up ma and mas and anti and ati, and so he used the un-Sanskrit forms not only more frequently but more incorrectly. Thus he said apaçyāmas, ix, 1, 20, and did not hesitate to use bhavati for bhavanti, of course only in the later epic, as in iii, 211, 9 (a late chapter, above, p. 34), anyonyaṁ nā 'tivartante samyak ca *bhavati*, dvija. Compare the wisdom to be learned at Mithilā, in the preceding copy of Vālmīki's proverb, striyo hy avadhyāḥ sarveṣāṁ ye dharmam abhivindate, iii, 206, 46 (na hantavya striya iti, vii, 143, 67). So in xiii, 145, 20 (alpabuddhayaḥ), bubhūṣate (for diiambus); and, in the later Rāmāyaṇa, prajās tam anuvartate, R. vii, 43, 19 (v. 62, 9, interpolated? above, p. 245).

[1] Both in Mhb., puṣṇāmy āuṣadhayaḥ sarvāḥ, i, 78, 40; and R. drakṣyasy oṣadhayo dīptāḥ, vi, 74, 32. Compare sarvāḥ prakṛtayaḥ çanāiḥ . . . saṁjahāra (Jatugṛha Parvan) and ib. 145, 4; with R. vi, 112, 19, sāntvayitvā prakṛtayaḥ. Carelessness in the length of vowels in declension is also a mark of patois (epic examples above). The Rāmāyaṇa has some genders which may be dialectic. They certainly are not Sanskrit: parikhān (!) pūrayantaç ca, R. vi, 42, 16; cikṣipur vividhān çastrān (!), R. vi, 53, 20 (both lacking as such in pw.), etc. As remarked above, some of this may be scribe's work. Thus yadā vedaçrutir naṣṭā, xii, 340, 105; vedaçrutiṁ yathā, G. iv, 5, 4; but in R. 6, 5, naṣṭāṁ devaçrutīm ("ārṣa") iva. But merely for metre is doṣam for doṣaḥ, R. v, 28, 5; G. vi, 33, 30.

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In the careless writing of the pseudo-epic, Sanskrit grammar is flung to the winds. I do not mean that irregular forms are not found outside of it. Substitution of the a-conjugation is found in adadăt, iii, 173, 8; 275, 40; ix, 51, 10; though the last is an evident interpolation, and as the forms are not required metrically in the other cases it is still open to question whether they do not contain just such copy-slips as are found, e. g., in the Vāyu Purāṇa, where viii, 163 has vyadadhāt prabhuḥ, while 165 has adadat prabhuḥ. The cases in the older epic are, however, not frequent (in xi, 25, 5, jahăti is 3d sg.), but in the late epic they flourish like reeds (compare jahanti in i, 172, 8; dadanti in xii, 25, 7; 341, 16; xiii, 62, 46, etc.), and it is just here that new irregularities are found. Thus viçvedevān āpnoti, xii, 318, 5; viçvedevebhyaḥ, xiii, 97, 14. Even such a syntactical monstrosity as the Gāthāism iti vāi menire vayam (with similar cases there) is not shunned, xii, 337, 38, to say nothing of the syntactical confusion in açvibhyām pataye cāi 'va marutām pataye tathā, xii, 341, 103. In the thirteenth book, besides kurvăṇas, xiii, 17, 131, we find smahe, xiii, 1, 13; 93, 41; stām for astām, ib. 98, 7; the first instance of a finite negative verb,[1] another Gāthāism (compare ajānehi for mā janaya), afterwards somewhat affected: dṛçyate 'dṛçyate cā 'pi, xiii, 14, 160. Here also, another Gāthāism, the popularized change of the ṛ-declension, apaharta and harta (together with Atharva, which, however, is in late Upanishads, Muṇḍ. i, 1, epic atharvāya namaḥ), sraṣṭārāya namaḥ, ib. 309–310 and 313–314. So etān for etāni, xiii, 62, 55. Such neologisms go far beyond the current interchange in upāsante and vilāsinyaḥ (acc.),[2] also found here, xiii, 104, 19;

[1] With the infinitive, e. g., xv, 11, 15, nā 'dātum. The negative finite verb (given here in C., and required by the sense) is not recognized in the grammars as occurring before the classical period.

[2] In Gītā 10, 16 and 19, ātmavibhūtayaḥ may be nominative. The form as acc. can scarcely be a Vedic reversion. The Gītā still uses no = na u, and so in iii, 34, 11: but in xiii, 51, 10, yad etad api no mūlyam, *no* is simply late and careless for na. Editors or copyists have tried to change bhavati and acc., the text in C. xv, 376 (= 11, 21), but they cannot in xiii, 62, 30, and in bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam, it still governs the accusative.

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107, 39, and bring us into the field of slovenly adaptation from any source, which characterizes the slipshod Sanskrit of later epic and Purāṇas alike.

Prose-Poetry Tales.

In the *Verhandlungen der Philologenversammlung in Gera*, 1878, attention was called by Professor Windisch to a "pre-epic phase of poetry," consisting of prose narration interspersed with gāthās or verses of popular form which helped on the story. One epic tale, which has gone over into later verse-form, has been shown by Professor Oldenberg, in his article on the old-Indic Ākhyāna,[1] to exist in a prototype of this kind. Such mingling of prose and verse, as remarked by the latter writer, is found in the epic itself, in i, 3. There is also, though not of epic content, a kind of rhythmic prose which is half metrical, as in xii, 190, 5 ff.: tatra yat satyaṁ sa dharmo, yo dharmaḥ sa prakāçe, yaḥ prakāças tat sukham iti . . . yat tamas tad duḥkham iti, atro 'cyate (three çlokas); tat khalu dvividhaṁ sukham ucyate (. . . to 13): susukhaḥ pavanaḥ svarge, gandhaç ca surabhiṣ tathā, etc. Here the epic Upanishad glides in and out of metre, the last verse before the resumption of çloka being again metrical, in a form of triṣṭubh found elsewhere in the epic: na cāi 'te doṣāḥ svarge prādur bhavanti.

The next chapters to this have alternate prose and çlokas, the latter appearing either, as at the end of 191, without warning, or introduced with the words "there 's a stanza about that," bhavati cā 'tra çlokaḥ. In 192, one unannounced çloka follows the introductory prose, then more prose, and with the words bhavanti cā 'tra çlokāḥ follow one çloka and two triṣṭubhs.[2] after which çlokas are again resumed.

It happens that a late poet runs on in triṣṭubhs till he

[1] ZDMG., vol. xxxvii, p. 54 ff.

[2] The çloka here, xii, 7006, is another form of a proverb given elsewhere in the epic, abhayaṁ sarvabhūtebhyo dattvā, and may be added to Sprüche, 485, 486. Çlokāḥ here scarcely connotes triṣṭubhs (as in the Brāhmaṇas), but includes them with the çloka.

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stumbles and ends in prose, xii, 336, 10, after several triṣṭubhs: çvetāḥ pumāṅso gatasarvapāpāç cakṣurmuṣaḥ pāpakṛtāṁ narānām, vajrāsthikāyāḥ samamānonmānā divyā(n) -vaya(va)rūpāḥ çubhasāropetāḥ, etc., in pure prose. There is, further, a good deal of plain prose narration in the first, third, and twelfth books and in a hymn in H. 3, 68 (praise by titles).

But a tale of the prose-verse variety exists complete in the story of the Frog-girl, iii, 192. In this apparent prose there are not only metrical and half-metrical pādas and hemistichs, such as ramaṇīyaṁ saro dṛṣṭvā, but even regular epic pādas, such as mudā paramayā yutaḥ, the latter being indeed a stereotyped epic phrase, as in iii, 256, 20; 295, 16. The verses here, as was to be expected, are freer than in the regular epic style.[1]

The tale begins:

2. athā 'caṣṭa Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ (apūrvam idaṁ çrūyatām)

The opening line of C., 13,143, is not in B. From the openings in the following tales, parv. 196 and 198, the phrase athā 'caṣṭa Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ was stereotyped and united with the preceding, thus:

bhūya eva mahābhāgyaṁ kathyatām iti abravīt
athā 'caṣṭa Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ

In the present tale the former appears as: bhūya eva brāhmaṇamahābhāgyaṁ vaktum arhasī 'ti abravīt.

In the following mixture of prose and metre it is sometimes difficult to say whether the rougher metrical parts ought to be touched. For instance, at the beginning, Ikṣvākukulodvahaḥ pārthivaḥ Parīkṣin nāma mṛgayām agamat may have been prosed out of Ikṣvākukulavardhanaḥ Parīksin nāma pārthivaḥ mṛgayāṁ gatavān nṛpaḥ, or some such turn. So in the next sentence, tam ekāçvena mṛgam anuṣarantam, from tam açvenā 'nusarantam; while for the ninth stanza or paragraph it would be a sin of omission not to note how easy it is to read: atha

[1] In another case, iii, 194, the section begins and ends in prose, but has çlokas between, the last hemistich of which, before the narration closes in prose, has the free measure cited above, p. 244, — — — —, ∪ — — —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — —, etac chrutvā tu Kāuravyaḥ Çibim pradakṣiṇaṁ kṛtvā.

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kanyāṁ gāyantīṁ ca puṣpāṇi cā 'vacinvatīm; apaçyad, atha sā rājñaḥ samīpataḥ paryakrāmat; all with freedom not unknown to the epic çloka. But any change would in the first place be pure guesswork, and besides why should çlokas have become prose? Again, these tales are built with prose bricks and metrical mortar and it is not strange that the mortar occasionally runs over the brick.[1] I therefore abstain except in two or three cases (in some, as will be seen, where the length of prose invites verse) from the temptation to make çloka pādas out of clauses more or less metrical, and write the story as it stands (with prose omissions as indicated below):

1–4, Ayodhyāyām Ikṣvākukulodvahaḥ pārthivaḥ Parīkṣin nāma mṛgayām agamat, tam ekāçvena mṛgam anusarantam
mṛgo dūram apāharat (5, prose)

6, ramaṇīyaṁ saro dṛṣṭvā
sāçva eva vyagāhata

7, madhuraṁ gītam açṛṇot

8, sa çrutvā 'cintayan ne 'ha
manuṣyagatim paçyāmi

kasya khalv ayaṁ gītaçabda iti.[2] 9, athā 'paçyat kanyām paramarūpadarçanīyām puṣpāṇy avacinvatīṁ gāyantīṁ ca, atha sā rājñaḥ samīpe paryakrāmat. 10, tām abravīd rājā

kasyā 'si bhadre kā vā tvam (iti) [3]
sā pratyuvāca kanyā 'smi (iti)

[1] That is to say, as in the case given in the last note, a more or less regular verse may incidentally and accidentally be shaped in prose narration without its being intended as regular verse, though the poetic style of the environment may have induced such prose-poetry subconsciously. As for the metaphor above, except as illustrating my meaning very roughly, I cannot defend it. On the contrary, as the verse-element in tales was fixed and used in many buildings, while the prose was crumbled up and renewed in each new edifice built of the same brick, it would not be quite unhistorical to invert it and speak of poetic bricks and prose mortar.

[2] Was this: kasya khalu ayaṁ çabdaḥ?

[3] This or kā 'si kasya kutaç ca tvam is an ordinary epic (verse) formula. With the preceding, compare (Sītā) kusumāny apacinvantī (prior pāda), and kusumāni vicinvatī, R. iii, 42, 32; 43, 1.

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tāṁ rājo 'vāca arthī tvayā 'ham iti.[1] 11, atho 'vāca kanyā

samayena ahaṁ çakyā
tvayā labdhum na anyathā

iti, rājā tāṁ samayam apṛcchat, kanyo 'vāca

no 'dakam me darçayitavyam (darçetavyam ?)

iti, 12, sa rājā tām bāḍham ity uktvā tām upayeme,[2] kṛtodvāhaç ca rājā Parīkṣit krīḍamāno

mudā paramayā yutaḥ[3]

tuṣṇīm saṁgamya tayā sahā 'ste. 13, tatas tatrāi 'vā 'sīne rājani senā 'nvagacchat(a). 14, sā seno 'paviṣṭaṁ rājānam parivāryā 'tiṣṭhat, paryāçvastaç ca rājā tayāi 'va saha çibikayā prāyād avaghoṭitayā sva(ṁ) nagaram anuprāpya rahasi tayā sahā 'ste.[4] 15, tatra 'bhyāçastho 'pi kaçcin nā 'paçyad atha pradhānāmātyo 'bhyāçacarās tasya striyo 'pṛcchat.[5] 16, kim atra prayojanaṁ vartate (vartata) ity, athā 'bruvaṅs tāḥ striyaḥ.[6]

17, apūrvam idam paçyāma
udakaṁ nā 'tra nīyata(e)

ity, athā 'mātyo 'nudakam vanaṁ kārayitvo 'dāravṛkṣam, etc.

18, vanam idam udārakam[7]
sādhv atra ramyatām iti

[1] Perhaps samarthī tvayā bhadre 'ham (compare 33).

[2] More natural would be: sa rājā bāḍham ity uktvā tāṁ kanyām upayeme ha.

[3] A regular epic phrase in various forms, mudā, çriyā, prītyā, etc., with yutaḥ or yuktaḥ, according to the pāda. Compare the references above and ii, 53, 23; Nala, 20, 40; ix, 27, 6; 36, 42; prītyā paramayā yuktaḥ, ix, 55, 4; R. i, 52, 11, etc.

[4] The texts give 'nvagacchat and 'nvagacchata, svanagaram and svaṁ nagaram. This may point to a corruption. Leaving out the fine palanquin: tatas tatrāi 'vā 'sīne (tu?) rājñi senā 'nvagacchata sā (tu) seno 'paviṣṭaṁ (ha) parivārya atiṣṭhata, paryāçvastaç ca (sa) rājā anuprāpya svanagaraṁ rahasy āste tayā saha. The long stretch of prose favors this. Compare uvāca ca tayā saha, an epic phrase, e. g., i, 73, 20.

[5] There is no object to the first verb. Was it not: tatrā 'bhyāçastho 'pi kaçcin *rājānaṁ* na apaçyata, atha pradhānāmātyas tu tasya striyaḥ apṛcchata?

[6] The more probable form is vartate kim prayojanam; kim prayojanam is a regular epic close of a hemistich. Compare for example, xiii, 93, 81, kasyā 'rthe, kim prayojanam.

[7] Sic, B.; C., udāram anudakam.

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After this, prose to 23–25,

kruddho ājñāpayāmāsa (sa rājā) . . .
yathā vṛttaṁ nyavedayan

. . . 27, iti, çlokāu cā 'tra bhavataḥ (28–29). Compare v, 64, 5, where, although the whole text is in çlokas, one stanza is especially mentioned, çlokenā 'nena, Kāuravya, papraccha sa munis tadā.

30, tam evaṁ vādinam iṣṭajanaçokaparītātmā rājā 'tho 'vāca

31, na hi kṣamyate tan mayā

haniṣyāmy etān etāir durātmabhiḥ, etc.; prose to

32, sa tad vākyam upalabhya

etc., prose to 33.

In the following I omit references to the intervening prose and give the metrical pādas in their order:

33, tam abravīd rājā tayā
samarthī,[1] sā me dīyatām

34, athāi 'nām rājñe pitā 'dād[2]
abravīc ca enām enaṁ
rājānaṁ çuçrūṣasve 'ti[3]

35, evam uktvā duhitaram

36, harṣeṇa bāṣpakalayā
vācā[4] prapatyā 'bhipūjya
maṇḍūkarājam abravīd
anugṛhīto 'smi iti (sc. te, omit iti)

37, yathāgatam agacchat(a)

[1] In C., asmy aham arthī.
[2] In C., dadāu. Perhaps sa dadāu.
[3] Perhaps: abravīc ca duhitaram enaṁ rājānaṁ çuçrūṣa, iti.
[4] A stereotyped phrase, either straddling the pādas of a verse, Nala, 9, 25; or in a pāda (after one syllable), as in sā, iv, 20, 28; R. ii, 82, 10. Perhaps here: sa bāṣpakalayā vāca praṇipatyā 'bhipūjya ca.

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38, atha kasyacit kālasya [1]
tasyāṁ kumārās (te) trayas
tasya rājñaḥ sambabhūvuḥ
Çalo Dalo Balaç ce 'ti
tatas teṣāṁ jyeṣṭhaṁ Çalaṁ

samaye pitā rājye 'bhiṣicya [2] tapasi dhṛtātmā vanaṁ jagāma, prose through 39. In the following Tale of Çala:

40, sūtaṁ co 'vāca, çīghram māṁ
vahasva [iti], sa tathā uktaḥ [3]
sūto rājānam abravīt

41, na kriyatām anubandho
nāi 'ṣa çakyas tvayā mṛgo
'yaṁ grahītum, yady api te
rathe yuktāu vāmyāu syātām (iti)
tato 'bravīd rājā sūtam

42, athāi 'nam evam bruvāṇam
[abravīd rājā]
Vāmadevāçramaṁ yāhi (iti) [4]
43, bhagavan, mṛgo [me viddhaḥ] palāyate
sāmbhāvayitum arhasi
[vāmyāu dātum, iti, tam abravīd ṛṣir
dadāni te vāmyāu]

kṛtakāryeṇa bhavatā
mamāi 'va [5] vāmyāu niryātyāu
[kṣipram iti]
. . . antaḥpure asthāpayat

44, atha 'ṛṣiç cintayāmāsa
taruṇo rājaputro ('sti)
kalyāṇam pattram āsādya

[1] An epic phrase with variations, kasyacit tv atha kālasya, H. 3, 5, 11, etc.

[2] Possibly: pitā rājye 'bhyaṣecayat tataḥ tapasi dhṛtātmā vanaṁ jagāma (sa rājā); or: pitā rājye 'bhiṣicya ca. Both are formulas, as in i, 74, 126 and 75, 55.

[3] The text has: vahasveti sa tatho 'ktaḥ, perhaps as much of a verse as is the form above. As in 36, the iti pādas are, I admit, particularly bad.

[4] B. prayāhi.

[5] So B.

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ramate na (me) pratiniryātayaty, aho kaṣṭam iti (prose to 48, ff. triṣṭubhs).

Though far from epic verse, this is not exactly prose,[1] which, though often rhythmical, is not metrical to such an extent as this. Further, the actual presence of epic pādas in the narrative shows beyond question that it is meant to be couched more or less in metrical form. Of what sort then is this metrical prose? It is, I think, an early form of popular verse, older than the present epic çloka, which, as I have remarked above, is probably more refined than it was when first written and is less free even than the Mahābhāṣya epic çloka. It is not, however, necessarily antique, nor necessarily modern. It is, in short, the instrument of the perpetual story-teller, a naïve form, running in and out of prose like rhymes in fairy tales.[2]

[1] Benfey, Panchatantra (translation), vol. i, p. 259, says that with the exception of the two çlokas (28–29), "the rest of the narrative is in prose."

[2] The same tendency to the creation of pāda verse (not arranged in çloka form) may be seen in the prose tale of i, 3, where, besides the regular verses in the prose narration, are found such metrical combinations as:

Janamejaya evaṃ ukto
devaçunyā Saramayā . . .
etasminn antare kaçcid
ṛṣir Dhāumyo nāmā 'podas . . .
sa ekaṃ çiṣyam Āruṇim
Pāñcālyam preṣayāmāsa . . .
sa upadhyāyena saṁdiṣṭa Āruṇiḥ,

the last being a respectable triṣṭubh pāda. If, however, this and the tale of Suçobhanā be regarded (as Benfey says) as pure prose, what difference is there between the other parts which will not give any rhythmical cadence and such a rhythmical complex as, e. g., ramaṇīyaṁ saro dṛṣṭvā, sāçva eva vyagāhata, kruddho ājñapayāṃ āsa, and yathā vṛttaṁ nyavedayan? And how does it happen that kasyā 'si 'bhadre kā vā tvam, and mudā paramayā yutaḥ and . . . bāṣpakalayā | vācā are actual verses found in the epic? There is a literary product which is neither prose nor poetry, but a middle genre, a sort of dog-trot between walking and running, into which a narrator may drop without the conscious campū alternation of padya and gadya (poetry and prose) found in more precise literature. It is perhaps not extravagant to say that beneath the cultured verse of the literati this kind of style may have existed for centuries and even have been the foundation of the earliest literary

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The Epic Triṣṭubh

i. The Regular Triṣṭubh in the Mahābhārata

The rarest forms of the epic triṣṭubhs are those that in the corresponding syllables answer to the commonest forms of the çloka, namely the pathyā and first and third vipulās. The commonest forms of triṣṭubh are those that answer to the second and fourth vipulās (decadent in the more refined çloka) and to the minor Ionic, a form of çloka almost extinct in the later epic style. Both metres have besides the diiambic and major Ionic forms, but in both they are exceptional.

Measured by their precedent combinations, the triṣṭubh forms thus corresponding to the çlokas in second and fourth vipulās and minor Ionic, outclass the others as decidedly as they do in the number of their occurrences; for whereas before the triṣṭubh feet corresponding to the pathyā and first vipulā forms stand only ⏑ – ∪ – and ⏑ – – –, before the second and fourth vipulā forms stand five, and before the minor Ionic form stand seven combinations, respectively.

In thus grouping the triṣṭubhs çloka-wise I have wished merely to contrast the general structure of this metre with that of the çloka,[1] and have included only the hendekasyllabic triṣṭubh. For the sake of convenience, I shall call regular all forms of the eleven-syllable triṣṭubh (pāda), however unusual, in distinction from other forms, and will now give a scheme of these regular triṣṭubh forms (omitting the scolius or terminal amphibrach).[2]

product. That any of it has been preserved is a mere accident, not antecedently to be expected.

[1] Of course, as previously explained, the syllaba anceps of the eighth syllable must be given up; but the initial syllable is anceps, as it is in the çloka, in the usual forms.

[2] The jagatī occurs in the same forms as the triṣṭubh and needs no special table (though separately discussed below). Mechanically, it is merely a triṣṭubh with an extra syllable added, making the close with diiambus instead of amphibrach.

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COMBINATIONS OF THE REGULAR EPIC TRIṢṬUBH IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

First Foot	Second Foot of Triṣṭubh							
	— ⏑ ⏑ —	— ⏑ — —	⏑ ⏑ — —	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —	⏑ — ⏑ —	— — ⏑ —	⏑ — — —	— — — —
⏓ — ⏑ —	p 1	p 6	p 12	c 19	s 21	s 23	s 24	s 26
⏓ — — —	p 2	p 7	p 13	r 20	s 22		r 25	s ? 27
⏓ ⏑ — —	c *3	c 8	c 14					
⏓ — — ⏑	s 4	s 9	c 15			23b	s ? 25b	
⏓ ⏑ — ⏑		? 9b	s 16					
⏓ — ⏑ ⏑		s 10	s 17					
⏓ ⏑ ⏑ —	s 5	? }	s 18					
— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑		? } 11						

For the abbreviations, compare the table above, p. 236. For — ⏓ — ⏑ as a second foot in a hypermetric pāda, see the paragraph in the list of illustrations in Appendix C, under No. 11. For ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ as second foot, see under No. 15. The hypermetric forms indicated in Appendix C, when references are not given, will be found illustrated in the following paragraphs. Triṣṭubhs of catalectic and hypermetric form are not included in this table.

The Illustrations in Appendix C give a full discussion of the occurrences of these forms as they appear in combination with the cæsura, now after the fourth now after the fifth syllable. Here I will point out that, as is shown by the table, all cases of pyrrhic and most cases of trochee in the syllables immediately preceding the fourth syllable are merely sporadic, whatever be the cæsura; but that the trochee before the vātormic middle, ⏑ ⏑ — —, is not uncommon; and add that the cæsura is here after the fourth syllable (No. 15). The prevailing types of the great epic are (as is also shown by the table) an iambic or spondaic opening, ⏓ — ⏓ —, followed by

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⏑ ⏑ –, – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ – –, all three of which are found in the same stanzas. They are always commingled in the older parts of the epic and even in later parts, but, on the other hand, the first, or choriambic middle, is the stanza-form often exclusively employed in late sections, as is shown below in the paragraphs on the Stanza.

Bird's-eye View of Triṣṭubh Pādas.

The regular Mahābhārata triṣṭubh, which is of the hendeka variety (i), appears then in three (four) principal phases (all others being rare or sporadic), thus:

i (a) ⏒ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏑ ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒, passim, but restricted as in (b).
i (b) ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒ } common
i (c) ⏒ ⏑ – – ⏒ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏒ } common
i (d) ⏒ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏒ } common

Besides these, as will be shown below, there are other Bhārata types, thus:

ii ⏒ – ⏒ – ⏑ | ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ } catalectic, dekasyllabic.
iii ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒ } catalectic, dekasyllabic.

iv ⏑ ⏑ – ⏒ ⏒ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ } hypermeters, dodekas (with still other sporadic arrangements of syllables).
v (a) ⏒ – ⏒ – ⏒ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ } hypermeters, dodekas (with still other sporadic arrangements of syllables).
v (b) ⏒ – ⏒ – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒ } hypermeters, dodekas (with still other sporadic arrangements of syllables).
vi ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ – – ⏒ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – } hypermeters, dodekas (with still other sporadic arrangements of syllables).

vii ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – } Double hypermeters, thirteen syllables.
viii ⏒ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ } Double hypermeters, thirteen syllables.
ix ⏒ – ⏑ – – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ } Double hypermeters, thirteen syllables.

Jagatī forms of these pādas will be discussed below.

The epic triṣṭubh, then, is not (as has been affirmed by a distinguished scholar) of one uniform type. On an average, about one-fifth of the Bhārata triṣṭubhs of the regular mixed type have twelve-syllable pādas, which, however, are not jagatīs, since they have the triṣṭubh finale. A noticeable point is the common (not passim) occurrence of the trochaic opening, – ⏑ – –, in some sections of triṣṭubhs, and also in such sections the comparative rarity of the choriambic triṣṭubh as compared with the triṣṭubhs which have forms of çālinī, – ⏑ – –, or vātormī, ⏑ ⏑ – –, character (though not strictly çālinī or vātormī pādas). Thus in the hundred odd pādas

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that complete in triṣṭubh form the story of the Frog-girl given above, there are only a dozen of choriambic form; while only one stanza out of the twenty-five is of upajāti (⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –) form throughout, though two others have two consecutive choriambic pādas.

The Rāmāyaṇa Triṣṭubh.

Very different is the scheme presented by the Rāmāyaṇa. Here the upajāti is almost exclusively the form of triṣṭubh employed, and all the variegated pādas of the Bhārata are practically reduced to one type. In fact, the exceptions, given under Nos. 7, 13, 19, 23, of the Illustrations, Appendix C, are so few as scarcely to modify the statement that the Rāmāyaṇa employs only one kind of triṣṭubh,[1] which is ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑, with variable cæsura, as in

R. vi, 128, 122:

āyuṣyam ārogyakaraṁ yaçasyaṁ
sāubhrātṛkam buddhikaraṁ çubhaṁ ca
çrotavyam etan niyamena sadbhir
ākhyānam ojaskaram ṛddhikāmāiḥ

R. ii, 82, 32:

tataḥ samutthāya kule kule te
rājanyavāiçyā vṛṣalāç ca viprāḥ
ayūyujann uṣṭrarathān kharāṅç ca
nāgān hayāṅç cāi 'va kulaprasūtān

[1] I pass over some obvious errors, noticing their place: typographical, G. iv, 43, 69, vicetum; R. vi, 59, 12, patākā; G. vii, 7, 48 (açanī in R). These affect the fourth syllable. R. iv, 28, 66, affects the eighth, nigṛhe for nigrahe. Other palpable errors affecting the metre are: G. ii, 80, 24, kṣudhā ca tandryā (ca ?) vipannatāṁ gatāḥ, not in R.; G. iii, 63, 28, jahāu tadā tṛtsamudbhavaṁ klamam (in R., kṣudhā duḥkha°); ib. 29, pāda ends eças tadā (compare end of R. iii, 63, 6 b, etya kleçam, where, however, kl probably does not make position); G. v, 14, 66, priyām avīkṣamāṇo Raghunandasya, corrected by R., priyām apaçyan Raghunandanasya tām; ib. 19, 84, evaṁ sa tāṁ hetubhir anuvīkṣya, for anvavekṣya (the form, though with v. l., in R.); naçati for naçyati in v, 80, 24, is noticed under No. 19; G. vii, 20, 44, tam arcayitvā niçācaro jagāu (not in R.) has apparently lost a ca (cf. d); G. vii, 40, 19, Hanūmataḥ kaḥ sthāsyati purastāt, for sthāsyati kaḥ (R. 36, 46). In R. vi, 59, 12, nānāpatākā dhvajachatrajuṣṭam (çastra in G. 35, 6), cch becomes ch as in Mbh. i, 3,658, pṛchāmi tvām. Contrast sāçvadhvajacchatramahāpatākam, R. ib. 135.

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R. iv, 11, 93:

yathā hi tejaḥsu [1] varaḥ sadā ravir
yathā hi çāilo Himavān mahādriṣu
yathā catuṣpatsu ca kesarī varas
tathā narāṇām asi vikrame varaḥ

This uniformity of metre, resulting in an almost classical triṣṭubh, places the Rāmāyaṇa on the same plane, when compared with the Bhārata, as we saw it occupied from the point of view of the çloka. The more antique forms of regular triṣṭubhs are found in the Bhārata.[2]

Yet if this is the case in the regular triṣṭubh, still more striking is the difference between the two epics in respect of the catalectic, hypermetric, and other irregular triṣṭubhs, which are antique and found in the Bhārata, but are unknown to the Rāmāyaṇa. But before taking up these three classes as they appear in the great epic, I have a few words to say in regard to the final amphibrach or scolius.

The Scolius.

The many examples given in Appendix C sufficiently illustrate the fact that after the long eighth syllable (very rarely short) [3] the ninth syllable of the triṣṭubh is regularly

[1] In G. 11, 11, yathā hi tejasvivaro divākaro, etc., followed by a stanza not in R., with na sarvayakṣeçadhaneçvaro vibhuḥ, the other pādas having cæsura after fourth or fifth.

[2] One cannot, however, claim as evidence of antiquity the antique çālinī and vātormī type of pāda, either pure or in parti-form, ⏑ – ⏑ – – ∪ – – and ⏑ – ⏑ – ∪ ∪ – –, without noting that these are also Purānic, though rare here, and chiefly loans. Thus in a pure single (separate) upendra stanza at Vāyu P. v, 19, stands pravartate codyamānaḥ samantāt. So ib. ix, 113, where a, b, d, have çālinī form, and c has: diçaḥ çrotre caraṇāu cā 'sya bhūmiḥ. Most of this is epic, e. g., ib. xvii, 7 d, na jāyate mriyate vā kadācit (Gītā, 2, 20). Still rarer (as in Gītā, 8, 9) is the form in the same Purāṇa, xiv, 7 c, kavim purāṇam anuçāsitāram. I take this opportunity of stating that I shall hereafter use upendra and vañçastha as shorter forms of upendravajrā and vañçasthabila, though I believe only the latter has authority.

[3] See Appendix C, under No. 15, ekaṁ sāma yajur ekăm ṛg ekā, xii, 60, 47 c.

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short, the tenth is long, and the eleventh is anceps. This rule is seldom violated, but in the Çibicarita, iii, 197, 8, we find: —

gadāmi vedān vicinomi cchandaḥ
sarve vedā akṣaraso me adhītāḥ
na sādhu dānaṁ çrotriyasya pradānam
mā pradāḥ çyenāya na kapoto 'smi

Here we find, in pāda a, the phenomenon discussed, above, in relation to the close of the çloka. Before cchandaḥ the vowel should weigh heavy, but it is doubtless reckoned light. In b, me 'dhītāḥ is more probable than the (hypermetric) pāda, as it appears in both texts (above); but since this is a possible form, the pāda cannot be cited for a long ninth. Pāda c is regular. In d, the pāda may be corrupt, the necessary mā (= mām) apparently being lost after the prohibitive mā, though a long ninth cannot be avoided in any circumstances with the rest of the text as it is. I suspect that çyenāya has taken the place of a vocative, and that the verse read originally: mā mā pradā nā 'smi rājan kapotaḥ; but it may be a specimen of the group of six before cæsura, like yatra devī Gaṅgā | satatam prasūtā, and the other cases of the sort cited below, if the hiatus may be assumed to leave a short vowel, mā pradāḥ, çyenāya na kapotŏ asmi (hypermetric), as in xiv, 9, 9 a, just below. The tale, however, is a popular story, doubtless handed down in rough verse, and since the long ninth is actually found in such verse, it is not necessary to assume that the pāda must be correct. In the following stanzas, in the same way, we find the vowel apparently reckoned as still short (light) before çy. The cases are:

iii, 197, 15 c, yasmin deçe ramase 'tiva, çyena
ib. 18 b, sāumyo hy ayaṁ, kiṁ na jānāsi, çyena
ib. 24 b, pṛcchāmi te,[1] çakune, ko nu çyenaḥ[2]

[1] Perhaps accusative. I refer to C. only when the reading differs.

[2] On çyena as çiena in 19 c, see the paragraph on Defective Triṣṭubhs below. Above I have cited cases where the vowel is short (light syllable) before mute and liquid in çlokas and also given examples in triṣṭubh, where că brahma, °tĭ kṣatram, and °mĭ Droṇam make the scolius. The latter is, as it were, strengthened to make position in vii, 179, 47 b, antarmanāḥ kuruṣu prādravatsu (C. 8,161, prā).

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In v, 44, 24 d the long ninth is admitted into an old pāda: nā 'nyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate, in VS. 31, 18; Çvet. Up. 3, 8: vidyate (a)yanāya (perhaps in the epic for: na anyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate).

Another apparent example is found in the stanza[1] xii, 270, 23:

caturdvāram puruṣaṁ caturmukhaṁ
caturdhā cāi 'nam upayāti vācā
bāhubhyāṁ vāca udarād upasthāt
teṣāṁ dvāraṁ dvārapālo bubhūṣet

But here the first pāda is perhaps a jagatī, either with ca lost before puruṣam or (but this is unlikely) with resolution of the semivowel: caturduāram puruṣaṁ caturmukham (as in RV. iv, 51, 2, vi ū vrajasya tamaso duārā); though as it stands it is a metrical duplicate of nā 'nyaḥ panthā (above).

Two metrical irregularities appear in xiv, 9, 4 c:

saṁvarto yājayatī 'ti me çrutam

This pāda also is of the same form as the two last, with the irregular ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ as second foot and – ⏑ ⏒ as the scolius; yet to read *çrutam me* corrects them both. But in iv, 8, 8 a, çr certainly fail to make position, though not before a scolius. The first section has another example, xiv, 9, 9 a, ahaṁ gacchāmi maghavan dūto 'dya, where hiatus, as in the first example above, may perhaps be assumed with a short vowel: ahaṁ gacchāmi | maghavan dūtŏ adya, unless an inversion has taken place, adya dūtaḥ, with maghavo (or bhagavo, C.) before it. Below, ib. 31 b, sahā 'çvibhyāṁ somam agṛhṇăd ekaḥ, B. saves the metre and C. 249 saves the grammar.

In the Harivaṅça is found one case at 7,593 c, which is corrected in B.:

prāhur viprās tvāṁ guṇinaṁ tattvajñāḥ

Though of the same class with the Anuçāsana pāda (cited below) ending in prāyacchat, yet, while the latter may be easily emended, tattvajñāḥ is intractable, and the hypermeter

[1] *For the meaning, compare* ib. 28; v. l. in 300, 28: catvāri yasya dvārāṇi suguptāny amarottamāḥ, upastham udaraṁ hastāu vāk caturthī sa dharmavit.

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of B. 2, 74, 32, is probably correct: prāhur viprās tvāṁ | guṇinaṁ tattvavijñāḥ. Another apparent case in H. 14,732 d, where yadā ve 'çvaraḥ ends a triṣṭubh, is a mere misprint for yādaveçvaraḥ, 3, 82, 13. But xii, 292, 22 d, antye madhye vā vanam āçritya stheyam, has a clear case of ⏑ ⏑ – for – ⏑.

A secondary cæsura is more likely not to be found before the scolius than to be found there. Examples of both cases are given (incidentally) in the examples of the different sorts of triṣṭubh. Calling the scolius an addition is, then, merely a mechanical device, to show the pāda forms free of their uniform close. In reality, the scolius, because it is always the same, is the most important part of the pāda, since it seals the triṣṭubh. To show how the second cæsura does not divide off the scolius as a sort of tail tied on to the pāda proper, may be taken vii, 179, 13 a–b:

āsthāya taṁ kāñcanaratnacitraṁ
rathottamaṁ siṁhavat saṁnanāda

The form – ⏑ – ⏑ is then the only form of the epic scolius, except for a few cases of seeming carelessness, as in prāyacchat and vidyate, where special reasons may have induced the extant form, or, as in cases before kṣ, cch, etc., where advantage appears to have been taken of a Gāthā freedom in reckoning a heavy syllable as light in certain cases. Of the scolius type – ⏑ – ⏑, which Fausböll (previously) set up for the Dhammapada, the epic has parallel examples, but I doubt whether the single example to be found in the Dhamma, vs. 306:

yo vā 'pi ka- | tvā na karo- | mī 'ti cā 'ha

will be found on second thought really to support this interpretation. For in this case, as in all similar epic examples, the division is not, as Fausböll assumed, – ⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑ – ⏑, but (as a hypermeter) – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑, exactly as in the common hypermeters of the epic, e. g., sa vāi rājan nā | 'bhyadhikaḥ kathyate ca, where the only difference between the scansion and that of the more usual hypermeter, e. g., yasyā 'vibhaktaṁ | vasu rājan sahāyāih, is that in the latter

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case the cæsura is normal, while in the former it is neglected.[1] On such cases, see the section just below, on Hypermeters.

The epic, then, as a whole, has passed far beyond the Vedic stage, where the final syllables of a triṣṭubh are (⏑) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑; nor is it likely that the few cases above are to be explained as archaisms rather than as further examples of such slovenliness as has been met before in the examples already given. For even the Rig Veda poets are already tending to a stricter form, ∪ – ⏑, as is shown, for example, by the substitution of măsīya for maṅsīya, RV. x, 53, 4, merely to win an amphibrach.

Catalectic and Hypermetric Triṣṭubhs.

A short form of triṣṭubh is where a syllable is omitted, but in such a way as to preserve the characteristic final cadence, giving the pentad form familiar to the Rig Veda; as in Mbh. iii, 195, 3, taṁ tvām pṛchāmi | katham tu rājan, like RV. i, 67, 8, ya īṁ ciketa | guhā bhavantam. Although catalectic is a name more properly applied to a pāda cut off at the end, I shall yet call the double pentad a catalectic triṣṭubh.

In a jagatī, by the addition of a syllable, the final trochee or spondee of the triṣṭubh's amphibrach is converted into a diiambus; in a hypermetric triṣṭubh, the final cadence is preserved intact, the triṣṭubh's nature is not lost, but a syllable is prefixed or inserted elsewhere. It may be said that any dodeka is a jagatī pāda. I shall not quarrel with this (native) definition, but the difference here is one of metrical character, and must be strongly marked in name. Admitting then that it is somewhat arbitrary, I shall designate as a jagatī only the diiambically closed pāda; the other, as a hypermetric triṣṭubh.

[1] This interpretation, anyway, seems to be merely a slight oversight on the part of the learned editor. In No. 329, eko care mātaṅg' arañīe va nāgo, the first foot is correctly given as – – ∪ – –. The choriamb doubtless caused the different interpretation; but the middle foot – ∪ – – is parallel to ∪ ∪ – –, as shown in the examples cited below. [The new text in 306 omits iti: but I keep the remark above, written prior to the new text's appearance, as the old text has authority and need not be changed metrī causâ.]

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Besides the prefixed or inserted syllable, which gives two varieties of the hypermetric triṣṭubh, a triṣṭubh pāda may have both the prefixed and inserted syllables. The triṣṭubh, then, as shown in the bird's-eye view on p. 275, may consist of ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen syllables, without losing its characteristic cadence. Unique, however, and not typical (I may add) is a fourteen-syllable triṣṭubh. Apart from all these forms lies the mātrā-triṣṭubh, of thirteen syllables, but with two breves reckoned as equivalent to one long syllable. Postponing the examination of these forms, I take up now, reckoning the regular triṣṭubh (above) as i, the catalectic and simple or dodeka hypermetric triṣṭubh, ii–vi.

ii–iii. **The Catalectic Triṣṭubh.**

ii. In this form the cæsura falls after the fifth syllable. The pāda is one of a triṣṭubh stanza. Examples are iii, 113, 23:

Arundhatī vā subhagā Vasiṣṭhaṁ
Lopāmudrā vā yathā hy Agastyam
Nalasya vāi Damayantī yathā 'bhūd
yathā Çacī Vajradharasya cāi 'va

Here b can be scanned only as Lopāmudrā vā | yathā hy Agastyam. Another case, referred to above, is found in the stanzas at iii, 195, 3–4:

3, vidveṣaṇam paramaṁ jīvaloke
kuryān naraḥ pārthiva yācyamānaḥ
taṁ tvām pṛcchāmi kathaṁ tu rājan
dadyād bhavān dayitaṁ ca me 'dya
4, *na cā 'nukīrtayed*[1] *adya dattvā*
ayācyaṁ arthaṁ na ca saṁçṛṇomi
prāpyam arthaṁ ca saṁçrutya
taṁ cā 'pi dattvā susukhī bhavāmi

In 3 d and 4 a, the cæsura is shifted, and the pādas can be read as

dadyād bhavān da- | yitaṁ ca me 'dya
na cā 'nukīrta- | yed adya dattvā

[1] This seems better than anukīrtaye (he) dadya (N.).

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In 4 c, there is a çloka pāda; unless d be reft of its opening, to leave another pentad: prāpyam artham ca saṁçrutya tam ca, which would leave d as: api dattvā su- | sukhī bhavāmi.

The dekasyllabic pāda is particularly striking when united with the hypermetric pāda (10 + 12.) An example occurs in the same story, iii, 197, 26, c–d:

etad vo lakṣma | çivaṁ karomi
hiraṇyavarṇam | ruciram puṇyagandham

The ten-syllable pāda ib. 17 b, has, perhaps, lost a syllable, (taṁ) te paçyantu:

(a) ukṣānaṁ vehatam anūnaṁ nayantu
(b) te paçyantu puruṣā mamāi 'va
bhayāhitasya dāyam mamā 'ntikāt tvām
pratyāmnāyantu tvaṁ hy enam mā hiṁsīḥ

(a) – – – – ∪, ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ (No. 13, hypermetric)
(b) (–) – – – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ (No. 20)

For c and d, see No. 23 and No. 7, in the Illustrations of Appendix C. It is possible, however, that b belongs under another head (below). Giving a patois pronunciation, *pasiantu*, would make the verse quite smooth. In the subsequent stanza, 19 c, there appears to be a case of resolved semi-vowel (çiena for çyena), a regular pāda:

yathā çiena priyam eva kuryām,

though it may be read as catalectic.[1]

A case in C. viii, 4,545 d, is corrected in B. 89, 22:

C.: vāyavyāstreṇā, tataḥ sa Karṇāt
B.: vāyavyāstreṇā 'patataḥ sa Karṇāt

In xii, 322, 72 = 12,115, where C. has kiṁ te dhanena bandhubhis te, B. has the dekasyllabic pāda:

kim te dhanena, kiṁ bandhubhis te,

the other pādas being hendekas. A combination of hyper-

[1] For the verse in the same stanza, yathā māṁ (hi) vāi sādhuvādāiḥ prasannaḥ, see below, The Hypermetric Triṣṭubh.

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metric, catalectic, and hyper-hypermetric pāda occurs in H. 7,448:

yasmād bhūtānām | bhūtir anto 'tha madhyaṁ
dhṛtir vibhūtiḥ | çrutiç ca Rudraḥ
grahā (sic) 'bhibhūtasya puruṣasye 'çvarasya

Compare[1] H. 8,399:

taṁ kūrdamānam madhusūdanaḥ sa
dṛṣṭvā mahātmā | harṣānvitās tāḥ
cukūrda satyā sahito mahātmā
balasya dhīmān | harṣāgamārtham

iii. This pāda is what may be called cæsurally catalectic. Like the last, it is antique, in Veda and Upanishads, and the epic has but few examples. The pause follows the fourth syllable, which is usually heavy. Here the cæsura, so to speak, costs a syllable and, unless read with sufficient time allowance, the triṣṭubh appears to be crippled. Of this sort are:

i, 3, 61 d, māyā 'çvināu samanakti carṣaṇī (so 66 c)
i, 92, 14 a, pṛcchāmi tvāṁ, spṛhaṇīyarūpa

In the latter example there may be corruption. Compare i, 88, 10 c, tat tvām pṛcchāmi spṛhaṇīyarūpa, but the opening phrase, pṛcchāmi tvām is stereotyped, i, 93, 21 a; v, 48, 1 a, etc. We may compare RV. i, 120, 4, vi pṛchāmi pākiā na devān.[2] The next case is

iii, 197, 27 b, surarṣīṇām atha sammato bhṛçam

Although this pāda has eleven syllables, it is not a triṣṭubh, but a catalectic jagatī, analogous to the triṣṭubhs of the same nature. The whole stanza consists of syllables 13 + 11 + 12 + 11, but a is doubly hypermetric (explained below), so that there is no alternate symmetry but chiastic symmetry, thus:

13 (= 11) + 12 + 12 + 11

[1] In the Bombay edition, 2, 72, 59: dhṛtir bhūtir yaç ca guhā çrutiç ca guhā 'bhi°, etc. (on this, see below). The following 8,399 = 2, 89, 17, also avoids the same cadence by reading: dṛṣṭvā mahātmā ca mudānvito 'bhūt . . . harṣāgamārthaṁ ca balasya dhīmān.

[2] C. in 3,664 has pṛchāmi (sic) tvām.

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It is, however, possible, perhaps, to resolve the -ām.

v, 42, 5 a, pramādād vāi asurāḥ parābhavan (jagatī)
v, 42, 21 a, ya etad vā bhagavān sa nityo

In this case, although there is no possible objection to reading the pāda as it stands, it is possible that a bhāti has been lost after etad. The sense is yaj jagad iva bhāti sa nityo 'vikārī bhagavān (N.). Compare 43, 7, jagad bhāti.

v, 46, 3 c, atandritaḥ Savitur vivasvān

The same criticism. Before Savitur, sa may have been dropped, as in C. viii, 3,343 c, çete pāpaḥ suvibhinnagātraḥ, where B. restores the metre with çete sa pāpaḥ. So C. omits su in the aparavaktra, xii, 9,035 b, but corrects it in repeating the verse at 10,530. Nevertheless, I prefer the text as it stands, especially as any correction would have to be extended into the next stanza, where we find:

ib. 4 b, diçaḥ çukro bhuvanam bibharti

Here it is easy to suggest sambibharti, but emendation is otiose.

v, 48, 37 c, Matsyāiḥ sārdham anṛçaṅçarūpāiḥ

The next stanza has jyeṣṭham Mātsyam anṛçaṅsāryarūpam, which makes it rather doubtful whether this form may not have stood in 37 c.

v, 67, 6 c, ānayasva pitaram mahāvratam (jagatī)
viii, 68, 7 a, apy āçiṣma vayam Arjuna tvayi

C. 3,386 has athā 'çiṣma. Possibly āçiṣāma should be read but it is not necessary. The brevis is noticeable (compare above, in § ii, iii, 197, 17 b).

xiii, 76, 7 a (after the injunction in the half-çloka, vs. 6):

6, praviçya ca gavām madhye imāṁ çrutim udāharet
7 a, gāur me mātā vṛṣabhaḥ pitā me
divaṁ çarma jagatī me pratiṣṭhā, etc.

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xiii, 102, 55 d:

budhyāmi tvāṁ Vṛtrahaṇaṁ çatakratuṁ
vyatikramantam bhuvanāni viçvā
kaccin na vācā vṛjinaṁ kadācid
akārṣaṁ te manaso 'bhiṣaṅgāt

iv–ix. **The Hypermetric Triṣṭubh.**

iv–vi. SIMPLE HYPERMETERS.

The first form, iv, is the initial hypermeter; a light syllable appears to be prefixed to an iambic opening. The same effect is produced, in some cases with the same words, as that already described in the account of the çloka. The pāda starts with an anapæstic slide. The difference is one of frequency, since in the case of the triṣṭubh the initial hypermeter is not very common. Most of the cases have a brevis and in fact, to my ear, the long (heavy) initial belongs in another category (vi); but I admit that in yatra devī Gaṅgā satatam prasūtā and the few similar cases it is doubtful how we should regard the extra syllable. I have noticed with short initial the following cases (iv):

i, 3, 147 b, vayatas tantūn satataṁ vartayantyāu (No. 13)
i, 76, 55 a, asurāiḥ surāyām bhavato 'smi dattaḥ (No. 1)

Here the preceding pāda ends in i, but it is scarcely possible that the two triṣṭubhs should have been read as a unit. The same thing occurs occasionally in the examples of hypermetric çlokas.

i, 92, 6 c, kuta āyātaḥ katarasyāṁ diçi tvam (No. 13)
iii, 5, 10 a, tata utthāya Viduram Pāṇḍaveyāḥ (No. 15)
v, 42, 6 c, pitṛloke rājyam anuçāsti devaḥ (No. 20)
v, 44, 18 b, dhanam ācāryāya tad anuprayacchet (No. 20)
xii, 63, 4 c, vṛṣalīpatiḥ piçuno nartanaç ca (No. 12)
xiii, 76, 14 d, pratigṛhṇan vāi gopradāne vidhijñaḥ (No. 7)
xiii, 102, 19 a, atithivratāḥ suvratā ye janā vāi (No. 6)
ib. 35 c, (jagatī), Varuṇasya rājñaḥ sadane mahātmanaḥ
xiii, 126, 38 a, bahule samāge hy akutobhaye ca (No. 1)
H. 2, 72, 33 b, kṛtinaṁ vīram (C, 7,422 dhīraṁ) dānavānāṁ ca bādham (No. 7)

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All these cases have an anapæstic opening; all but one have the fifth syllable heavy.[1] Some have been given under the examples referred to above.

v, a. Much more frequent is the inserted fifth. I do not mean, of course, that a regular triṣṭubh is first made and a syllable is then inserted, but that the cadence does not have the rhythm of iv, to wit, ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ ⏔ ⏓, but (with the cæsura regularly after the fifth syllable) ⏔ ⏓ ⏔ ⏓ ⏑, so that the effect is that of a syllable inserted at the place of cæsura. This measure produces rather a pleasing alteration and is frequently found in regular triṣṭubh stanzas, scanned exactly like the other pādas with the modification thus indicated. The form is Vedic, and is found also in the Upanishads and in the Buddhistic texts. Examples are:

i, 71, 40 d, yathā tvadarthaṁ | rakṣitā 'haṁ careyam [2]
v, 48, 101 d, saṁyudhyamānā | Dhārtarāṣṭrā na santi

The effect of this measure I have endeavored to reproduce from the following extract, v, 48, 75–76:

ayaṁ Gāndhārāṅs tarasā sampramathya
jitvā putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrān
baddhaṁ mumoca vinadantam prasahya
Sudarçanaṁ vāi devatānāṁ lalāmam
ayaṁ Kapāṭe [3] nijaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ
tathā Kaliṅgān Dantakūre mamarda
anena dagdhā varṣapūgān vināthā
Vārāṇasī nagarī sambabhūva

And yon Gândhârâs, at a blow Krishna vanquished,
And conquered all Nagnajita's descendants,
Their plaining victim, as he lay bound, releasing
(Of gods the jewel, "Beautiful" called, a fair man);

[1] On this case (tata utthāya), see below, p. 290.

[2] Compare with this example, Rig Veda, i, 120, 3, tā no vidvāṁsā | manma vocetam adya, and for other Vedic parallels, Oldenberg, Hymnen des Ṛig Veda, vol. i, p. 66 ff. (ZDMG. vol. xxvii, p. 75).

[3] v. l., kapāṭena jaghāna. Below, the scholiast explains dantakūre as in battle rather than as a proper name. Perhaps Dantakrūraṁ jaghāna (ā before kr), as in vii, 70, 5.

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He at Kapât slew in a war the Pândya,
He smote Kalingas, Dantakûr's men a-fighting,
He too, that hero, burned and enslaved a long time
Benares town, city sans help unaided.

It will be observed that the first part of this measure is that of the regular triṣṭubh with the cæsura after the fifth, as in Yamo 'bravīn[1] mām: na mṛto 'si sāumya, xiii, 71, 18 a, which form may have led to the establishment of the hypermeter on the one hand and the cæsurally catalectic pāda on the other.

The texts sometimes show variations, like those found in the simple triṣṭubh forms.[2] Thus in vii, 179, 45 d, where C. has the hypermeter, B. omits the extra syllable: sampaçyanto (vāi) vijayaṁ rākṣasasya.

Of the different hypermetric forms, the commonest are those in which the fifth syllable is followed by ⏑ – – or ⏑ ⏑ – –; less often by – ⏑ ⏑ –. All three occur at i, 76, 50 ff.:

50, kacasya mārgam pratipatsye na bhokṣye
53, guror hi bhīto vidyayā co 'pahūtaḥ
54, smarāmi sarvaṁ yac ca yathā ca vṛttam

The extra syllable, like the initial, may be heavy or light; but except when followed by ⏑ ⏑ – – the latter is rare. The second and fourth syllables are rarely light. I give below examples of the different forms. First of the common varieties (but ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – as second foot is the rarest of these):

– ⏑ – –

yaço na naçyej, jñātibhedaç ca na syāt, iii, 4, 8 a
vadhâya rājan, Karṇasūtasya saṁkhye, viii, 85, 36 b
mā vāi dvitīyam mā tṛtīyaṁ ca vāñce(t), iii, 297, 25 c

[1] On page 186, note 1, I have referred to Yama's world as portrayed in Sabhā in contrast to "elsewhere." The remark is correct, but elsewhere is not everywhere else; e. g., this account of Nāciketas represents it as blissful. Usually, of course, it is a hell.

[2] These changes I have discussed in A. J. Phil., xx, p. 18 ff. as affecting vii, 163. In vii, 179, 24 a, B. has – ⏑ – – for ⏑ ⏑ – – in C., with several similar changes close by; strikingly in 32 d = 8,146, where B has *no* babhūvuḥ (C., na).

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So in v, 44, 24 c; vii, 2, 33 b; viii, 42, 17 c; xii 278 (7), 6 a, etc.

A case of fifth brevis and also fourth brevis is found in i, 1, 217 c, dvyūnā viṅçatir āhatā 'kṣauhiṇīnām; and fourth brevis in iii, 197, 12 d, na trāṇaṁ labhet trāṇam icchan sa kāle; where, however, C. has labhate (labh'te) which may be correct.[1] All five syllables are heavy in ii, 77, 10 b; kanyām Pāñcālīm Pāṇḍāvebhyaḥ pradāya. Unique (I think) are breves in the third and fourth syllables: datvā 'naḍuhaṁ sūryalokaṁ vrajanti,[2] iii, 186, 8 b (No. 10).

⏑ ⏑ – –

Preceded by brevis (fifth syllable):

samānam mūrdhni rathayānaṁ viyanti, i, 3, 64 b
tathā titikṣur atitikṣor viçiṣṭaḥ, i, 87, 6 b = xii, 300, 15 b
yas tv evam brahma tapasā 'nveti vidvān, iii, 192, 56 c
dharmam purāṇam upajīvanti santaḥ, viii, 45, 16 c
taṁ vāi manyeta pitaram mātaraṁ ca, xii, 108, 22 c
garbho 'mṛtasya jagato 'sya pratiṣṭhā, xiii, 76, 10 b

So i, 1, 212 c; 1, 213 c; 89, 6 c; 232, 16 c; iii, 4, 13 a; viii, 42, 16 b; etc.

Preceded by a heavy syllable:

hataṁ saṁgrāme Sahadevena pāpam, i, 1, 208 c
idaṁ ca rājan hitam uktaṁ na cet tvam, iii, 4, 12 c
tathā çaktīr apy adhamaṁ ghorarūpāḥ, v, 181, 9 d
tathā vāyvagnī pramimāṇaṁ jagac ca, vii, 201, 67 b
yasyā 'vibhaktaṁ vasu rājan sahāyāiḥ, iii, 5, 20 a
tān āha sarvān ṛṣimukhyān Agastyaḥ, xiii, 94, 9 a

So iii, 5, 18 b; 113, 6 b; v, 42, 15 a; 48, 46 c; vii, 179, 42 a; viii, 37, 30 b; 42, 9 d, etc.

Cases of fourth brevis are ii, 56, 15 c, paçcāt tapsyase tad upākramya vākyam; and i, 1, 216 b, tathā bandhubhiḥ pitṛbhir bhrātṛbhiç ca.

[1] Compare also iii, 13,291 a, yathā māṁ hi vāi sādhuvādāiḥ prasannāḥ, where, however, B. 197, 19, omits hi, which makes, when retained, a bhujaṁgaprayāta pāda; q. v. below, under the head of Akṣaracchandas.

[2] Compare RV. viii, 59, 7, indrāvaruṇā | sāumanasam adṛptam, cited by Oldenberg, loc. cit., p. 68.

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For v, 516, prayaccha mahyam *bhavatsahyaṁ* kariṣye, B. 16, 32 d, has tava sāhyam. In vii, 200, 82 a, B. has tasyā 'syatas tān niçitān pītadhāran, where C. 9,339 has suniçitān. All five syllables are heavy in ii, 77, 7 a; citrān saṁnāhān avamuñcantu cāi 'ṣām.

— ∪ ∪ —

Preceded by brevis:

na cen māṁ Jiṣṇur āhvayitā sabhāyām, ii, 58, 16 b
tāṅs te dadāni mā prapata prapātam, i, 92, 11 a = 93, 3

Preceded by a heavy syllable:

gomāyur uccāir vyāharad agnihotre, ii, 71, 22 b
amanyamānaḥ kṣatriya kiṁcid anyat, v, 42, 15 c
āmantraye tvām brūhi jayaṁ raṇe me, viii, 67, 22 c
anarthakam me darçitavān asi tvam, viii, 68, 8 c
prayacchā 'nyasmāi Gāṇḍivam etad adya, viii, 68, 28 a[1]
nāi 'ko bahubhyo Gāutami rakṣitavyaḥ, xiii, 1, 30 b

There is, I believe, only one other case of this form in the thirteenth book, 103, 42 c. It is rare as a triṣṭubh hypermeter, but it occurs also (see below) as a jagatī.

Besides these forms are found: ∪ ∪ ∪ —, of which I have but sporadic examples: sa yatre 'cchasi, Vidura, tatra gaccha, ii, 64, 11 c (note to No. 20); ahaṁ karte 'ti, Vidura, mā ca maṁsthāḥ, and na tvām pṛcchāmi, Vidura, yad dhitam me, ii, 64, 7 a and c (C. has mā 'vamaṁsthāḥ); prātas trivargā ghṛtavahā vipāpmā, xiii, 26, 88 c (No. 19, ad fin.).

Between divisions iv and v stand a couple of cases in which the initial syllable is heavy but the second is light. They belong neither to iv with its anapæstic opening, nor to v with its iambic or spondaic opening: açvināv indum | amṛtaṁ vṛttabhūyāu, i, 3, 63 a; atra Kāunteya | sahito bhrātṛbhis tvam, iii, 134, 41 a. Compare above p. 286, tatā̆ utthāyā̆ viduraṁ Pāṇḍaveyāḥ (No. 15).[2]

[1] This pāda is followed by tvatto yo 'strāir abhyadhiko vā narendraḥ, with the cæsura ignored. Pāda a is virtually repeated in viii, 69, 72 c–d, anyasmāi tvaṁ Gāṇḍivaṁ dehi Pārtha, tvatto 'strāir vā vīryato vā viçiṣṭaḥ.

[2] Such Vedic cases as this last are grouped by Oldenberg, loc. cit., with those just mentioned, e. g., abhi kṛṣṇena rajasā dyām ṛṇoti, RV. i, 35, 9,

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Quite exceptional, though corresponding to recognized (but unusual) forms of the regular triṣṭubh, are further:

dadarça 'sīnaṁ dharmātmānaṁ vivikte, iii, 5, 6 c (No. 27)
kiṁ vidviṣo vāi mām evaṁ vyāhareyuḥ, ii, 71, 7 c (No. 26)
dhṛtāyudhaḥ su-kṛtīnām uttamāujaḥ (v. l. sukṛtinām), H. 7,442 c (No. 24; v. l. in ii, 72, 53).

Compare also a case of No. 23, below, p. 294.

The hypermeter beginning with an anapæst, iv, is found also in popular Buddhistic poetry, where also a long syllable rarely takes the place of the initial brevis. There are, for example, in the Dhammapada, half a dozen cases with anapæst, but none with long initial (vs. 40 has naga-, in the new text).

Examples of jagatīs like the triṣṭubh hypermeters given above[1] are:

athāi 'va çyeno vajrahastaḥ çacīpatiḥ, iii, 197, 25 b
bhītam prapannaṁ yo hi dadāti çatrave, iii, 197, 12 c
svādhyāyaçīlā guruçuçrūṣaṇe ratāḥ, xiii, 102, 33 a
satye sthitānāṁ vedavidām mahātmanām, xiii, 102, 34 c
balena tulyo yasya pumān na vidyate, ii, 65, 25 a
(a has 13 syllables; b, 12; c–d, 11 each)

Occasionally a triṣṭubh and jagatī occur in the same stanza in hypermetric form, as in iii, 134, 39:

tato 'ṣṭāvakraṁ mātur athā 'ntike pitā
nadīṁ samañgāṁ çīghram imāṁ viçasva
(provāca cāi 'naṁ sa tathā viveça)

The unique triṣṭubh-pāda of fourteen syllables, of which I spoke above, runs, ii, 64, 1 d:

bālāṇ ivā 'smān avamanyase nityam eva

perhaps better so than with the initial hypermeter, as the latter, except for this example, is characterized by a heavy fifth, as stated above.

[1] Also Vedic, e. g., viçvāsu dhūrṣu vājakṛtyeṣu satpate, RV. x, 50, 2 (included under triṣṭubhs in Oldenberg's list, loc. cit.).

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The scholiast, who rarely touches on purely metrical phenomena,[1] explains this as "redundant and archaic," recognizing the pāda as it stands. But it is impossible to suppress the suspicion that avamanyase stands for an original manyase, a regular hypermeter (—, — ⏑ — —), "thou regardest us as children," strengthened by some one to "thou despisest us." Another, but doubtful, example is given below.

The distribution of these hypermetric forms, va, is somewhat uneven. The examples run in groups, showing clearly the effect of different styles. A baker's dozen of hypermeters, for example, are found in the seventh book, which has three hundred and twenty triṣṭubhs; but half of the dozen are in the fifty-seven triṣṭubhs of adhy. 179. On the other hand, the fourth book, which has two hundred triṣṭubhs, has no example.[2] The second book, which has only one hundred and fifty-five triṣṭubhs, has thirty examples.[3] In the thirteenth book the older parts have most examples. Thus in the few triṣṭubhs that tell of the seers' oath, adhy. 94, there are twelve hypermeters in thirteen triṣṭubhs, a much greater proportion, as the tale is much more ancient, than is found in any other part of equal length in this book.[4]

As an illustration of the epic free triṣṭubh with hypermeters may be taken the following stanzas from the continuation of the story of the Frog-girl in iii, 192, 48 ff.:

[Vāmadeva uvāca]
prayaccha vāmyāu mama pārthiva tvaṁ
kṛtaṁ hi te kāryam ābhyām açakyam

[1] He seldom comments on unusual rhythms, although often remarking on archaisms real or fancied, as for example on *prasthe* dattvā vipinam brāhmaṇebhyaḥ, at i, 93, 23 b, explaining prasthe as for pratasthe "with Vedic loss of reduplication."

[2] The fourth book is writ like the Rāmāyaṇa, in the refined style, and has scarcely a dozen pādas of the free triṣṭubh type, almost all its triṣṭubhs being upajātis.

[3] Two such hypermeters in one stanza are not unusual in old tales, e. g., iii, 192, 63 a–b, jānāmi putraṁ daçavarṣaṁ tavā 'haṁ jātam mahiṣyāṁ Çyenajitaṁ narendra.

[4] Compare what was said above, in the note on p. 221, regarding the çlokas in this section.

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mā tvā 'vadhīd Varuṇo ghorapāçāir
brahmakṣatrasyā 'ntare vartamānam

[rājo 'vāca]
anaḍvāhāu suvratāu sādhudāntāv (⏑ ∪ ⏑ –)
etad viprāṇāṁ | vāhanaṁ Vāmadeva (⏑, ⏑ ∪ ⏑ –)
tābhyāṁ yāhi tvaṁ | yatra kāmo maharṣe (⏑, ⏑ ∪ ⏑ –)
cchandāṁsi vāi tvādṛçaṁ saṁvahanti (⏑ ∪ ⏑ –)

[Vāmadevaḥ]
chandāṁsi vāi mādṛçaṁ saṁvahanti
loke 'muṣmin pārthiva yāni santi
asmiṁs tu loke mama yānam etad
asmadvidhānām | apareṣāṁ ca rājan (⏑, ∪ ∪ ⏑ –)

[rājā]
catvāras tvāṁ vā | gardabhāḥ saṁvahantu (⏑, ⏑ ∪ ⏑ –)
çreṣṭhāçvataryo | harayo vātaraṁhāḥ (⏑, ∪ ∪ ⏑ –)
tāis tvaṁ yāhi kṣatriyasyāi 'sa vāho (⏑ ∪ ⏑ –)
mamāi 'va vāmyāu | na tavāi 'tau hi viddhi (⏑, ∪ ∪ ⏑ –)

[Vāmadevaḥ]
ghoraṁ vratam brāhmaṇasyāi 'tad āhur
etad rājan yad ihā 'jīvamānaḥ
ayasmayā ghorarūpā mahāntaç
catvāro vā yātudhānāḥ surāudrāḥ
mayā prayuktās | tvadvadham īpsamānā (⏑, ⏑ ∪ ∪ ⏑)
vahantu tvāṁ çitaçūlāç caturdhā

And so on (the last stanza has six pādas, as not infrequently happens).[1]

As seen in some of these stanzas, there is sometimes accord between the hypermeter and its environment. This is not rare. Thus in ii, 58, 9, three pādas have the form ⏑ ⏑ – ∪ ⏑ ∪ ∪ ⏑ ⏑ – ∪ ⏑ ⏑, and these are followed by pāda d as a hypermeter of the same sort; ity āgato 'haṁ nṛpa te taj juṣasva. The hypermetric cadence to close a passage is not unusual. Thus to close a stanza, xiii, 159, 11: sa eva pūrvaṁ nijaghāna dāityān, sa pūrvadevaç ca babhūva samrāṭ, sa bhūtānām bhāvano bhūtabhavyaḥ, sa viçvasyā 'sya jagataç

[1] That is, it is a strophe of two three-pāda triṣṭubhs (above, p. 194).

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cā 'bhigoptā. Again, in i, 90, 5 d: bhūyaç ce 'dānīṁ vada kiṁ te vadāmi; then Aṣṭaka uvāca. As hypermeters I should explain the difficult pādas, 1, 3, 123 c–d, the latter having (affectation of the antique?) choriambic opening before ⏑ ⏑ – – (No. 18 has ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑):

vāñ navanītaṁ | hṛdayaṁ tīkṣṇadhāram (iti).

The preceding pāda is, I think, to be read as:

tad viparītam | ubhayaṁ kṣatriyasya,

instead of tad ubhayam etad viparītam. Then all the pādas are metrical, after a fashion.

There is a regular triṣṭubh with the movement ⏒ – ⏑ –, – – ⏑ –, and hypermetric in bhayāhitasya dāyam mamā 'ntikāt tvām (cited under No. 23). Like this, but with a different hypermetric opening, is the apparent pāda found in 1, 3, 63 c: hitvā | girim açvi- | nāu gā mudā carantāu, ⏒ – ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ –, with neglected cæsura.

This brings me to the comparatively few cases of different cæsura in this form of hypermeter. As shown in the examples given above, the cæsural pause comes after the fifth syllable. When this is neglected (but the practice is observed in a large majority of the cases), we have an approach to the shifting cæsura of the former division, iv, and, as I have said already, it may seem simpler to regard such cases as initial hypermeters with long instead of short initial. But the difference of cadence between the opening ⏑ ⏑ – ⏒ –, and ⏒ – ⏒ – ⏒, seems, as in the case of the çloka, to mark an important though not a radical distinction, between these groups. While the ictus of the former, as in vṛṣalīpatiḥ, is ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ, that of the latter, as in hataṁ saṁgrāme is ⏑ ˊ, – ˊ –. Nor does the shift of cæsura in asurāiḥ surāyām bhavato 'smi dattaḥ, etc., change this. But when the second class shifts the cæsura to the sixth syllable, as in yatra devī Gaṅgā satatam prasūtā, then, instead of coinciding with the ictus of iv, we still have necessarily the same opening with that of v, but still differentiated in the following. For in

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the whole triṣṭubh, we certainly cannot read hataṁ saṁgrāme Sahadevena pāpam as ⏑ –́ – –́ – ⏑́, etc., whereas in the other case the only way, as it seems to me, to read the pāda is yatrá devī́ Gañ | gā́ | satatám prasūtā́. I prefer, therefore, not to call these cases long initial hypermeters, but to class them separately, as vi. There are, as I have shown, cases which bridge the distinction and connect these classes in their extreme varieties, so that some may choose rather to consider them as radically identical openings; but it is certainly convenient to distinguish these forms. Of vi I have the following examples, the type being antique, as in Muṇḍ. Up., iii, 1, 6, yatra tat satyasya paramaṁ nidhānam, as distinguished from ib. ii, 2, 10, na tatra sūryo bhāti na candratārakaṁ, ne 'mā vidyuto bhānti kuto 'yam agniḥ, etc. I unite with them the sporadic cases where the cæsura, instead of coming after the sixth, where it is usually found, is neglected or falls after the fourth syllable, except where, in the latter case, two light syllables follow:[1]

i, 89, 3 b, sa vāi rājan nā 'bhyadhikaḥ kathyate ca (No. 13)
i, 197, 10 d, yatra devī Gañgā satatam prasūtā (No. 3)
ii, 64, 11 b, viçeṣataḥ kṣattarahitam manuṣyam (No. 19)
iii, 134, 7 a, evam Aṣṭāvakraḥ samitāu hi garjan (No. 3)
ib, 27 c, bāleṣu putreṣu kṛpanaṁ vadatsu (No. 19)
iii, 13,193 a (B. 192, 54) mamāi 'va tāu vāmyāu parigṛhya rājan

B. omits eva, but both texts immediately after have —

iii, 192, 55 b, na tvā 'nuçāsmy adya prabhṛti hy asatyam (No. 1)
v, 42, 9 b, tatrā 'nu te yānti na taranti mṛtyam[2] (No. 19)
v (42, 17), 1,592 d, etad vidvān upāiti kathaṁ nu karma (No. 2)

B. has *no* 'pāiti —

v, 44, 10 a, guruṁ çiṣyo nityam abhivādayīta (No. 20)
v, 44, 28 c, rathaṁtare bārhadrathe vā 'pi rājan (No. 6)
v, 48, 77 c, vegenāi 'va çāilam abhihatya jambhaḥ (No. 20, note)

[1] For these cases see below.

[2] C. 1,584 has te tatrā 'nuyānti.

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vii, 2, 1 b, bhinnāṁ nāvam ivā 'tyagādhe Kurūṇām (No. 9)[1]

vii, 179, 26 b, çaktyṛṣṭiprāsamusalāny āyudhāni (No. 13)[2]

But C. 8,140, has çaktyaḥ prāsā (regular) —

viii, 4,546 b, prāduç cakre vajrapratimaprabhāvam (No. 2)

Here B. 89, 23 has vajram atiprabhāvam, but C.'s form (words) is a stereotyped triṣṭubh ending, as in viii, 89, 61 d; ix, 17, 19 d; 35, 37 c; xii, 112, 21 b, etc.; e. g., in the last case, purā mahendra pratimaprabhāva.

[xii, 108, 33 a, etat sarvam anirdeçenāi 'vam uktam[3]]

xiii, 94, 13 d, na hy utsahe draṣṭum iha jīvalokam (No. 19)

xiv, 9, 34 c, sahasraṁ dantānām çatayojanānām (No. 2)

H. 2, 72, 31 c, virūpākṣaṁ sudarçanam puṇyayonim (No. 7)

ib. 32 d, somapānām marīcipānāṁ variṣṭhaḥ (No. 8)

ib. 44 a, vi-añjano jano 'tha vidvān samagraḥ

(Note to No. 9 in Appendix, with the pāda tri-ambakam puṣṭidam, etc., another case of resolution.)

Compare also the pāda cited above p. 278, mā pradāḥ çyenāya, etc.

In the explanation of the pādas given above, I have partially accepted[4] the analysis of Kühnau, who in his book, Die Trishtubh-Jagatī Familie, has divided yatrá tat sátyasyá | paramáṁ nidhānám; but I cannot carry this out in tāṁs te dadāni, mā prapata prapātam, and therefore separate the classes, reading the latter as tāṁs té dadā́ni | mā́ prapatá prapātam. The pāda with cæsura after the sixth syllable,

[1] Perhaps vā for iva (as below).

[2] On this pāda also, see below.

[3] This extraordinary verse, though anirdeçena is vouched for by the commentator, seems by metre and meaning to have been originally a sample of No. 27 (with nirdeçena in its usual sense), ⏑ — — —, — — — — ∪ — ∪. As it stands it must have fourth brevis (hypermeter), — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — ∪ — ∪.

[4] Kühnau's schemes (loc. cit., pp. 104, 159) find a place even for the pāda: yadā 'çrāuṣaṁ Droṇaḥ Kṛtavarmā Kṛpaç ca, which does indeed stand in C. 196 a, but is corrected in B. i, 1, 198, 'çrāuṣam having been taken over from the circumjacent pādas, but being properly omitted (as in C. 201, yadā Droṇe), leaving a regular triṣṭubh. See, however, viii, below.

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examples above, may, however, be grouped for mechanical clearness with the regular triṣṭubhs, the numbers of which I have added to the various specimens.

As in the case of triṣṭubh versus çloka pāda, one cannot always say just which measure one has in hand when regular and hypermetric triṣṭubhs run together. Thus in xiii, 80, 11 a–b:

dhenuṁ savatsāṁ,
kapilām bhūriçṛṅgīm
kāṁsyopadohāṁ,
vasanottarīyām;

or in iii, 34, 21 c–d:

mitrāṇi cāi 'nam | acirād bhajante
devā ive 'ndram | upajīvanti cāi 'nam,

like a vāitālīya.

The hypermetric syllable may be only apparent (elision) in some cases. In the older epic I have noticed only *a* elided thus, as in v, 44, 10 d:

eṣa prath 'mo brahmacaryasya pādaḥ

In the later epic, such elision takes place as well in the case of u and i, unless we assume a freer use of hypermetric syllables; as in:

i, 55, 11 d,	tvaṁ vā Varuṇo dharmarājā Yamo vā
vii, 201, 65 b,	paraçvadhinaṁ gadinaṁ cā 'yatāsim
ib. c,	çubhraṁ jaṭilam musalinaṁ candramāulim
vii, 9,455 d (=ib. d),	vyāghrājinam paridadhānaṁ daṇḍapāṇim

But here B. has parighinam.

xiv, 10, 2 a, Dhṛtarāṣṭra! prahito gaccha Maruttam[1]

H., 2, 79, 9 c, where the whole stanza reads:

a, āpo devya | ṛṣīṇāṁ (hi[2]) viçvadhātryo
b, divyā madantyo yāḥ | çaṁkarā dharmadhātryaḥ
c, hiraṇyavarṇāḥ | pāvakāḥ çivatamena
d, raṣena çreyaso māṁ juṣantu

[1] Read gacch' (a common type, No. 14).
[2] C., 7,794, omits hi, and in b reads dharmarātryaḥ.

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If yāḥ followed rasena it would improve both pādas; but on this see the next paragraph. In c, hypermetric, çivatamena must be read as çiv'tamena. In the next stanza (after apām eṣa smṛto mantraḥ, intervening), C., d, has (sc. mā)

bhartur bhaveyaṁ ruṣatī syāṁ ca vaçagā

but here B., 11, has syāṁ vaçāṁgā, which smacks of B.'s usual improving process.

vii–ix. Double Hypermeters or Triṣṭubhs of Thirteen Syllables.

vii. Sporadically appears an "inserted fifth" in addition to the initial hypermeter:

xiii, 94, 3 a, ṛṣayaḥ sametāḥ | paçcime vāi prabhāse
xiii, 102, 39 a, çatavarṣajīvī | yaç ca çūro manuṣyaḥ

If the reading is right, this is found, but with different opening, in

iii, 197, 27 a, etāsām prajānām | pālayitā yaçasvī.

viii. But in the last case (though tāsām may be suggested for etāsām) a combination seems to be at work which is like that wrought by the cæsura after the fifth, in cases where the triṣṭubh then builds up its second half independently. Thus pālayitā yaçasvī would be a regular second half and etāsām prajānām would be a rough metrical equivalent of the type yatra devī Gaṅgā. The cases are:

(1) ii, 67, 4 c, sā tvam prapadyasva | Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya veçma[1]
(2) iii, 5, 20 c, sahāyānām eṣa | saṁgrahaṇe 'bhyupāyaḥ
(3) v, 46, 27 c, ajaç caro divā- | rātram atandritaç ca[2]
(4) viii, 76, 18 a prāsaç ca mudgarāḥ | çaktayaç tomarāç ca
(5) xiii, 159, 26 a, sa eva pārthāya | çvetam açvam prāyacchat (read prāyacchat ?)
(6) xiv, 9, 10 b, balāni sarvāṇi | vīrudhaç cā 'py amṛdnan

[1] Possibly, however, prapadya has been altered here by a grammarian.

[2] In 30, ajaç caro divārātram atandrito 'ham, where C., 1,790, has ajaç cā 'horātram. The stanza is Upanishadic: aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo mahātmā na dṛçyate 'sau hṛdi saṁniviṣṭaḥ, ajaç (etc.), sa tam matvā kavir āste prasannaḥ (as in Kaṭha vi, 17, etc.).

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(7) H. 2, 72, 32 a, bhuṅkte ya eko (pronounce yāiko) vibhur | jagato viçvam agryam
(8) ib. 47 d, abhi triviṣṭapaṁ | çaraṇaṁ yāmi Rudram
(9) ib. C. 7448 c, guhā 'bhibhūtasya | puruṣasye 'çvarasya[1]

And so, perhaps, in the case cited above from H., 2, 79, 9 b, divyā madantyo yāḥ | çaṁkarā dharmadhātryaḥ (when, after rasena in d, tāḥ may be supplied).

The number of cases (all I have found) is considerably reduced by reading in the etāsām verse above,

tāsām prājānām
in (1) sā tvam prapadya
in (4) prāsāç ca mudg'rāḥ
in (5) sāiva pārthāya
in (6) balāni sarvā (analogous to viçvā)
in (8) triviṣṭapam (omitting abhi)

But the type seems to be established by bhuṅkte yāiko vibhuḥ in (7), and guhā 'bhibhūtasya in (9); so it may seem better to stick to the text than to adopt an explanation which would demand still further changes, such as omitting eṣa in (2), and vibhuḥ in (7); or rejecting the form of (9). Other examples of thirteen-syllable triṣṭubhs exist, but they seem to belong to another category, as shown below, where, however, chandovidas te | ya uta nā 'dhītavedāḥ differs from adyāi'va puṇyā 'ham | uta vaḥ Pāṇḍaveyāḥ only by cæsura, the latter (from i, 198, 5 b) belonging here.

Defective Triṣṭubhs.

Considering the extent of the epic, the number of defective (impossible) triṣṭubh pādas is small. Some of these I have already noticed incidentally, and need not take up again. The others I group in their order:

i, 197, 23 d, adyā 'çeṣasya bhuvanasya tvam bhavā 'dyaḥ
Omit Bhava, Çiva (No. 13, hypermetric).

[1] Here B. (59) has puruṣeçvarasya.

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v, 42, 15 d, nā 'dhīyīta nirṇudann ivā 'sya cā 'yuḥ
Read vā for iva.[1]

v, 44, 3 c, anārabhyāṁ vasatī 'ha kāryakāle
Omit iha (= ātmany eva).

v, 44, 25 a, ābhāti çuklam iva lohitam ivā 'tho
kṛṣṇam athā 'ñjanaṁ kādravaṁ vā (v. l. in 26 a, kṛṣṇam āyasam arkavarṇam).

Read vā for ivā 'tho and atho kṛṣṇam añjanam. In 26 a, a like change. So v, 48, 86 d, ākāçe cā 'psu ca te kramaḥ syāt, for ca apsu.

v, 44, 28 a–c, nāi 'varkṣu tan na yajuḥṣu nā 'py atharvasu
na dṛçyate vāi vimaleṣu sāmasu
rathaṁtare bārhadrathe vā 'pi rājan

For c, see the list above, p. 295. In a, read nāivarkṣu tan nā 'pi yajuḥṣv atharvasu, or as hypermetric with yajŭṣu?

viii, 3,338 c, ditsuḥ Karṇaḥ samare hastiṣaṭkaṁ yaḥ
B. 66, 30, has hastiṣaḍgavam and omits yaḥ

xii, 60, 46 c–d, adharo vitānaḥ saṁsṛṣṭo vāiçyo brāhmaṇas triṣu
varṇesu yajñasṛṣṭaḥ

The preceding pādas make metre and sense. These make neither.

xii, 226, 18, na tat sadaḥ satpariṣat sabhā ca sā
prāpya yāṁ na kurute sadā bhayam
dharmatattvam avagāhya buddhimān
yo 'bhyupāiti sa dhuraṁdharaḥ pumān (v. l. naraḥ)

Read (?)

na tat sadaḥ satpariṣat sabhā ca sā
samprāpya yāṁ na kurute sadā bhayam
tad dharmatattvam avagāhya buddhimān
yas tv abhyupāiti sa dhuraṁdharo naraḥ

The *sā* has caused the loss of the following sam, a copy-error. Just so, bhavātmakam parivartamānam has lost sam before the

[1] The form vā for iva is found everywhere, e. g., xiii, 90, 42 c, sa vāi muktaḥ, pippalam bandhanād vā (cyavate). So R. vii, 34, 15; 36, 42.

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last word, xii, 10,544 a = 287, 13. The parallel proverb, v. 35, 58, has na sā sabhā yatra na santi vṛddhāḥ (Manu, xii, 114).

xii, 285, 26 d, mām adhvare çaṁsitāraḥ stuvanti
raṭhaṁtaraṁ sāmagāç co 'pagānti
mām brāhmaṇā brahmavido yajante
(d) mamā 'dhvaryavaḥ kalpayante ca bhāgam

Varied readings in xiii, 159, 16, where d appears as tasmāi havir adhvaryavaḥ kalpayanti, but tasmāi here is offensive. Read *me* 'dhvaryavaḥ.

H. 2, 74, 27 b, çaçvac chreyaḥ kāṅkṣibhir varadāmeyavīrya(ḥ) [1]
(sc. pūjyase)

v, b and ix. **Mora-Triṣṭubhs.**

v, b. In the form of the hypermetric triṣṭubh shown above in tathā titikṣur atitikṣor viçiṣṭaḥ or na tvām pṛcchāmi, Vidura, yad dhitam me, the scheme is

⏑ – ⏑ – ∪, ∪ ∪ ⏑ – ∪ – ⏑

Now, as soon as the cæsura in such a combination of syllables shifts back to the fourth syllable, ⏑ – ⏑ –, ∪ ∪ ∪ ⏑ – ∪ – ⏑, as in

teṣāṁ kramān kathaya tato 'pi cā 'nyat, v, 42, 26 c,

it is evident that, although such a pāda may be mechanically equated with No. 19 (as a hypermeter), it is on the other hand nothing but a mora-equivalent of the form (No. 1) ⏑ – ∪ –, ⏑⏑ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑. Again, in the case of neglected cæsura (above), where two light syllables follow the "extra" syllable, we may as well take çaktyṛṣṭiprāsamusalāny āyudhāni as an equivalent of ⏑ – ∪ – ⏑⏑∪ – – ∪ – ⏑, like the regular pāda with – ∪ – – in the second foot (No. 6); or, to give an example where the cæsura is clearly marked, sa māṁ jihmaṁ, Vidura, sarvam bravīṣi, iii, 4, 21 a, may be scanned as ∪ – – –, ⏑⏑ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪. Such pādas stand parallel to the regular forms, as in the Gītā, 2, 29, imitation of Kaṭha Up. ii, 7:

[1] The commentator asserts that this is really a "fourteen-syllable pāda," but, as nityadā precedes, çaçvat may be omitted, leaving a dodeka hypermeter.

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āçcaryavat paçyati kaçcid enam
āçcaryavad vadati tathāi 'va cā 'nyaḥ
āçcaryavac cāi 'nam anyaḥ çṛṇoti.

As resolution may take place in several places, we get quite a variety of rucirā-like pādas. The common alternation of the ⏑ – ⏑ – – and ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – pādas is thus represented:

xiv, 10, 19 a–b, ayaṁ indro haribhir āyāti rājan
devāiḥ sarvāis tvaritāiḥ stūyamānaḥ

ib. 10, 23 c–d, ayaṁ yajñaṁ kurute me surendra
Bṛhaspater avarajo vipramukhyaḥ

But the choriambus-equivalent is more common, as in

iii, 134, 28 c, hastī 'va tvaṁ, Janaka, vinudyamānaḥ
xiv, 26, 1 ff. (refrain), yo hṛcchayas, tam aham anubravīmi

Two or three of these pādas together are not unusual:

iii, 132, 9 d–10 a, bhāryāṁ ca vāi duhitaraṁ svāṁ sujātām
tasyā garbhaḥ samabhavad agnikalpaḥ[1]

viii, 62, 7 d and 8 a–b, phalārthināṁ viphala ivā 'tipuṣpaḥ
pracchāditaṁ baḍiçam ivā 'miṣena
saṁchāditaṁ garalam ivā 'çanena

So in the jagatī-pāda iii, 133, 10 d, kasmād bālaḥ sthavira iva prabhāṣase. Here it needs only the iambic opening to make a true rucirā, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –, and this pāda is found repeatedly, not in complete rucirā-stanzas alone, but in jagatī stanzas. For example, iii, 3, 31 is a vaṅçasthabila stanza, where three pādas are regular, but b has:

prakīrtayec chucisumanāḥ samāhitaḥ

On the other hand, in i, 34, 26, the first pāda alone is of vaṅçastha type, while three rucirā pādas follow, e. g., pāda d:

mahātmanaḥ patagapateḥ prakīrtanāt

These are both tag-stanzas, embellishing the close of a chapter

[1] The naïve pādas 10,606 b–7 a, following this stanza, are omitted in B. The embryo here says: vedān sāṅgān sarvaçāstrāir upetān adhītavān asmi tava prasādāt, etc.!

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and of benedictive content.[1] A similar case occurs in iii, 3, 75 a, where, after praise, is said:

imaṁ stavaṁ prayatamanāḥ samādhinā
paṭhed ihā 'nyo 'pi varaṁ samarthayan, etc.

But this arrangement is found also apart from such employment. So in viii, 66, 47, a, b, d are of this rucirā type; c is of upendra form, thus c–d:

hato mayā so 'dya sametya Karṇa
iti bruvan praçamayase (v. l. me) 'dya Phālguna

Here eleven syllables do not equate twelve (thirteen), but d equals ⏑ ∪ ∪ —. In viii, 84, 20 a, B. has sphāṭikacitra, where C. 4,281 has (tato dhvajaṁ) sphaṭikavicitrakañcukam, probably the original, as B. is apt in varied readings to have the more uniform (improved) types.

As upendra and vaṅçastha pādas alternate, so rucirā pādas alternate with vaṅçasthas. Thus in xii, 244, 29, a and c are of rucirā form; b and d, of vaṅçastha form. In a stanza of mixed upajātis, xii, 341, 119 b has

mahātmanaḥ puruṣavarasya kīrtitam[2]

The seventh book has a number of these combinations of rucirā pādas and stanzas and upajāti pādas and stanzas, usually as pāda tags at the end of chapters, for example, adhy. 26, 29, 30, 32; but it has also incorporated complete rucirās as parts of an upajāti system, as in 2, 15 and 16.

I give now — reverting to the triṣṭubh — a few more examples:

ii, 58, 16 a, na cā 'kāmaḥ Çakunina devitā 'ham
iii, 4, 17 a, tvayā pṛṣṭaḥ kim aham anyad vadeyam
iii, 4, 18 a, etad vākyaṁ Vidura yat te sabhāyām

[1] In xii, 219, 52, two or three pādas in a benedictive stanza are of this type. The first pāda in C. begins imaṁ yaḥ paṭhati vimokṣaniçcayam, for B.'s imaṁ hi yaḥ paṭhati (vi?) mokṣaniçcayam. In xii, 114, 21, a benedictive stanza, rucirā pādas appear in a and d, e. g., the latter: na vāñmayaṁ sa labhati kiṁcid apriyam. xiii, 77, 32 has a whole rucirā in benediction.

[2] Compare Gītā, 8, 10, sa tam param puruṣam upāiti divyam, etc.

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In this example, ii, 71, 17, the much affected pāda symmetry is shown, b and d having ∪ ∪ – –, a and c having ⏑ ∪ – –:

atidyūtaṁ kṛtam idaṁ Dhārtarāṣṭrā
yasmāt striyaṁ vivadadhvaṁ sabhāyām
yogakṣemāu naçyato vaḥ samagrāu
pāpān mantrān Kuravo mantrayanti

Similar is ib. 3, only the first pāda is jagatī. But the second foot corresponds to that of the third pāda; and so the fourth pāda has ∪ ∪ – – corresponding to ∪ ∪ ⏑ – in the second pāda:

anyaṁ vṛṇīṣva patim āçubhāvini
yasmād dāsyaṁ na labhasi devanena
avācyā vāi patiṣu kāmavṛttir
nityaṁ dāsye viditaṁ tat tavā 'stu

Contrast this, for example, with the following pādas, 20 a, 24 a, 26 c, of the same section:

Bhīmasya vākye tadvad evā 'rjunasya
tato Gāndhārī Viduraç cā 'pi vidvān
Kṛṣṇām Pāñcālīm abravīt sāntvapūrvam

The last is a pure vāiçvadevī pāda, as above nityaṁ dāsye viditaṁ tat tavā 'stu is a pure vātormī pāda, and yogakṣemāu naçyato vaḥ samagrāu is a pure çālinī pāda.

In pādas of the rucirā or rucirā-like type, the same word appears in the triṣṭubh, which has caused a discussion in the çloka:

iii, 192, 56 d, tena çreṣṭho *bhavati* hi jīvamānaḥ

v, 44, 18 c–d: sa tāṁ vṛttim bahuguṇām evam eti
guroḥ putre *bhavati* ca vṛttir eṣā

xii, 300, 27 d, moghaḥ çramo *bhavati* hi krodhanasya

Here bhavati need not be pronounced bhoti, as it is a perfect parallel to bahu gu- in this stanza and to pacasi (bhavasi) in the following:

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i, 232, 14, srṣṭvā lokāṅs trīn imān havyavāha
kāle prāpte pacasi punaḥ samiddhaḥ
tvaṁ sarvasya bhuvanasya prasūtis
tvam evā 'gne bhavasi punaḥ pratiṣṭhā

A monosyllabic pronunciation cannot be claimed for all these cases, though it might be maintained for special words:

i, 197, 42 a, tāṁ cāi 'vā 'gryāṁ striyam atirūpayuktām[1]
iii, 4, 1 c, dharmātmānaṁ Viduram agādhabuddhim
iii, 4, 3 a, evaṁ gate Vidura yad adya kāryam
iii, 26, 11 d, labdhvā dvijaṁ nudati nṛpaḥ sapatnān
iii, 34, 9 b, yathākāmaṁ viditam Ajātaçatro
iii, 34, 20 c, mahāguṇaṁ harati hi pāuruṣeṇa
iii, 111, 10 d, vratam brahmaṇç carasi hi devavat tvam
xii, 302, 114 b, mahārṇavaṁ vimalam udārakāntam
xiii, 71, 16 a, dṛṣṭvāi 'va mām abhimukham āpatantam
xiii, 93, 136 a, adhvaryave duhitaraṁ vā dadātu[2]
xiii, 102, 36 b, tathe 'ṣṭīnāṁ daçaçatam prāpnuvanti
xiii, 103, 35 b, tathāi 'vā 'nyān anaḍuho lokanātha
H. 2, 72, 33 a, Atharvāṇaṁ suçirasam bhūtayonim
H. 2, 74, 23 b, khyāto devaḥ paçupatiḥ sarvakarmā

But the great objection to a monosyllabic pronunciation is that the rucirā pāda interchanges up to three pādas with the ordinary triṣṭubh pāda, and must therefore be identical in structure with the same pāda when four times repeated, in a perfect rucirā stanza. But in the rucirā stanza, no one can maintain for a moment that ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ _ is to be read with crasis. Why then when a stanza has three pādas of the same type or even one?

It may be said, however, that the mora triṣṭubh pāda differs in no respect from the "inserted fifth," when the latter is a light syllable. For example in this stanza:

iii, 4, 21, sa māṁ jihmam, Vidura, sarvam bravīṣi
mānaṁ ca te 'haṁ adhikaṁ dhārayāmi
yathe 'cchakaṁ gaccha vā tiṣṭha vā tvaṁ
susantvyamānā 'py asatī strī jahāti

[1] All the other pādas here are of strict çālinī type, _ _ _ _ _, _ ⏑ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _.

[2] ib, 94, 44, idem, but vā fails.

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Here it is clear that susantvyamānā 'py is a complete foot of the inserted fifth variety; but pāda b is indifferently an inserted fifth or a mora pāda, the cæsura pointing but lightly to the latter explanation. One reason, however, against such an identification is that the mora explanation in almost all cases is indicated, as in most of the examples given, by a plain cæsura before the fifth. Another is that this explanation brings the various pādas of a stanza into symmetry, as in iii, 192, where ⏑ – ⏑ – is employed with predilection throughout, and we find in

iii, 192, 69, yathā yuktā | vāmadevā 'ham enaṁ
dine dine | saṁdiçantī nṛçaṅsam
brāhmaṇebhyo | mṛgayatī sūnṛtāni
tathā brahman | puṇyalokaṁ labheyam

Here mṛgayatī sū –, as ⏑⏑ ⏑ – –, accords with the structure of the other pādas. So in jagatīs, e. g.,

vii, 26, 65–66, sa nāgarājaḥ pravarāṅkuçāhataḥ
purā sapakṣo 'drivaro yathā nṛpa
bhayaṁ tadā ripuṣu samādadhad bhṛçaṁ
vaṇigjanānāṁ kṣubhito yathā 'rṇavaḥ
tato dhvanir dviradarathāçvapārthivāiḥ, etc.

vii, 50, 14 a–b, tathā tadā yodhanam ugradarçanaṁ
niçāmukhe pitṛpatirāṣṭravardhanam [1]

vii, 109, 37 c–d niçamya tam pratyanadaṅs tu Pāṇḍavās
tato dhvanir bhuvanapathā 'spṛçad bhṛçam

Compare the close of vii, 155, four stanzas of rucirās and of vaṅçasthas, with the same mora-pādas.

A third point to be noticed is that the "inserted fifth" as brevis, and with its cæsura there, is always a rarity (as indicated in the lists above) unless followed by two (or three) other breves, so that we have finally two chief classes to explain, one with cæsura after the fifth heavy syllable, and the other with cæsura after the fourth, followed by breves equiva-

[1] Variant on the old stereotyped yamarāṣṭravardhana, of battle, hero, etc. as in vii, 145, 97 d; ib. 98 d.

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lent in moræ to the rucirā pāda. There are a few cases bridging these classes and showing that the metrical equation was not always in harmony with the cæsura, but this is no more than was to be expected. We are not to imagine that the poets set themselves to compose pādas by categories; but we can hardly escape the conclusion that a pāda identical with a rucirā pāda was felt to be the same with it, though the characteristic pause of the rucirā may be absent; for in the regular rucirā the sense-pause and rhythmical pause are not always identical. Hence, when we find samānam mūrdhni rathayānaṁ viyanti in one stanza, and yuvāṁ varṇān vikurutho viçvarūpān in the next, i, 3, 65 a, we may explain them as belonging to two categories cæsurally distinct, or put them into one category, remarking that usually the cæsura is after the fourth in such syllabic combinations; for even with two breves following (the commonest case with the cæsura after the fifth) the examples are rare in comparison with the rucirā-like or true rucirā pāda, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑; ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ (rucirā-like); ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – (rucirā). It is perhaps in each case merely a question of how the pāda is naturally to be read. Some will scan only one way, e. g., mārge bhagnaṁ çakaṭam ivā 'calākṣam in iii, 133, 23 d, irrespective of the stanza; while others may be read either way, as in the stanza ib. 19:

so 'haṁ çrutvā brāhmaṇānāṁ sakāçe
brahmādvāitaṁ kathayitum āgato 'smi
kvā 'sāu bandī yāvad enaṁ sametya
nakṣatrāṇī 'va savitā nāçayāmi

or when united with the five-syllable foot, as in i, 89, 20:

tatra sthitam māṁ devasukheṣu saktaṁ
kāle 'tīte mahati tato 'timātram
dūto devānām abravīd ugrarūpo
dhvanse 'ty uccāis triḥplutena svareṇa

ix. The mātrā or ati-triṣṭubh pāda may even be combined with the pāda having inserted fifth, where the breves following the cæsura seem to be only rucirā-like resolution. It is a treiskaideka measure:

i, 89, 23 b, samīkṣya ce 'māṁ | tvaritam upāgato 'smi
(i, 198, 5 b, adyāi 'va puṇyā 'ham | uta vaḥ Pāṇḍaveyāḥ[1])
v, 43, 50 c, chandovidas te | ya uta nā 'dhītavedāḥ
xvii, 3, 13 b, yad dattam iṣṭaṁ | vivṛtam atho hutaṁ ca

In xiii, 1, 32 d, kṣipraṁ sarpaṁ jahi, mā bhūt te viçaṅkā, as compared with çaktyā rakṣo jahi Karṇā 'dya tūrṇam, vii, 179, 48 c; tapantam enaṁ jahi pāpaṁ niçīthe, ib. 49 b, *te* may be thought to be an intrusion, but it has a sort of parallel in iii, 4, 22 d, ne 'dam astī 'ty atha Viduro bhāṣamāṇaḥ (where C. has atho!).

The mora rhythm in general is early, being found not only in the epic but in the Upanishad and Buddhistic verse. But it is found also in imitative parts of the Purāṇas, as in Vāyu P., xiv, 7, in a section where upendra pādas interchange with the çālinī-like pāda (– – ∪ –, – ∪ – –). Here in 7 b-d: mahātmānam paramamatiṁ vareṇyam, kavim purāṇam anuçāsitāram, where, as often in the epic, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – stands with ∪ ∪ ∪ – and – ∪ ∪ – (e. g., 9 a) as the equivalent, ⏑ ∪ ∪ –, of the latter. On the last verse above, see the note on p. 277. The measure appears in triṣṭubhs as an ati-triṣṭubh of twelve; in jagatīs, as an ati-jagatī of thirteen syllables.

In the Rāmāyaṇa I know of only one case where this resolved form is found, and that is peculiar. In R. vii, 81, 22, an extraordinary çloka closes the section, and in G. 88 a tag-triṣṭubh of the form above is made out of it. The extraordinary çloka is: sa tāir brāhmaṇam abhyastam sahitāir brahmavittamāih, ravir astaṁ gato Rāma gaccho 'dakam upaspṛça, "the sun has set (after accepting as a laudation) the secret worship by the assembled Veda-versed (seers)," according to the commentator. The parallel in G. indicates a brāhmaṇāir abhiṣṭutaḥ instead of brāhmaṇa = upaniṣad or pūjā. The tag-end in G. vii, 88, 22 seems to be from a phrase just preceding (found in G. and R.), saṁdhyām upāsituṁ vīra (Rāma). The whole tag reads:

[1] As remarked above, p. 299, this, though inserted here on account of its likeness to the next example, belongs rather to the group of Double Hypermeters.

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abhiṣṭutaḥ suravaraḥ siddhasaṅgāir
gato ravir suruciram astaçāilam
tvam apy ato Raghuvara gaccha saṁdhyām
upāsitum prayatamanā narendra

This may be called a rucirā-triṣṭubh. On the rucirā stanza, see the section on akṣaracchandas below.

The Triṣṭubh Stanza.

Upajātis. Upendravajrās and Indravajrās.

As stanzas, the forms that begin with a diiamb and continue with a choriamb are not particularly common. They are generally modified as upajātis, by combination with the *indra* varieties, which begin with a spondee, indravajrā and indravaṅçā. Sometimes the perfect form appears as a mere later addition. Thus in iii, 23, only one stanza, 14, is upendra in sixteen upajātis (pāda a has final brevis). So iii, 111, 17–18 = 10,044; while in iii, 295, 9 and 10 are two perfect vaṅçasthas, interpolated among çlokas. In iii, 232, 14, an almost perfect[1] upendra is ensconced in a stuti of Skanda, where the environment is upajāti. Again, in iii, 236, in an upajāti system of thirty-one stanzas, one, 15, is pure upendra, except that pāda a ends in a brevis; and 19, 25, 27 are also pure upendras,[2] except that in 27, pāda a ends in brevis. In xii, 201, out of twenty-seven triṣṭubhs, two, 6 and 23, are pure upendras. A pair of pādas occurs in viii, 89, 47, tato mahīṁ sāgaramekhalāṁ tvaṁ sapattanāṁ grāmavatīṁ samṛddhām. But two pādas together is a large number except in late passages, like iii, 176 and 177, where they are not uncommon (176, 7, 15, 16; 177, 11, 21, 22); vaṅçasthas in vii, 109, 36–37, with a rucirā pāda, etc.

As the vaṅçastha(bila) is merely an upendra with a sylla-

[1] The third pāda, however, ends in a brevis. On this point is to be noticed that such a brevis is not uncommon in the Bhārata, but in the Rāmāyaṇa is rare enough to deserve a special notice of R. vi, 74, 54, where every pāda ends in brevis. Here the stanza itself is upendra, but the system is upajāti.

[2] Here only eight pādas are not of upajāti form, but ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – –.

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ble added,[1] so the jagatī corresponds to the different forms of the triṣṭubh. Thus in i, 197, 25, it takes the place of a vātormī, tatra hy ekam bhavitāro na saṁçayo, yoniṁ sarve mānuṣīm āviçadhvam, tatra yūyaṁ karma kṛtvā 'viṣahyam, bahūn anyān nidhanam prāpayitvā; and just below, 53 b, pañcānām ekā svakṛtene 'ha karmaṇā, where it is hypermetric. Here a and d have eleven, c, 12, and b, 13 syllables. A near approach to a perfect vaṅçastha is found in i, 198, 8, where all four pādas are normal, except that in b, ⏑ – ⏑ – takes the place of the opening diiamb. In ii, 64, 5, all pādas are perfectly regular. The interchange of an occasional vaṅçastha pāda with the other pādas of an upajāti triṣṭubh is too common to call for further remark. Two instances will be found in i, 193, 20 and 22. In the former, the stanza would be a perfect upendra, but pāda c is of vaṅçastha form; in the latter, which is an upajāti triṣṭubh, pāda c again is of pure vañçastha form. So in i, 197, 11, an indravaṅçā pāda heads and closes a triṣṭubh stanza. The cæsura is after the fifth or fourth, passim; or after the sixth, as in i, 197, 17 a, yadā tu paryāptam ihā 'sya[2] krīḍayā; or a second occurs, as in iii, 5, 19 c, saṁvardhayan stokam ivā 'gnim ātmavān. The sixth place is often half as common as the fifth.

The cæsura in the pādas of the upajāti system is found most frequently after the fourth or fifth. The former, perhaps, in isolated pādas, as in xii, 64, 18 d, tatas te 'ham dadmi varān yatheṣṭam, and i, 92, 9 a and 11 d; but the forms in the Bhārata, though inclining largely to the fifth place, vary constantly, as they do in the Rāmāyaṇa. Examples from the latter have been given above in the introductory paragraph. I add some specimens from the other epic:

tad vāi nṛçaṁsaṁ tad asatyam āhur
  yaḥ sevate dharmam anarthabuddhiḥ
artho 'py anīçasya tathāi 'va rājan, i, 92, 5 a–c

nīlotpalābhā suradevate 'va
Kṛṣṇā sthitā mūrtimatī 'va Lakṣmīḥ, iv, 71, 17 c–d,

[1] That is for ⏑ – ⏒, ⏑ – ⏑ –, mechanically considered.

[2] On the light syllable before mute and liquid, see above, p. 242.

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where a–b have cæsura after the fifth and fourth respectively. Not infrequently where the triṣṭubhs pause after the fifth, the jagatī, in the same stanza, pauses after the fourth, as in iii, 268, 19:

saçañkhaghoṣaḥ satalatraghoṣo
gāṇḍīvadhanvā muhur udvahañç ca
yadā çarān arpayitā tavo'rasi
tadā manas te kim ivā 'bhaviṣyat

But in pure vañçasthas, the cæsura is apt to vary almost with the pāda, as in xii, 103, 40:

na sāmadaṇḍopaniṣat[1] praçasyate
na mārdavaṁ çatruṣu yātrikaṁ sadā
na sasyaghāto na ca saṁkarakriyā
na cā 'pi bhūyaḥ prakṛter vicāraṇā

So in viii, 18, 12, the cæṣura of two pādas falls after the fourth and fifth respectively, and then comes the pāda: atīva cukṣobhayiṣur janārdanam; while the fourth pāda is cut after the fourth syllable. Alternation is common, as ib. 14–15 (⏑ – ⏑ – – and ⏑ – ⏑ – alternately). Sometimes there is no cæsura:

vāditraçañkhasvanasiṁhanādāiḥ
çarāsiçaktyṛṣṭinipātaduḥsaham, viii, 88, 3–4

or it is irregular:

alaṁ virodhena! dhig astu vigraham, ib. 21 b.
kṛtyām atharvāṅgirasīm ivo 'grām, viii, 91, 48 = ix, 17, 44.

Upajātis are sometimes used to close systems, as are also upendras and vañçasthas. Pure vañçasthas may end a system of upajāti triṣṭubhs, as in viii, 76 and 79, xii, 167, 49–51, just as upajātis close a scene composed in old triṣṭubhs. The analogy with the tag-measures (discussed below) is here complete; the scene is set off with something better than the ordinary. As an example of the way in which upajātis are thus used may serve the end of iii, 154; or in i, 197 and 198,

[1] Upaniṣad is here secrecy. So perhaps in xii, 271, 30, (apetatṛṣṇānām, etc.) caturthopaniṣaddharmaḥ sādhāraṇa iti smṛtiḥ.

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where the first part of the wedding scene at Drupada's is in irregular old triṣṭubhs, but regular upajātis conclude the scene; the latter beginning just where the actual wedding is described, and taking in the statement that the heroine was first married to Yudhiṣṭhira, then to the other brothers; that she preserved her virginity day by day; and that Drupada in conclusion gave most extravagant gifts. The smoothness of the statement babhūva kanyāi 'va gate gate 'hani, etc., 198, 14, stands with its surrounding verses in at least metrical contrast to the part that goes before, where triṣṭubhs of vātormī and çālinī pādas and every sort of irregular combination is the rule. Whether the uniform upajātis conform to the uniforming of the poem is certainly a proper question to raise, though no signed and sealed statement to that effect is extant.

Another interesting example will be found at the end of the gambling scene, where from ii, 67, 24, almost regular upajātis continue to the end. This happens to be the passage where the heroine puts the legal question to which Bhīṣma is unable to reply, and where Karṇa joins in the laugh. The question is implied in what follows (68–70), but the passage in its present form is certainly open to the suspicion of having been rewritten by a more modern hand.

The first chapter of the Ṛṣyaçṛṅga episode is in old triṣṭubhs. With the beginning of the sensuous description in the second chapter begin the upajātis, iii, 111, 112.

In the systems of the older epic, ⏑ – ∪ –, ∪ ∪ – –, – ∪ – –, and – ∪ ∪ –, are used as interchangeable second feet. So universal are – ∪ – – and ∪ ∪ – – that they must be considered as the chief triṣṭubh measure of the older epic, greatly in excess of – ∪ ∪ –. But in the fourth book and most later parts, these recede before the upajāti forms. Jagatī pādas are inserted occasionally in all the free triṣṭubh sections.[1] It is perhaps worthy of remark that, for example, in the Dyūta Parvan, the diiambic opening, or even, it might be said, the

[1] The process elsewhere of making a jagatī pāda is sometimes patent, as in viii, 90, 72 d: bhindhi tvam enaṁ Namuciṁ yathā Hariḥ (for yath 'endraḥ); here in an upajāti system of jagatīs.

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whole upendra form, is found par excellence in the final pāda(s), though found also in a, b, c, especially as the section gradually passes (towards its end) into regular upajātis, 67, 26 ff. For example, at the beginning of the scene, 56, 12–16:

12, ⏑ – ⏑ – – , – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ; – – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ;
– – ⏑ – – , ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ; ⏑ – ⏑ – – , ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑
13, – – ⏑ – – , ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ; – – ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ;
– – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ; ⏑ – – – , ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑
14, – – – – , – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ; – – ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ;
⏑ – – – , – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ; ⏑ – ⏑ –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑
15, – – ⏑ –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ; – – ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ;
– – – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ; ⏑ – ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑
16, – – – – , ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ; ⏑ – ⏑ –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ;
⏑ – – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ; ⏑ – ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

I have remarked in the list of examples given above that some of the older forms of the triṣṭubh are practically confined to the early parts of the epic. The fourth and seventh books are considered to be late, or, what amounts to the same thing, modern expanded forms of older material. The middle foot ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – occurs not infrequently in the older epic, but in the whole fourth book it occurs but once, and in the seventh only twice in 1280 pādas. Upajāti systems, except, as just observed, as a sort of tag, are not frequent in the older epic, where the systems are of the type – ⏑ – – and ⏑ ⏑ – – with interspersed choriambs. The latter part of the third book, however, and all of the fourth book prefer the upajāti system (the cæsura being after the fourth in only one-third of the cases in the latter), and blocks of upajātis appear in the much-expanded battle-books. As a system, the upajāti marks late passages, such as the song of Çrī in the eleventh section of the thirteenth book, and the praise of gifts in the fifty-seventh section of the same book, where only two pādas are not upajāti. This book is also marked by the large number of its çālinī stanzas (not single pādas), which keep up an old measure in a new fixed form. Old as is the choriambic pāda, the stanza form of the choriambic triṣṭubh employed in great groups to the exclusion of other forms of triṣṭubh appears to be an innovation. A form once given persists, and so we have late passages with

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$\_ \cup \_ \_$ as the second foot, just as this and $\cup \cup \_ \_$ are still met here and there in the Purāṇas,[1] but when the choriamb is employed continuously in a long system[2] the passage may be set down as late, or, if one prefers the expression, as more refined, as in the whole Rāmāyaṇa and in the later books of the Mahābhārata.

Another mark of lateness appears to lie in the absence of an indiscriminate mixture of triṣṭubh and jagatī forms. Later passages are rather apt to show uniformity in this regard; earlier passages show none, though an harmonious commingling in alternate or chiastic form (12 + 11 + 12 + 11 or 11 + 12 + 12 + 11) is at all times somewhat affected, and late passages sometimes show no uniformity; but the tendency is in the other direction.

The Syllaba Anceps.

In respect of the pāda syllaba anceps, the epic permits this not only in free triṣṭubhs, but also in upajātis, and even in isolated pure choriambic stanzas. But even the classical poets share this freedom. That is to say, as Professor Capeller has shown, although the rule is that pure upendras and indravajrās or the corresponding jagatīs shall have final anceps only at the end of the hemistich, yet if these stanzas, though complete

[1] Solitary çālinī stanzas also occur in the Purāṇas. For example, Vāyu P. vi, 71, repeated in ix, 113, where occurs the stanza: vaktrād yasya brāhmaṇā samprasūtāḥ, yad [tad] vakṣataḥ kṣatriyāḥ pūrvabhāge, vāiçyāç co 'rvor yasya padbhyāṁ ca çūdrāḥ sarve varṇā gātrataḥ samprasūtāḥ, a pure çālinī.

[2] A choriambic verse or stanza is a different matter. This may be as old, or older, than a corresponding stanza of other form. For example, the prose proberb of Gāut. xxiii, 29, appears in the form pañcā 'nṛtāny āhur apātakāni first in Vas. xvi, 35, as an upajāti stanza. The oldest version in the epic is in i, 82, 16, where there is no exception in the case of a teacher, as in Gāutama (for an untruth here is a mortal sin, not venial), nor is the priest included, as in Vas.; but the five venial lies are in case of wounds, about women, in case of marriage, death, and robbery, couched in upajāti. A second form occurs, however, in xii, 165, 30, where the teacher is mentioned in the same way as is the priest. The other difference between the epic versions is that the latter begins na narmayuktam anṛtaṁ hinasti; the former, vacanaṁ hinasti, as choriamb. Spruch 3,321 has only one of these forms (ascribed to a Purāṇa), Manu, viii, 112, is in çloka.

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in themselves, form part of a general system of upajātis, the freer form is permitted. Thus in Raghuvaṅça vii, 9, a pure indravajrā occurs with the third pāda ending in brevis, but it is in an upajāti chapter. Examples from epic poetry are:

ii, 56, 21 a (a triṣṭubh stanza), tato vidvān Viduram mantrimukhyăm
ii, 63, 10 a (ditto), jānīmahe devitaṁ Sāubalasyă

So in these pure choriambic stanzas, found in a general upajāti system:

iii, 176, 7, tava pratijñāṁ Kururāja satyāṁ
cikīrṣamāṇās tad anupriyaṁ ca
tato na gacchāma vanāny apāsyă
Suyodhanaṁ sānucaraṁ nihantum

and ib. 15,

tavā 'rthasiddhyartham api pravṛttāu
Suparṇaketuç ca Çineç ca naptā
tathāi 'va Kṛṣṇaḥ pratimo balenă
tathāi 'va cā 'haṁ naradeva varya

iv, 11, 9, c, Bṛhannalām māṁ naradeva viddhī

ib. 54, 17 a, cacāra saṁkhye vidiço diçaç că

This is very rare in Virāṭa. In jagatī:

iii, 268, 19 c, yadā çarān arpayitā tavo'rasī
xiii, 70, 9 c–d, tvayā purā dattam itī 'ha çuçrumă
nṛpa dvijebhyaḥ kva nu tad gataṁ tavă

Examples in the Harivaṅça may be found at 2, 95, 1 ff. (= 8781 ff.); ib. 6 a; ib. 10 and 11 c: ib. 14 a and c; ib. 24 c; ib. 29 c (na vetsi); 2, 124, 53 a (= 10,625), etc.

Epic usage, however, keeps the final syllable long in the prior pādas. Exceptions like those just given are not uncommon, but are distinctly exceptions. I have no statistics, but perhaps the general condition may be stated well enough in saying that one has to hunt for final breves in prior pādas of pure upendra and indravajrā stanzas and does not have to hunt for final longs; while in upajātis the final breves are not so uncommon as in the pure stanzas of uniform type.

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In this regard I see no special difference between the two epics. Perhaps the Rāmāyaṇa poet is a little more shy of the brevis but it occurs there also, not only in pure upendras standing in an upajāti environment, but even in isolated tag-stanzas where the upendra stands alone. Thus where G. ii, 33, 27 has a varied reading which converts the stanza to an upajāti, the Bombay text of R. ii, 33, 29, presents (in an upajāti environment) a pure upendra stanza, with the first pāda ending in brevis, pratīkṣamāṇo 'bhijanaṁ tadā 'ṛtăm. Another example will be found in vi, 69, 92 = G. 49, 77. In upajātis it will be enough to refer to R. ii, 15, 44 a; 21, 52 c; 37, 34 a; 36 a; v, 28, 4 ff., etc. In the case of isolated tag-upendras, examples may be found in R. vi, 61, 39, where c ends in a brevis, although the isolated stanza is pure upendra, and in R. ii, 115, 24 (not in G.), where both a and c end in breves:

tadā hi yat kāryam upāiti kiṁcīd
upāyanaṁ co 'pahṛtam mahārham
sa pādukābhyām prathamam nivedyă
cakāra paçcād Bharato yathāvat

One fact seems certain from the treatment of upajātis versus upendras and indravajrās or vaṅçasthabhilas and indravaṅçās, namely, that the native metricists in calling the upajāti a mixture of upendra and indravajrā or of vaṅçastha and indravaṅçā, and treating it as a derived form are historically incorrect. Of course, the upajāti stanza is a stanza in which some pādas are of one type and some are of another; but it is not a mixed development from pure stanzas of either type. On the contrary, the upajāti is the prius, and the pure upendra and pure indravajrā stanza is a refinement on the mixed type. Historically the choriambic triṣṭubh begins with syllaba anceps like the çloka,[1] and upendras and indravajrās are differentia-

[1] For this reason, in the Illustrations, though giving examples of each, I do not separate (as is usually done) the types of opening, e. g., ∪ — ∪ — and — — ∪ —. Only in complete forms of stanzas, like the cālinī, vātormī, and rucirā, is the first syllable fixed. In the free triṣṭubh and upajāti stanzas the initial syllable is quite indifferent. Then comes the upendra stanza,

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tions of the earlier mixed types. They had the same development as had the çālinī, which began, as in the epic, with ⏑ – ⏑ –, and settled at last into – – – – as a first foot.

The upajāti stanza in its turn is derived (as a more refined form) from the mixed triṣṭubh of the early epic type, which unites into one stanza not only pādas of the choriambic type and of the types – ∪ – –, ∪ ∪ – –, ∪ ∪ ∪ –, but also of the type of the rucirā or mora-pāda; of which, together with the special stanzas of fixed form derived from these measures, I shall speak hereafter. It is to be observed that this mixture of vātormī, çālinī, choriambic, and resolved-syllable pādas in one stanza is Vedic and Bhārataic, non-classical and non-Rāmāyanan,[1] but also, in a very limited degree, Puranic. That is to say, the Bhārata, the oldest extant Purāṇa, on the one hand preserves the old Vedic type, which is still kept up in a measure in the later Puranic diction, while on the other it has the clear-cut upajāti system favored by Vālmīki, the former both in early and late parts; the latter only in late parts, according as the different poets preserved the old style, or, like Vālmīki, cut loose from it and wrote only in upajāti form.

Emergent Stanzas.

Of peculiar interest is the growth of the completed stanza of other triṣṭubh forms. In the great epic, we can, as it were, see the gradual emergence of the complete çālinī, vātormī, and vāiçvadevī stanzas (of four identical pādas) from the single, double, and triple pāda of this form in triṣṭubh stanzas, till at last a few complete çālinī stanzas are found and one perfect vāiçvadevī.

The occasional pāda is indefinitely antique. It is the four-fold-combination that is emerging; just as upajātis emerge from mixed triṣṭubhs, and upendras from upajātis. In the completed refined pāda the opening is spondaic; in the emer-

∪ – ∪ –, as distinguished from the indravajrā, – – ∪ –, both secondary, not as pādas, but as stanzas, to the upajāti.

[1] The Vedic usage is illustrated in Kühnau, Die Triṣṭubh-Jagatī Familie, p. 52.

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gent type it is indifferently iambic or spondaic like other triṣṭubh forms. This sporadic appearance calls for no special remark here, as examples may be found in the list of examples of triṣṭubh pādas. The first stage beyond this is where two pādas appear of half-çālinī form but with iambic opening. This is either "regular" or hypermetric,[1] as in

iii, 5, 16 c–d: yathā ca parṇe puṣkarasyā 'vasiktaṁ
jalaṁ na tiṣṭhet pathyam uktaṁ tathā 'smin

The hypermetric çālinī pāda of this sort (vāiçvadevī) is common, as in i, 55, 12 b, trātā loke 'smiṁs tvaṁ tathe 'ha prajānām (so ii, 77, 10 b, etc.), as shown below.

Again, in mixed triṣṭubhs, where we have half a stanza of almost pure çālinī form, as in vi, 3, 65 c–d; or even an almost complete stanza, as in

i, 58, 19: etac chrutvā prīyamānāḥ sametā
ye tatrā 'san pannagā vītamohāḥ
Āstīke vāi prītimanto babhūvur
ūcus cāi 'naṁ varam iṣṭaṁ vṛṇīṣva

Here the çālinī is complete save for the last pāda. So in iii, 4, 4, there is a perfect çālinī save for the first syllable of a. In iii, 5, 13, the stanza is nearly vātormī, but three pādas begin with a short syllable and the first has the çālinī trochee. In v, 40, 29, three pādas are pure çālinī and one is vātormī. These forms are often symmetrically united. Thus in i, 58, 20, the pādas run çālinī + vātormī + çālinī + vātormī, save that in b and c the third syllable of the first foot is brevis. Sometimes the arrangement is chiastic, as in i, 197, 30, where the pādas are vātormī — çālinī, çālinī — vātormī, etc. These forms are again mixed freely with upajāti pādas, as in i, 187, 6, this combination being too common to need further illustration. The vātormī or çālinī pāda often closes the stanza in such a combination. Thus in i, 76, 47, a is upajāti, b is jagatī, c is çālinī, d is vātormī; ib. 64, d is çālinī, the others

[1] This form is sometimes effaced by varied readings. Thus in vii, 54, 43, pāpenā 'tmānam majjayiṣyaty asantam, of C. 2116, appears as pāpe 'tmānam.

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are upajāti pādas. Alternation of upajātis, çālinī-pāda triṣṭubhs, and çlokas is found in the dramatic Çārṅgopākhyāna, i, 232, 8 ff.

A goodly number of specimens of stanzas showing a close approach to the çālinī is found in vii, 2, where finally, in 26, appears one whole çālinī stanza:

açvān agryān pāṇḍurābhraprakāçān
puṣṭān snātān mantrapūtābhir adbhiḥ
taptāir bhāṇḍāiḥ kāñcanāir abhyupetān
çīghrān çīghraṁ sūtaputrā 'nayasva

So in vii, 54, 40 ff., there is a number of almost complete and quite complete çālinīs.

A complete çālinī occurs in i, 58, 21; another in v, 33, 115 (toward the end of adhy. 40 there are çālinī pādas). The usual order in the epic, however, is a mixture of single pādas. The pseudo-epic, on the other hand, heaps up complete çālinī stanzas. Thus in a little system of ten stanzas at xii, 24, 25 ff., çālinī, vātormī, and upajāti pādas are all mixed up together but lead up to perfect çālinī stanzas in 29, 30, 32. In Anuçāsana, complete stanzas are common, e. g., xiii, 73, 39; 77, 31 and 33 (with a rucirā between), on giving cows to priests. In Çānti may be compared also xii, 63, 9–10 (two complete çālinī stanzas); 259, 39–42; 319, 86 ff. (five out of seven stanzas). The prior pāda of the hemistich may end in brevis, as in some of the last examples, e. g. in 319, 89, where the stanza from a Brahmanic point of view is as late as the sentiment:

sarve varṇā brāhmaṇā brahmajāç ca
sarve nityaṁ vyāharante cā brahma
tattvaṁ çāstram brahmabuddhyā bravīmi
sarvaṁ viçvam brahma cāi 'tat samastam

The vātormī stanza, if I am not mistaken, is not yet complete in the epic; but its pādas come near to making a complete stanza, as in vii, 201, 78:

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astāuṣaṁ tvāṁ tava sammānam icchan
vicinvan vāi sadṛçaṁ devavarya
sudurlabhān dehi varān mame 'ṣṭān
abhiṣṭutaḥ pravikārṣīç ca māyām

still closer in ii, 58, 12:

ke tatrā 'nye kitavā dīvyamānā
vinā rājño Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putrāiḥ
pṛcchāmi tvāṁ Vidura brūhi nas tān
yāir dīvyāmaḥ çataçaḥ saṁnipatya

The hypermeter is not so common as that of the çālinī. A case occurs in iii, 134, 14 b: sapta cchandāṅsi kratum ekaṁ vahanti; and another, ib. 12 b: yajñāḥ pañcāi 'vā 'py atha pañcendriyāṇi. So in ii, 77, 7 a; v, 35, 42 a. The last case reads:

nāi 'naṁ chandāṅsi vṛjināt tārayanti
(in 43, 5, as: na cchandāṅsi vṛjināt tārayanti)

As said above, the isolated vāiçvadevī pāda is not unusual. Such pādas are reckoned as triṣṭubh pādas, as in i, 1, 205 c; 216 a; and so very often elsewhere. For example, xii, 319, 91 d:

ajñānataḥ karmayonim bhajante
tāṁ tāṁ rājaṅs te yathā yānty abhāvam
tathā varṇā jñānahīnāḥ patante
ghorād ajñānāt prākṛtaṁ yonijālam

In i, 1, 212 b, there is a pāda identical with this save that it has initial brevis, hatān Pañcālān Drāupadeyāṅç ca suptān, followed in 217 d by a pure pāda, tasmin saṁgrāme bhāirave kṣatriyāṇām. In i, 89, 12 b, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ∪, ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ∪, the vāiçvadevī appears as an irregular hypermetric çālinī. This stanza is almost a vāiçvadevī:

anityatāṁ sukhaduḥkhasya buddhvā
kasmāt saṁtāpam Aṣṭakā 'hām bhajeyam
kiṁ kuryāṁ vāi kiṁ ca kṛtvā na tapye
tasmāt saṁtāpaṁ varjayāmy apramattaḥ

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Half a complete stanza appears in xii, 292, 22 (a tag):

rajñā jetavyāḥ çatravaç co 'nnatāç ca
samyak kartavyam pālanaṁ ca prajānām
agniç ceyo bahubhiç cā 'pi yajñāir
antye madhye vā vanam āçritya stheyam

(where the scolius is — — ∪, above, p. 280)

A vāiçvadevī pāda appears also in a benedictive verse in viii, C. 5,045 d, çūdrā ārogyam prāpnuvantī 'ha sarve, but B. 96, 63 has çūdrā 'rogyam. The complete stanza occurs but once in the great epic and twice in the Rāmayaṇa, as will be shown in the next section.

The Fixed Syllabic Metres.

The title akṣaracchandas or its equivalent, varṇavṛtta, "syllabic verse" covers, properly speaking, all metres fixed by syllabic measurement, but it is used only of such stanzas as have a fixed number of syllables arranged in a fixed order in each pāda, all four pādas being alike. The çloka, therefore, is not included, nor the free triṣṭubh of the Mahābhārata. On the other hand, the triṣṭubh in several of its fixed forms, when these are used throughout the stanza, is an akṣaracchandas. Such are the upajāti forms, the çālinī, vātormī, vāiçvadevī, and rucirā. In the scheme of classical metres, there are from twenty to thirty each of such hendekas and dodekas, called triṣṭubhs and jagatīs because of the number of syllables in them.

Of this large number, about a dozen are found in epic poetry. They include those just named, in regard to which it will be necessary to speak further only of two, the vāiçvadevī and rucirā. Besides these, the additional epic rhythms of this class will now be reviewed, arranged, according to their syllabic value, as triṣṭubh, jagatī, atijagatī, çakvarī, atiçakvarī, and atidhṛti, that is in stanzas of four pādas, each pāda having eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and (in the epic case) nineteen syllables, respectively. They are distributed[1] between the two epics as follows:

[1] On their numerical distribution in the Mahābhārata, see below.

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In Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa	(upajātis and their components) vāiçvadevī bhujaṁgaprayāta rucirā praharṣiṇī vasantatilalakā mālinī
In Mahābhārata alone	(çālinī) rathoddhatā drutavilambita çārdūlavikrīḍita
In Rāmāyaṇa alone	mṛgendramukha asambādhā

The upajātis, including their four components, as also the çālinī and vātormī, have already been sufficiently discussed. The vātormī does not reach stanza form, but its pāda is frequently found alone, duplicated, or trebly; the last case, which is rare, giving three-fourths of a complete vātormī. The çalinī is found not only often in pāda form but occasionally as a complete stanza, sometimes grouped in small numbers in the later books of the great epic. The jagatī pramitākṣarā pādas, isolated in the Çānti Parvan, will be spoken of below, under the head of mātrāchandas; where will be discussed also the free praharaṇakalitā found in the same part of the pseudo-epic.

Rathoddhatā.

Having eleven syllables to the pāda, this metre is called a triṣṭubh. Its scheme is ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑ –; for example, tasya taj janayatī 'ha sarvataḥ. It may be regarded, therefore, as a jagatī without the initial syllable, its final diiambus giving the true jagatī cadence. Compare under No. 19: (ku-)lambharān anaḍuhaḥ çataṁ çatān. There are three and one half stanzas of this rhythm, though the actual occurrences are more numerous; but the same stanza appears repeated. Thus xii, 250, 13–14 is a repetition of xii, 194, 61–63.

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Here there are two and one half stanzas, arranged in B. in groups of four, two, and four pādas; in C., as four, four, and two; as if the hemistich were a whole in itself. In xii, 286, 46, one of these stanzas is repeated again with slight changes. In the first instance, the group forms a tag with an aparavaktra, as it does also in the second instance; while in the third it appears in the same way after a puṣpitāgrā. The third separate stanza of this sort is found as a tag after çlokas in xii, 247, 23. All these cases are regular; only the hemistich ends in brevis. The metre is found only in Çānti Mokṣa and not in the Rāmāyaṇa. The last case may serve as an example:

yac ca te manasi vartate paraṁ
yatra cā 'sti tava saṁçayaḥ kvacit
çrūyatām, ayam ahaṁ tavā 'grataḥ
putra kiṁ hi kathayāmi te punaḥ

The (meaningless) diiambic name may at least be a reminder of the rathoddhatā's presumably original opening, and its diiambic close.

Bhujaṁgaprayāta.

This twelve-syllabled rhythm is called a jagatī, but it has the final triṣṭubh cadence. The latter part of the pāda is in fact identical with that common triṣṭubh form which has the middle and end $\_ \cup \_ \_ \cup \_ \asymp$; but before this are five syllables, the fourth being a brevis $\cup \_ \_ \cup \_$. Such a form as this, however, is actually found in one text as the pāda of a hypermetric triṣṭubh, as already pointed out (p. 289), and is nearly equalled (long initial) in the corresponding pāda,

na trāṇam labhet trāṇam icchan sa kāle,

But the specimens in the epic show that the cæsura is not that of the pāda just cited, but rather that of a series of bacchii:

sa ādiḥ | sa madhyaḥ | sa cā 'ntaḥ | prajānām
anādyo hy amadhyas tathā cā 'py anantaḥ

This metre appears once as a tag in a Tīrtha story, ix, 41, 40, and twice in the twelfth book in an identical hymn in the

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middle of two chapters, xii, 341, 100 and 343, 90, the first and third pādas of each version being those just cited, one being a repetition of the other with variations.

There is only one case in the Rāmāyaṇa, vi, 77, 24. In R. this is part of a tag after a puṣpitāgrā, which appears in both texts, while the bhujaṁgaprayāta itself is lacking in G. Here also the cadence is distinctly bacchiic: cacāle 'va co 'rvī | papāte 'va sā dyāur | balaṁ rākṣasānām | bhayaṁ cā 'viveça.[1] In both epics, the hemistich alone has final brevis (anceps), as above, and in ix, 41, 40 d, dhṛtātmā jitātmā samabhyājagāmā. This metre is expressed by its name bhujaṁga-prayātam, 'the snake-slide,' ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑, which, in the stanza, is repeated (as a whole) eight times.

Drutavilambita.

This measure, having twelve syllables to the pāda, is called a jagatī. But although it ends as well in a diiambus, it is yet far from the cadences already examined under the name of jagatī. The rhythm is in fact dactylic, so that the trisyllabic measurement suits it; but the first foot has a tribrach as a substitute for a dactyl, and the final syllable is long: ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ –. Only two of these stanzas are found in the great epic, and none in the Rāmāyaṇa. The two are together in vii, 184, 47–48; the latter, for example, as follows:

haravṛṣottama-gātrasamadyutiḥ
smaraçarāsana-pūrṇasamaprabhaḥ
navavadhūsmita-cārumanoharaḥ
pravisṛtaḥ kumudākarabāndhavaḥ

These are not exactly tags, but they are close to the end of the chapter. The prevailing cæsura[2] may indicate that the metre is a catalectic form of triṣṭubh with resolved opening;

[1] A rough English equivalent would be (of the hymn): "Beginning and midst he, and end of creation;" (of the description): "and terror then entered the huge host of demons." The trisyllabic native measurement is here the most accurate.

[2] The last pāda above may of course be read as anapæstic with anacrusis; the preceding, more naturally, with dactylic cadence.

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but this genesis is by no means so certain as in the case of other triṣṭubh derivatives. To judge from the epic, it is a later metre, and may be either an experiment in resolution (of No. 2), or a new independent invention. It is not necessary, I conceive, to derive every metre from some other, and I incline to the latter view. All the pādas in the two epic specimens end in heavy syllables. The sound drutavilambităm, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑, may serve to remind of the opening cadence; but the other form of the name (in °taṁ) really agrees with the meaning, "rapid and dilatory," indicating the beginning and end of the pāda.

Vāiçvadevī.

Rare in both epics, this metre occurs but once in stanza form in the Mahābhārata, a tag followed by a supplementary triṣṭubh. The first hemistich end in brevis. Sporadic pādas of the vāiçvadevī type, – – – – – –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑, are not infrequent. The twelve syllables do not make a jagatī, though the metre is so called, but a hypermetric triṣṭubh of the type described above (see No. 7). The native method of measuring by trisyllables in all cases is well shown in this metre to be absurd. For example, in the pāda cited above, Kṛṣnām Pāñcālīm abravīt sāntvapūrvam, the cæsura and natural division is in groups of five and seven syllables respectively. So in the one stanza of the great epic, xii, 291, 25 = 10,721 (Mokṣa):

bhīrū rājanyo, brāhmaṇaḥ sarvabhakṣyaḥ
vāiçyo 'nīhāvān, hīnàvarṇo 'lasaç ca
vidvāṅç cā 'çīlo, vṛttahīnaḥ kulīnaḥ
satyād vibhraṣṭo brāhmaṇastrī ca tuṣṭā[1]

(26, rāgī yuktaḥ pacamāno 'tmahetor
mūrkho vaktā nṛpahīnaṁ ca rāṣṭram
ete sarve çocyatāṁ yānti rājan
yaç cā 'yuktaḥ snehahīnaḥ prajāsu)

[1] This is the reading of B. In C., brāhmaṇaḥ strī ca duṣṭā.

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In the Rāmāyaṇa, a single pāda is found in R. (above), and one whole stanza also (lacking in G.), v, 65, 28 (both hemistichs ending in brevis). There is, further, a half stanza in v, 63, 33, united with a hypermetric triṣṭubh hemistich, not in G. but following a tag-triṣṭubh common to both texts; an interesting example of the equivalence of the vāiçvadevī and free triṣṭubh pādas:

prītisphītākṣāu samprahṛṣṭāu kumārāu
dṛṣṭvā siddhārthāu vānarānāṁ ca rājā
aṅgāiḥ prāhṛṣṭāiḥ kāryasiddhiṁ viditvā
bāhvor āsannām ātimātraṁ nananda

For the two pādas of the second hemistich, see Nos. 6 and 13 in the Illustrations of triṣṭubhs. The only difference between them and the vāiçvadevī lies in the syllables marked short. For another form of vāiçvadevī, see the mālinī below.

Atijagatīs.

Rucirā.

Of the fifty-one stanzas of rucirās in the Mahābhārata, almost all are regular. One or two slight irregularities occur in the thirteen cases found in the Rāmāyaṇa. Independent pādas of this type scattered among ordinary triṣṭubh pādas are not uncommon in the former epic. They have been discussed above as mora-jagatīs and triṣṭubhs. The type of the pure rucirā, ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –, has long been held[1] to be merely a jagatī with resolution, and, as was said above, this seems to be the only possible explanation of the pāda, whether it happens to occur four or three times, twice, or only once in a stanza.

Less common than the substitution of a rucirā pāda for a triṣṭubh or jagatī pāda, yet still not infrequent, is the harmonious alternation of pādas. The converse of the former case is found in the occasional substitution of a vaṅçasthabila pāda in regular rucirā stanzas, as in the group of ten tag-

[1] Gildermeister, in Lassen's Anthologia Sanscrita, 2d ed., p. 124; Jacobi, ZDMG., vol. xxxviii, p. 607.

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rucirās at i, 19, 22–31 (hemistichs end in brevis; so in xii, 52, 34). Here the stanzas are all regular rucirās, four pādas each of the type given above (final anceps only at the end of the hemistich), with the exception of stanzas 27 and 30, in which the second pādas are vaṅçasthabila-pādas; thus, 29–30:

tato mahīṁ lavaṇajalaṁ ca sāgaram
mahāsurāḥ praviviçur arditāḥ surāiḥ
viyadgataṁ jvalitahutāçanaprabhaṁ
sudarçanam parikupitaṁ niçamyate
tataḥ surāir vijayam avāpya Mandaraḥ
svam eva *deçaṁ gamitaḥ* supūjitaḥ
vināḍya khaṁ divam api cāi 'va sarvaças
tato gatāḥ saliladharā yathāgatam

In i, 23, 21–26, there are six tag rucirās, as stuti, but in stanza 23 only one pāda is of rucirā form, the others being upajātis; while in i, 34, 26, one vaṅçastha pāda is followed by three rucirā pādas.

It is very unusual to find this stanza except as a tag, as in the examples just given.[1] In i, 56, 1, however, is found a stanza consisting of one rucirā pāda and three triṣṭubh pādas, the first being peculiar in opening with a spondee: bālo 'py ayaṁ sthavira ivā 'vabhāṣate, nā 'yam bālaḥ sthaviro 'yam mato me, etc. Such a pāda in such a stanza confirms the view that the whole rucirā is merely a resolved jagatī.

The alternate arrangement, referred to on the last page, may be seen in the tag at vii, 29, 51:

nihatya taṁ narapatim indravikramaṁ
sakhāyam indrasya tad āindrir āhave
tato parāṅs tava jayakāṅkṣiṇo narān
babhañja vāyur balavān drumān iva

[1] At iii, 25, 5, a rucirā stanza appears among the group of triṣṭubhs with which the chapter begins. Its first pāda is an echo of the one cited above, tam āgataṁ jvalitahutāçanaprabham. In vii, 2, 15–16, two rucirās appear in the same way among vaṅçasthas. At the end of vii, 148, the tag-effect is done away with by the addition in C. 6,443 ff. of five çlokas (not found in B.) after the two vaṅçasthas, which in B. complete the tag begun by the rucirā, 56.

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The same arrangement has already (p. 303) been noticed in xii, 244, 29. Another stanza in this book, xii, 52, 34, forms the finale of a short system of pure (tag) vaṅçasthabilas. One fifth of all the rucirā stanzas in the epic are in the Harivaṅça, inserted as tags, and they are all perfectly regular, with the substitution of one vaṅçastha pāda each in 2, 123, 35 c and 3, 34, 48 d, respectively. In addition to these, there is half a rucirā at C. 10,274 (after vaṅçasthas and before çlokas), the prior pāda of which ends in brevis: namo 'stu te mahiṣamahāsurārdinī, namo 'stu te bhayakari vidviṣāṁ sadā. Here B. 2, 120, 43, inverts the pādas, permitting the brevis at the end; but it also has a varied reading, bandhanamokṣakāriṇi, which leaves only one rucirā pāda.[1] The other cases call for no special remark. The cæsura is after the fourth syllable.

In the Rāmāyaṇa there are but four rucirās common to the two texts, R. and G., two of which are in the seventh book; but there are four in G. not found in R., and five in R. not found in G. As in the Mahābhārata, the cæsura is regularly after the diiambus, the gaṇa division ∪ – ∪, – ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – ∪, – not corresponding to any text. Here the position of the rucirā is always that of a tag, usually after upajātis. The second hemistich occasionally ends in brevis, e. g., G. ii, 68, 56; vii, 68, 25; R. vi, 62, 22; but, as in the Mahābhārata, even this liberty is seldom taken. In R. v, 7, 15–17 (not in G.), of the twelve pādas, all are regular save the first, which has an extra syllable: itī 'va tad gṛham abhigamya çobhamānam.[2] In G. vi, 39, 33, pāda b has yaçaskaram priyakaram bāndhavapriyam, where R. 62, 22, is regular, yathā priyam priyaraṇa bāndhavapriya. R. omits the tag of G. vii, 68, 25 (continuing with çlokas). The case is interesting, because it is evidently an instance of breaking a chapter by means of a tag (perhaps as an aid in recitation), and because the rucirā

[1] P.W. s. v. mahiṣa 2 c, gives a var. lec. I give the readings of the Calcutta and Bombay, 1895, Harivaṅça.

[2] It is easy to suggest çobhitam; but this half-rucirā half-praharṣiṇi pāda really needs no emendation. See just below.

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tag thus employed is highly irregular (pāda b: hanişyasi, Raghuvára, nā 'tra saṁçayaḥ) in making the cæsura answer for a long syllable; thus showing that there is a late (careless) freedom as well as the freedom of early (undeveloped) forms. With one exception, no such substituted pādas as equate upajātis in the other epic occur in the Rāmāyaṇa.[1]

Praharşiṇī.

Having thirteen syllables to the pāda this metre is called an atijagatī, though its finale is that of a triṣṭubh, ∪ – ⏑. As to the relation of the measure, it is clearly of the puşpitāgrā class, in closing in ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – –, as will be seen below; and as clearly of rucirā nature, both in its middle and even in its opening; for it begins with a mora-equivalent, – – –, of the rucirā's diiambus, ∪ – ∪ –, and continues with the rucirā's resolved triṣṭubh form. In fact, as we have seen that a rucirā pāda may appear with the extra syllable of the praharsiṇī, we can supply all the links from triṣṭubh to puşpitāgra with actually extant measures (see also below, under mātrāchandas, p. 337):

triṣṭubh-jagatī, ∪ – ∪ –, – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –
rucirā type, ∪ – ∪ –, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –
rucirā freak, ∪ – ∪ –, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –
praharşiṇī, – – –, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –
puşpitāgrā, ∪ ∪ [∪ ∪], ⏑ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –

The secondary cæsura sometimes makes the pāda coincide very closely with the rucirā, for example in R. ii, 79, 17 a–b:

ūcūs te | vacanam idaṁ | niçamya hṛṣṭāḥ
sāmātyāḥ | saparişado | viyātaçokāḥ,

but in other cases this cæsura causes a trochaic cadence to be struck with the beginning of a new word after the proceleusmaticus, as is clearly shown in R. ii, 107, 17 c–d:

gaccha tvam | puravaram | adya samprahṛṣṭaḥ
saṁhṛṣṭas | tv aham api | Daṇḍakān praveksye

[1] For this exception in the Rāmāyaṇa, see above, p. 309.

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Do thou now | to the city | fare with heart rējoicing
while meantime | mĕrrily I | will to Dandakās go

It is rather striking that in both these examples the name of the metre seems to be implied in it, hṛṣṭāḥ and saṁhṛṣṭas like praharṣiṇī (or -aṇī) "rejoicing," but I do not know that this is more than an accident.[1] There is a parallel in the rucirā-like pāda cited above from the Rāmāyaṇa, G. vii, 88, 22:

gato ravir *suruciram* astaçāilam

The Rāmāyaṇa has one more case of this metre, G. vi, 25, 41, sa krodhād vipulayaçā mahānubhāvo, etc. The only short finals are at the end of the whole stanza.

In the Mahābharata there are twelve cases, all regular (but the first hemistich as well as the second may end in brevis), with the same norm and varying cæsura, _ _ _ _, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, _ ⏑ _ ⏑ _ _ _, or _ _ _ _, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ _ ⏑ _ ⏑ _ _ _. They are not all tags. For example, that at vii, 143, 48 and the group of four in xii, 322, 24-27; but that at i, 2, 396, is the tag of a tag, apparently merely a scholiastic addition:

ākhyānam tad idam anuttamam mahārtham, etc.,

as are those in i, 21, 18; 22, 12; 25, 17 (tag to a rucirā tag, b ends in brevis), vedāṅgāny abhigamayanti sarvayatnāiḥ, etc. The first two of these just mentioned are akin: in 21 c, vistīrṇaṁ dadṛçatur ambaraprakāçam; in 22 b, gambhīraṁ vikasitam ambaraprakāçam. In the specimen at xiii, 7, 28, the praharṣiṇī is by one çloka stanza[2] removed from the end of the section, and is a moral excrescence added to the tale:

[1] I may add that in the first example there is not only hṛṣṭāḥ in R. ii, 79, 17, but in the vaṅçastha which precedes this tag we find: *praharṣajās* tam prati bāṣpabindavo, etc. See a case like this from the other epic cited in the next note.

[2] This final çloka says: "I have repeated what the seer proclaimed in regard to the getting of good and evil fruit. Now what do you want to hear?" The çloka before the *praharṣiṇī* is: Bhīṣmasyāi 'tad vacaḥ çrutvā vismitāḥ Kurupuṅgavāḥ, āsan *prahṛṣṭamanasaḥ* prītimanto 'bhavans tadā. See the last note.

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yan mantre bhavati vṛtho 'payujyamāne
yat some bhavati vṛthā 'bhiṣūyamāne
yac cā 'gnāu bhavati vṛthā 'bhihūyamāne
tat sarvam bhavati vṛthā 'bhidhīyamāne

The tendency to restrict the final syllaba anceps to the close of the stanza is observable in several of these cases. For instance, in the group cited from the twelfth book, the only final breves are at the end of whole stanzas, not at the end of the first hemistich. In i, 2, the first hemistich ends in a short vowel, but before two consonants (d ends in ă); in i, 21 and 22, no final is short. The only exception is the one noticed above, i, 25, 17 b. The two cases in H., C., 6248 and B., 3, 7, 25 are tags, and have no final brevis. The former has hiatus in pāda d (avoided in B., 2, 53, 57, manujendra cā 'tmaniṣṭham):

yad yuktaṁ, kuru manujendra, ātmaneṣṭam

The latter, instead of C.'s amṛtam, 11,303, has

yat satyam yad anṛtam ādimakṣaraṁ vāi,

where (ādima and kṣara are kāraṇa and kārya)[1] ādima is a late adjective.

On the verse goptā samīkṣya sukṛtināṁ dadāti lokān, see below under mātrāchandas.

Mṛgendramukha.

Another atijagatī, not found in the Mahābhārata, but in one text of the Rāmāyaṇa, is the mṛgendramukha of R. vi, 101, 55, which takes the place of a puṣpitāgrā tag in G. 85, 13. The posterior pādas of the latter metre have regularly the form illustrated by G. at this place, muditamanāḥ samudīkṣituṁ tvarāmi, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓. This form is simply quadrupled in order to make the mṛgendramukha; the cadence of which is often made trochaic through the cæsura, as in this epic example, a and d:

[1] In the next pāda, B. has yad bhutam bhavati mithaç ca yad bhaviṣyam, where C. has yad bhūtam bhavad amitaṁ ca.

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yadi vadham icchasi | Rāvaṇasya saṁkhye
yadi ca kṛtāṁ hi tave 'cchasi pratijñām
yadi tava rājasutābhilāṣa, ārya,
kuru ca vaco mama | çīghram adya vīra[1]

The native division of the pāda of course is ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ – ∪, ∪ – ∪, – ∪ –, –, which fits pāda b. The brevis at the end of either pāda, as in this case, is probably due to the fact that the metre is a stereotyped posterior pāda in repeated form.

Asambādhā.

The remaining akṣara tags are longer metres, the çakvarī, of syllables 4 × 14; the atiçakvarī, of 4 × 15: and the atidhṛti, of 4 × 19. Of the first, there are two varieties, of which one is the asambādhā, found only in the Bombay R. ii, 116, 25, with the norm (according to the example, – –, – – – ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, – – –) violated as follows (prior hemistich):

Rāmaḥ saṁsādhya ṛṣigaṇam anugamanād
deçāt tasmāt kulapatim abhivādya ṛṣim
samyak prītāis tāir anumata upadiṣṭārthaḥ
puṇyaṁ vāsāya svanilayam upasampede

To this is added a supplementary tag, a peculiar stanza (where G. iii, 1, 35, has a vaṅçastha tag), in which the last pāda differs from the three preceding; a, b, c, being alike in having each the fourteen moræ of the even vāitālīya pāda (explained below), and eleven syllables, but not in a fixed order; against seventeen moræ and twelve syllables in d. Pāda b is aparavaktra, but I do not know what to call the whole (R. ii, 116, 26):

āçramam ṛṣivirahitam prabhuḥ
kṣaṇam api na jahāu sa Rāghavaḥ
Rāghavaṁ hi satatam anugatās
tāpasāç cā 'rṣacarite dhṛtaguṇāḥ

[1] The stress, but not the quantity, is Saturnian: kuru ca vaco mama | vírum míhi Cásmena | çīghram adya vīra | ínsecé versútum. The name mṛgendramukha comes from the mnemonic verse: kṣudhitamṛgendramukham mṛgā upetya (Brown).

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Vasantatilakā.

The second çakvarī called vasantatilakā (or °kam) is found twice in the Rāmāyaṇa, but only in the last and latest book, vii, 8, 28, where it is followed by a jagatī upajāti as a final tag, and vii, 96, 23, also a tag. In the latter case, all pādas have heavy final syllables. In the former, pāda c has final brevis, but this liberty is taken in the case of the vasantatilakā even by the classical writers.[1] The metre is clearly hypermetric triṣṭubh: ‒ ‒ ∪ ‒, ∪ ∪ ∪, ‒ ∪ ∪ ‒ ∪ ‒ ‒ or ‒ ‒ ∪ ‒ ∪, ∪ ∪ ‒, ∪ ∪ ‒, ∪ ‒ ‒ ‒. In the first example, three pādas have cæsura after the fifth, like other hypermetric triṣṭubhs:

eṣā mayā tava narādhipa rākṣasāṇām
utpattir adya | kathitā sakalā, yathāvat
bhūyo nibodha | Raghusattama, Rāvaṇasyā
janma prabhāvam | atulaṁ sasutasya sarvam

The Mahābhārata has twelve occurrences of vasantatilakās, but only eight separate stanzas, the others being vain repetitions of old material. The first three are in the tag-group at the end of i, 2, 391 ff., which ends in a praharṣiṇī. The second of this group has short finals in b and d; the third (which follows immediately after two çlokas) has final brevis in a. The stanzas are benedictive and are partially repeated at the end of xviii, 5, 67–68, where B. has the third of this group (omitted here in C.), and this again is found at the beginning of the Harivaṅça. In all these occurrences of the same stanza, dadātī is left at the end of pāda a; but in c the reading varies between satataṁ çṛṇotī in xviii and çṛṇuyāc ca nityaṁ or tadvat in i, 2, 395 and Harivaṅça, i, 1, 4. In xiii, 151, 80, the same stanza has kathayec ca nityaṁ. I give it in full on account of its universal interest:

[1] Compare the note to Vāmana's Stilregeln by Professor Cappeller, p. 23. The final brevis in prior pādas is found also in inscriptional poetry. Compare e. g., the third and tenth stanzas in Vatsabhaṭṭi's poem, fifth century, given in Bühler's essay on Indian inscriptions, p. 91, where pādas a and c respectively close in brevis; or the fifth and twenty-fifth, where, in each, both the prior pādas end in brevis. In fact, the tendency here is to close the hemistich in heavy syllables and the prior pādas in light syllables (25, 27, 31, 32, 40).

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yo goçataṁ kanakaçṛṅgamayaṁ dadāti
viprāya vedaviduṣe subahuçrutāya[1]
puṇyāṁ ca bhāratakathāṁ satataṁ çṛṇoti
tulyam phalam bhavati tasya ca tasya cāi 'va

In the thirteenth book (as in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa, this metre is found only in pseudo-epic or late books), there are two new cases of vasantatilakā. The first, 14, 189, is unique in not being a tag (only d has final brevis); the other (with a çārdūlavikrīḍita) being a tag, as usual. The latter is united with the benedictive stanza above, and like it has final brevis in the first pāda, 151, 80–81 (80 being the stanza quoted above).

The Harivaṅça has a tag-group (followed by one çloka) of three more vasantatilakā stanzas at 3, 114, 39–41, the last of which also has final brevis in c:

41, c, jyotis trilokajanakaṁ tridaçāikavandyam
d, akṣṇor mamā 'stu satataṁ hṛdaye 'cyutākhyam

Mālinī.

This is an atiçakvarī, 4×15 syllables, having syllaba anceps regularly only at the close of the hemistich, but in one instance at the end of a prior pāda, a freedom found among classical works only in the Mṛcchakaṭikam, according to Professor Cappeller.[2] The metre is found in both epics; but the Rāmāyaṇa has only one case common to R. and G., and that is in the last book, vii, 59, 23 = G. 61, 21, the stanza only ending in brevis. It is a tag. In R. vi, 40, 29–30, there are two cases, not in G., both regular, a tag couplet (in the former case both hemistichs end in brevis). G. ii, 106, 29–30, has two stanzas, not in R., a tag (final brevis only at the end of the first stanza). The natural division is often ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — —, — ⏑ —, — ⏑ — —, with cæsura after the spondee. The Mahābhārata has eleven cases,

[1] v. l. bahuviçrutāya in the Bombay H. Also ca for su-, and other variants in Anuçāsana.

[2] Loc. cit.

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and (like the one case in both texts of the Rāmāyaṇa) they are all in the later epic: vii, 73, 48; viii, 85, 1–4; 90, 24; xiii, 6, 45–47; H. 2, 105, 84; and 3, 132, 100. The one in Droṇa unites with a puṣpitāgrā, but, although both are almost at the end of a chapter, they are rather a tag to a speech than to the chapter itself. Those in Karṇa are at the beginning and in the middle of their respective chapters. Those in Anuçāsana are a tag, except that two çlokas follow. In the group of viii, 85, all the pādas end long except the posterior pādas of the third stanza, both of which have final brevis. The two cases in Hariv. are tags (one çloka following in the latter) with brevis only at the close of the stanza. An irregularity appears in xiii, 6, 46 c–d:

bahutarasusamṛddhyā mānuṣāṇāṁ gṛhāṇī
pitṛvanabhavanābhaṁ dṛçyate cā 'marāṇām

In 47, the hemistichs end in brevis; in 45, only the first hemistich. The plural gṛhāṇi is remarked upon as Vedic by the scholiast, who thus supports it; but gṛhaṁ (vāi?) is probably right.

A very common cadence, whereby the end of the pāda assumes the fall $\_ \cup \_ \_$, $\cup \_ \_ \_$, rather than $\_ \cup \_$, $\_ \cup \_ \_ \_$, is illustrated by H. 3, 132, 100 a–b (cited above):

ajaraṁ amaraṁ ekaṁ dhyeyam ādyantaçūnyaṁ
saguṇam aguṇam ādyaṁ sthūlam atyantasūkṣmam

Another kind of mālinī, not found in the epics, begins with $\_ \cup$, $\cup \cup \cup \_ \_$, showing that the epic form is a further resolution of an original triṣṭubh, which may be represented by $\breve{\_}\breve{\_}\breve{\_} \_ \_$, $\_ \cup \_ \_ \cup \_ \_ \_$. This is, of course, the vāiçvadevī form of the hypermetric triṣṭubh,[1] the close relation of which with the puṣpitāgrā is well shown in vii, 73, 48–49:

48 a–b: asurasuramanuṣyāḥ pakṣiṇo vo 'rago vā
pitṛrajanicarā vā brahmadevarṣayo vā
49 a–b: yadi viçati rasātalaṁ tad agryaṁ
viyad api devapuraṁ Diteḥ puraṁ vā

[1] Compare Professor Jacobi's learned essay, Entwickelung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit, ZDMG. vol. xxxviii, p. 609.

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The content of this mālinī appears a little further on, 77, 26, in the form of a puṣpitāgrā:

yadi ca manujapannagāḥ piçācā
rajanicarāḥ patagāḥ surāsurāç ca

and in viii, 37, 36, in aparavaktra: asurasuramahoragān narān.

Çārdūlavikrīḍita.

The only remaining akṣaracchandas in the epic is the atidhṛti (4 × 19) çārdūlavikrīḍita, which occurs in the eighth and thirteenth books of the Mahābhārata. The chapter of the former book graced with a mālinī is also enlivened with the "tiger's play," viii, 90, 42 (two lines in C., 4668–9). It is not a tag and is perfectly regular, four times – –, – ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – ∪, ∪ ∪ –; – – ∪, – – ∪ –. There are also one and a half stanzas at xiii, 14, 229, and a whole stanza ib. 234; neither of which is a tag. This position of a fancy-metre in a chapter instead of at its end always shows a late section (affected in the Harivaṅça). In xiii, 151, 79, the çārdūlavikrīḍita joins with vasantatilakās to make a tag. All the specimens are regular. The metre may be a late development from the triṣṭubh. The intermediate phases, however, are not very clear, though the genesis may tentatively be assumed as; – –, – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ (as in the vāitālīya, below), ∪ ∪ – –, – ∪ – – ∪ –, or two stanzas to the strophe, as in the classical grouping of çlokas, with shift of cæsura. This metre is not found in the Rāmāyaṇa.

Ardhasamavṛtta (Mātrāchandas).

(A) Puṣpitāgrā and Aparavaktra.

These metres, as is indicated by their name "semi-equal," are uneven in their pādas. They are not quite mora-metres, since the number and position of their syllables, heavy or light, are regularly fixed; but on the other hand they are not like akṣara metres, for their pādas are not identical. In the epic, however, the rule of fixed syllables is not strictly preserved. The cadence of the hemistich, with its unequal

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pādas, has either wholly trochaic close or alternate trochaic and iambic. The first is illustrated by R. vi, 33, 36 c–b:

tam iha çaraṇam
abhyupāihi devī
haya iva maṇḍalam
āçu yah karoti

Rapid as a charger is,
Hasten, hurry quickly.

As already remarked, the second pāda of this puṣpitāgrā, when quadrupled, makes the mṛgendramukha (above, p. 331), which also has trochaic fall. The aparavaktra, which has one syllable (usually two moræ) less than the puṣpitāgrā, shows more clearly the derivation from the triṣṭubh, R. ii, 39, 41:

murajapaṇava-meghaghoṣavad
Daçaratha-veçma babhūva yat purā

or, again, in M. viii, 37, 42:

bhavatu bhavatu, kiṁ vikatthase,
nanu mama tasya hi yuddham udyatam

There is one form of triṣṭubh which actually corresponds to the second verse of the puṣpitāgrā, when its breves are equated with heavy syllables, thus:

triṣṭubh { mānaṁ na kuryān nā 'dadhīta roṣam
puṣpitāgrā b { svaparamatāir gahanam pratarkayadbhiḥ

Professor Jacobi also sees in the jagatī or triṣṭubh the origin of the puṣpitāgrā, though he is inclined to adopt a more complicated development (from a Vedic verse of 12 + 8 syllables).[1]

The puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra are used only as tag-metres; sometimes, as in R. v, 16, 30 (not in G.) inserted

[1] ZDMG. vol. xxxviii, p. 591 ff. Professor Jacobi, p. 595, regards the puṣpitāgrā as a development from a pure mātrāchandas, which in turn he refers to the satobṛhatī (4 × 12 + 8). Compare also the same author, IS. vol. xvii, p. 449.

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among upajāti tags common to both texts; sometimes, as in G. iii, 54, 28 (not in R.) after a common triṣṭubh-tag; or in other similar situations.[1]

The puṣpitāgrā occurs much more frequently as a tag-metre than does the aparavaktra. For example, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the puṣpitāgrā is found four times as often. There are, however, only thirteen cases common to the two texts, R. and G. Besides these, G. has fourteen, and R. has twenty-one cases not found in the alternate text.

The mark of the posterior pāda, as distinguished from the prior, is the apparent insertion of a heavy syllable (in terms of mātrā metre, two moræ), at a point which is usually fixed as after the initial four breves. This, however, is not always the case. Thus in G. v, 31, 62 b, corresponding to d, which latter, vacanam idam mama Māithili pratīhi, is regular, appears as posterior pāda of a puṣpitāgrā:

lavaṇajalanidhir goṣpadīkṛto me,

where the heavy syllable is put after all the breves, perhaps merely on account of the awkward phrase (in çloka, ib. 33, 23, goṣpadīkṛtaḥ). Later rule especially forbids this arrangement for all mātrāchandases: "In the opening of prior pādas, ⏑ – – ⏑, and of posterior pādas, ⏑ – – – ⏑ and – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ and ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, are forbidden."[2]

Further, for the prior pāda may be substituted a different cadence, almost that of the vāitālīya, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – –. This occurs in G. vi, 62, 44 a (where R. 83, 44, has the normal ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ – ⏑ – –) thus:

G., ayam adya vibho tava ca priyārtham
R., ayam anagha tavo 'ditaḥ priyārtham

Compare G. vi, 92, 83 b: svabalā 'bhivṛto raṇe vyarājatā,

[1] In G. vi, 39, 32, where R. has only a rucirā, there is a puṣpitāgrā inserted before the rucirā. These two names, by the way, appear together as ordinary adjectives "blooming and shining" (trees), supuṣpitāgrān rucirān (vṛkṣān), R. v, 14, 41.

[2] Weber, IS. vol. viii, p. 309.

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where R. 108, 34, has svajanabalā 'bhivṛto raṇe babhūvă.[1]

The prior pāda may be hypermetric. Thus R. vi, 107, 68 a–b:

Daçarathasutarākṣasendrayos tayor
jayam anavekṣya raṇe sa Rāghavasya

A parallel case or two occurs in the other epic (see below).

Occasionally there is a quasi inversion, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –, of the ending – ⏑ – ⏑ – – –. This occurs twice in R., but only in Ādi and Uttara. The first case presents varied readings. In G. i, 22, 20, there is simply the not unusual equivalence of a and c puṣpitāgrā and b and d (aparavaktra) catalectic. But in R. the same stanza, i, 19, 22, has, besides, the irregular pāda a:

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – | = b

that is, instead of iti hṛdayavidāraṇam tadānīm in G. a, R. has iti sahṛdayamanovidāraṇam. This can scarcely be a mere lapsus, as the finale occurs again in the Mahābhārata and in R. vii, 29, 38 c–d:

yad ayam atulabalas tvayā 'dya vāi
tridaçapatis tridaçāç ca nirjitāḥ

In the latter passage, 37 a has ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – as close:

atha saraṇavigatam uttamāujāḥ[2]

While posterior pādas have syllaba anceps, as in G. vi, 92, 83 b, cited above, a prior pāda has this only in R. vi, 33, 36,

[1] Another case of variation, R. vi, 84, 22 d = G. 63, 22, where G. has asuravaro 'nmathanāya yathā mahendraḥ may be corrupt (for asuravaro 'nmathane yathā mahendraḥ?). B. has divijaripumathane yathā mahendraḥ (for ripor?).

[2] In b, compare G. v, 36, 77 b, Janakanṛpātmajādhṛtam; but R. 38, 70, has Janakanṛpātmajayādhṛtam prabhāvāt, which is correct. In R. vii, 29, 37 and 38 are puṣpitāgrās; 39 and 40 are aparavaktras. In G. the only irregularity here is in (37) 38 c, svasutasya vacanam atipriyaṁ tat. Here in 40 = R. 39, a is aparavaktra and b is puṣpitāgrā, though the latter may have added the unnecessary tvam that makes the change. The same is true of R. 38 a. I have noticed besides only the following puṣpitāgrā irregularities, which seem to me more grammatical than metrical, or mere errors: G. ii, 29, 29 b, ⏑ ⏑ – – for – ⏑ – –, read apratīmarūpa? G. iv, 34, 35 c, read anṛtamadhura°? Neither stanza is found in R.

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devĭ (cited above), where, however, G. has Sīte (here, 9, 39, abhayaṁkaram is to be read). In posterior pādas, final syllaba anceps is found about a dozen times in the forty-odd puṣpitāgrās of the Rāmāyaṇa text.

The aparavaktra is a puṣpitāgrā shortened by one long syllable, two moræ, in each pāda; or in other words, its pāda is a catalectic puṣpitāgrā pāda. To native prosodians, as to European scholars, the shorter is the type, and the puṣpitāgrā is an expanded aparavaktra; a view that appears to me erroneous. The aparavaktra occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, as said above, not quite one-fourth so often as the puṣpitāgrā.[1] Like the latter, it is used alone, or with other metres to make tags. The final syllables are always long. Irregularities are rare; a substitute like that in the puṣpitāgrā occurs in G. ii, 82, 15 a:

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ —
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ — (ca satī omit ca?)
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ —

Here R. has a regular aparavaktra, ii, 81, 16. In G. iv, 62, 25, the second pāda is plavagapuṅgavāḥ paripūrṇamānasāḥ, for R.'s (63, 15) plavagavarāḥ pratilabdhapāuruṣāḥ; and in G. 63, 29, plavaṅgamāḥ paripūrṇamānasāḥ.

There is only one passage in the Uttara, vii, 29, 37–40, where puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra are found. Otherwise these metres are distributed pretty evenly over the Rāmāyaṇa, except that the first book has no aparavaktra,[2] and only one puṣpitāgrā common to both texts, but R. here has four not in G. The reason is that the later epic prefers pure mātrāchandas.

Interchange of aparavaktra and puṣpitāgrā pādas occurs occasionally, as in G. ii, 15, 36 (R. has upendra here), where a

[1] There are only six cases common to both texts; besides, two in R. not in G.; three in G. not in R.; twelve in all, as G. at iv, 62, 25 and 63, 29 has the one at R. 63, 15. In the last case, the first pāda is the same in the three stanzas; in R. all the other pādas are normal, but in G. 62, 25 d is a puṣpitāgrā pāda, as is c of 63, 29. The missing stanza in the alternate text is due merely to the latter having a puṣpitāgrā in G. iii, 7, 36; R. vi, 68, 24.

[2] The fifth book has no aparavaktra, but it has half a dozen puṣpitāgrās. The sixth book has the greatest number of puṣpitāgrās.

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and c are puṣpitāgrā pādas and b and d are aparavaktra pādas in regular interchange; or as in G. v, 36, 77, where only the last pāda of the stanza is catalectic (of aparavaktra form).

It is clear that the puṣpitāgrā, a form of triṣṭubh, and the aparavaktra, a catalectic puṣpitāgrā, are not regarded as separate but as interchangeable in pāda formation. As complete stanzas, the latter compared with the former, are rare. The pāda type is not absolutely fixed.

Before comparing the usage in the Mahābhārata, I shall complete this description of the phenomena in the Rāmāyaṇa with an account of the

(B) Āupacchandasika and Vāitālīya.

In the later part of the Rāmāyaṇa — if one may dare suggest that any epic poem in India was not all written at the same moment — the place of the puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra, as tag-metres, is taken by pure mātrāchandases, namely, the āupacchandasika and vāitālīya, which bear to each other the same relation as that held by the former pair; that is to say, the vāitālīya pāda is a catalectic āupacchandasika pāda. These two pairs are essentially identical, as may be seen by comparing the posterior pādas, which in each are increased by a long syllable. The posterior pāda of the āupacchandasika is

⏑⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑⏑,

which, when catalectic, should have final syllaba anceps; but this never happens at the end of the first hemistich, only at the end of the stanza, an indication that the vāitālīya is the derived form. Again, the āupacchandasika is really the epic stanza metre. The vāitālīya is used but once as a stanza, all the other cases being merely catalectic pādas of an āupacchandasika stanza. The prior pāda in āupacchandasika may also end in brevis, and, as the spondee is usually resolved into an anapæst in both pādas, we get the norm (16 and 18 moræ):

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(a) ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓
(b) ⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓
or (b) — —, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓

This is evidently a variety of the puṣpitāgrā.[1] That is, it reverts to a triṣṭubh origin.

R. vii, 57, 21 = G. 59, 22, may be taken as the typical form:

⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — (—)
⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑
⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑

G. adds *te* to R.'s pāda a, iti sarvam açeṣato mayā (te). The final syllable of the stanza in vii, 61, 24 = G., 66, 24, vāitālīya, is short in R., long in G. Prior pādas do not usually end in brevis, but they do occasionally, as in G. vii, 87, 18 (not in R.), where in b the spondaic type of opening is illustrated:

iti karma sudāruṇaṁ sa kṛtvā
Daṇḍo daṇḍam avāptavān ugram
çṛṇu sarvam açeṣatas tad adya
kathayiṣye tava rājasiṁhavṛtta

The close of b, however, shows an unusual phase of the type of the equivalent variant with spondee; but it is not necessary to suppose that a brevis is lost before ugram. Both posterior pādas may begin with a spondee (but end in — ⏑ — ⏑ — —), as in R. vii, 55, 21 = G. 57, 22 (all pādas end long), e. g., tulyavyādhigatāu mahāprabhāvāu, apparently an older form than the usual resolved type.

As in the case of the puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra, the catalectic (vāitālīya) pāda may take the place of the full measure. Thus in R. vii, 95, 17 (not in G.), the spondee type (b) is used as a catalectic pāda:

iti sampravicārya rājasiṁhaḥ
çvobhūte çapathasya niçcayam
visasarja munīn nṛpāṅç ca sarvān
sa mahātmā mahato mahānubhāvaḥ

[1] Compare the form cited above, ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑, as a variant of puṣpitāgrā (b).

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In R. vii, 86, 21 (G. 93, 21), a–b show a new form of this combination:

iti Lakṣmaṇavākyam uttamaṁ
nṛpatir atīvamanoharam mahātmā

that is, a vāitālīya prior and puṣpitāgrā posterior pāda. Compare the only case not in the Uttarakāṇḍa, where in G. ii, 81, 33 (not in R.), a lame aparavaktra hemistich is followed by a lame mātrā hemistich (fifteen morae):

⏑⏑⏑⏑, ⏑⏑, ‒⏑‒⏑‒
⏑⏑⏑⏑, ‒⏑⏑‒, ⏑‒‒
⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑, ‒⏑‒⏑‒‒
⏑⏑‒, ‒⏑⏑‒, ⏑‒⏑‒

The patois metres show that the mātrā-form was used early, but how much earlier than the third century B. C. it is impossible to say. The vāitālīya itself is a common metre of the Dhammapada.[1]

Mātrāchandas in the Mahābhārata.

The many "semi-equals" in the great epic form a fair parallel to the state of things in the little epic. But there are no regular vāitālīya or āupacchandasika stanzas at all. In a late passage of Vana and in Çānti there is a sporadic approach to vāitālīya form. On the other hand, there are over ninety-one puṣpitāgrās and aparavaktras. They are found chiefly in the later part of the epic and appear more in groups than they do in the Rāmāyaṇa. The interchange of puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra pādas, of which I have spoken above, is met with in the very first example at the end of i, 30:

anupamabalavīryatejaso
dhṛtamanasaḥ parirakṣaṇe 'mṛtasya
asurapuravidāraṇāḥ surā
jvalanasamiddhavapuḥprakāçinaḥ

[1] The type here has in the posterior pāda either anapæst, spondee or amphimacer as an opening; but both here and in the choriambs much greater freedom is allowed than in the epic, where, despite the occasional irregularities noticed above, the form is much more systematized than in Pāli.

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iti samaravaraṁ surāḥ sthitās te
parighasahasraçatāiḥ samākulam
vigalitam iva cā 'mbarāntaraṁ
tapanamarīciviкāçitam babhāse

In the first stanza the pādas are aparav., puṣpit., aparav., aparav.; in the second, puṣpit., aparav., aparav., puṣpit. Almost the same as the latter is the arrangement in a tag to a dānakathana (followed by three triṣṭubhs), at the end of iii, 200, 126, where a puṣpit. pāda is followed by an aparav. pāda in the first couplet; but the second begins with the *posterior* puṣpitāgrā pāda, and is followed by the posterior pāda of an aparavaktra:

c–d: bhavati sahasraguṇaṁ dinasya rāhor
viṣuvati cā 'kṣayam açnute phalam

as if the posterior pāda were used originally in either position as the norm; which would agree with the identification with the triṣṭubh ventured above.

Of the eight puṣpitāgrās in the seventh book, six (all tags) are perfectly regular ($2 \times 16 + 18$) and require no notice (for C. 2731, rajanī°, read rajani°, as in B. 77, 26). Here only hemistichs end in brevis. Two cases deserve notice. In vii, 1622 = 37, 37 b, C. has pitṛsuracāraṇa-siddhasaṅghāiḥ, in B., siddhayakṣasaṅghāiḥ. But B. is often less better than bettered, and here the net result of three corrections is to make a perfect puṣpitāgrā out of C.'s scheme, which is

⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, 16 + 15
⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –, 17 + 17

but this is attained by adding yakṣa in b; changing avanitalavigatāiç ca to avanitalagatāiç ca in c; and inventing the word ativibabhāu for abhibabhāu in d (B, ativibabhāu hutabhug yathā 'jyasiktaḥ). Mates to pāda c were shown above from the Rāmāyaṇa. Irregular too as is d, it is not lightly to be rejected, since it has its perfect parallel in the eighth book (below), as also in Hariv. C. 11,269 d (3, 6, 4 d)

(iti sa nṛpatir ātmavāṅs tadā 'sāu)
tad anu(vi)cintya babhūva vītamanyuḥ

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where, for C.'s anucintya, anuvicintya of B. may be a corrected reading, as above it is easy to propose abhivibabhāu and refer to the Rig Veda for the form.

The case at vii, 182, 27 = 8273, shows a better reading in B., where hi is required (accidentally omitted in C.). The pādas here are regular, the stanza's end having brevis (in 77, 26, the first hemistich ends in brevis). The chief peculiarity here is that the passage stands in the middle of the chapter, the other cases in Droṇa being tags.

Once ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ takes the place of ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, producing in pāda a the choriambus equivalent to that in b and d. This happens in one of the two great groups of late aparavaktras in the eighth book, viii, 30, 3 (almost at the beginning of the chapter)[1]:

⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑ –

The rest of the twenty-five "semi-equals" in the eighth book are all grouped together in 37, 31 ff., where, after one puṣpitāgrā pāda, follow, as in the last group after a stanza, aparavaktras only. In this group of twelve stanzas, breves occur but rarely at the end of the hemistich, in (31), 40, and 42 at the stanza's end, in 35 alone at the end of b. Only two of these stanzas require a word. In 37 c–d, where the first of the two pādas has seventeen moræ (for fourteen),

dinakarasadṛçāiḥ çarottamāir yudhā
Kuruṣu bahūn vinihatya tān arīn,

it seems simple to drop the hypermetric and unnecessary yudhā; but it is in both texts (Nīlakaṇṭha says that this particular stanza is viṣamaṁ chandas) and has a parallel in Hariv. 11,269, where (C. only) a puṣpitāgrā begins:

[1] The first stanza of the chapter is a çloka; the first stanza of the group is a puṣpitāgrā; then follow aparavaktras to 9, where the first half is catalectic (aparavaktra) and the second half is puṣpitāgrā (as in 13, b ends in brevis); 10 is a regular aparavaktra; 12–14, regular aparavaktras; 11 is regular in B. a, but irregular in C. (çinivṛṣabhaçarapīḍitās for °çarāir nipīḍitam). Here d ends in brevis.

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vidhivihitam açakyam anyathā hi kartuṁ[1]

A similar case has been shown above in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The other stanza deserving notice is the first of the group, viii, 37, 31 = 1737. Both texts have a puṣpitāgrā pāda in a; an aparavaktra pāda in b; and in c–d

jugupiṣava ihā 'dya Pāṇḍavaṁ
kim bahunā | saha tāir jayāmi tam

that is, _ ∪ ∪ for ∪ ∪ _ of the resolution in vāitālīya (but the cæsura in d is after the choriambus: "Though the gods may wish to guard the Pandu here to-day, what then? I shall conquer him, gods and all").

In Çānti, the puṣpitāgrās are generally too regular to be interesting. A big bunch of them in Mokṣa makes a tag at the end of adhy. 179, thirteen in all. They have an unusual number of final breves, but only because vratam idam ājagaram çuciç carāmi is the final refrain of ten of them (only twice has b brevis). Of the twenty-one stanzas of this class in Çānti (Mokṣa), sixteen are puṣpitāgrās; five, aparavaktras. About the same proportion obtains in Harivaṅça, where there are twenty-two stanzas of ardhasamas, of which only three are aparavaktras. All those in Çānti are tags, either following triṣṭubhs or followed by another supplementary tag (as in the case of a rathoddhatā mentioned above). In xii, 250, 12 b = 9035 (yad aviduṣām) mahadbhayam (paratra) in C. appears to be a lapsus; in B. as sumahadbhayam, and in 10,530, yad avidusāṁ sumahadbhayam bhavet; but compare the parallel below in H. The following is a parallel to the case above in the Rāmāyaṇa in its late form (∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ _): xii, 319, 112 = 11,836 (the order of moræ is 17 + 18 + 16 or 17 + 16); where B. has:

yad upaniṣadam upākarot tathā 'sāu
Janakanṛpasya purā hi Yājñavalkyaḥ

[1] This is in the stanza referred to above. In this case, H. 3, 6, 4 a has only vidhivihitam açakyam anyathā, to which C. adds kartuṁ. The fact that the same superfluity of syllables is found in the Rāmāyaṇa must at least make doubtful an instant acceptance of the more usual form given in what is so often a clearly improved text.

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yad upagaṇitaçāçvatāvyayaṁ tac
chubham amṛtatvam açokam archati

(here C. in c has °gaṇitam). Both texts have thus in a:

⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑, ⏑–⏑– ⏑––

and C. has in c:

⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑–, –⏑– ⏑––

The last stanza in the book, 366, 9 = 13,943, has, as an aparavaktra tag, moræ 14 + 18 + 14 + 18, alternate calalectic verses, of which I have spoken above.

The remaining mātrāchandases in Çānti are discussed below. The thirteenth book has no aparavaktras but nine puṣpitāgrās, all of which are perfectly regular (the hemistich ends in brevis, e. g., 76, 31). All except those in the extraordinary (late) section, 14, 180, and 190, are tags, though 26, 101–2 are followed by four çlokas.[1]

Apart from the pādas already noticed, the Harivaṅça has little of interest. Interchange of the two forms (a, catalectic) occurs in 3, 6, 3. In the puṣpitāgrās at 12,705–6, the latter has in b, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑–, ⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑, as in the lapsus above. Here sa has been dropped, (3, 42, 21) dititanayaṁ (sa) mṛgādhipo dadarça. As usual in the later books, several of the stanzas are not tags: 2, 123, 32 is followed by çlokas and rucirās, but is near the end of the section; at the beginning are the three of 3, 6, 2 ff.; in the middle of the section are 3, 49, 31 = 12,960, and 3, 50, 12 = 12,989; as are the four in 3, 51, vss. 18, 29, 42, 49 = 13,024–35–51–58. Many of the final stanzas are benedictive, as in 3, 6, 10, where puṣpitāgrās are interwoven in an upajāti kāvyastuti:

vijayati vasudhāṁ ca rājavṛttir
dhanam atulaṁ labhate dviṣajjayaṁ ca
vipulam api dhanaṁ labhec ca vāiçyaḥ
sugatim iyāc chravaṇāc ca çūdrajātiḥ
purāṇam etac caritam mahātmanām
adhītya buddhiṁ labhate ca nāiṣṭikīm, etc.

[1] Here C., 1860 b, has the meaningless words: çilataraye tripathagānuyogarūpān, for °rataye . . . pathānuyoga° in B.

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It will be convenient here to put together the forms of ardhasamavṛttas thus far exhibited in the two epics. In the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa the general types of aparavaktra and puṣpitāgrā are:

(a[1]) ∪∪∪∪∪∪, ‒∪‒∪‒ (‒), 14 (16) moræ
(b[1]) ∪∪∪∪‒∪∪, ‒∪‒∪‒ (‒), 16 (18) moræ

These may be called *the* types, because the following variations are proportionally insignificant. But, though few in number, they are important as showing that there was no absolute line between the fixed mātrāchandas and the free mātrāchandas, for these variations may just as well be regarded as, e. g., vāitālīya pādas as variants of aparavaktra pādas. But it must be remembered that they do not represent pādas of, e. g., vāitālīya stanzas; only equivalent pādas of, e. g., aparavaktra stanzas, which I call variants on account of their position:

In M. and R. both are found the following variants of (a[1]):

(a[2]) ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪ ∪‒∪‒∪‒ (‒)

In both texts of both epics, two cases in M.; three in R. In M. both cases are in pāda c; in R., only in aparavaktra.

(a[3]) ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪ ‒∪‒∪‒∪‒ (hypermeter)

In M., in both texts and also in Harivaṅça; in R., one case. In M. alone:

(a[4]) ∪∪∪‒ ∪∪‒∪ ‒∪‒

In R. alone:

(a[5]) ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪, ∪∪‒ ∪‒‒ (B., vii)
(a[6]) ∪∪‒ ∪∪‒ ∪∪‒ ∪‒‒ (G., 17 moræ)
(a[7]) ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪ ‒∪‒ ∪∪‒ (doubtful, pāda c, 15 moræ)
(a[8]) ∪∪∪ ∪∪ ‒∪‒ ∪‒‒ (only in G., pāda c, 15 moræ)

In M. and R. both is found the following variant of (b[1]):

(b[2]) ∪∪∪∪‒ ∪∪‒ ∪‒‒ (only in C. and G., 15 moræ)

In M alone:

(b[3]) ∪∪∪ ‒∪∪‒ ∪‒∪‒‒ (only in C. and Harivaṅça, pādas b and d, 17 moræ)
(b[4]) ∪∪∪∪‒, ∪‒∪‒∪‒∪ (sic, bis in C.)
(b[5]) ‒∪∪‒ ∪∪ ‒∪‒ ∪‒

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In R alone:

(b⁶) ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑—, —⏑—⏑—— (only in G., forbidden by rule)
(b⁷) ⏑⏑⏑— ⏑—, ⏑⏑— ⏑—⏑— (only in G.)
(b⁸) ⏑—⏑— ⏑⏑, —⏑—⏑— (only in G.)
(b⁹) ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑—⏑— ⏑⏑ (only in G., a prior āupacchandasika)

The complete vāitālīya and āupacchandasika stanzas, of perfect mora form, found only in the later Rāmāyaṇa, have the scheme:

(a) ⏑⏑, — ⏑⏑—, ⏑—⏑— (⏓)
(b¹) ——, —⏑⏑—, ⏑—⏑— (⏓)
(b²) ⏑⏑—, —⏑⏑—, ⏑—⏑— (⏓)
(b³) ——, —⏑⏑— ⏑——

Before taking up the odd cases remaining, I cannot refrain from departing somewhat from a purely metrical point of view, to express admiration for the art with which these metres are handled. The poets of the later epic play with them skilfully. They are not apprentices but master workmen. I give two illustrations. In one, the metre is employed to give a list of fighters and weapons, the names of which are cleverly moulded together to form half a perfect stanza. In the other the poet is indulging in satire at the expense of the philosophers:

viii, 30, 5, parighamusalaçaktitomarāir
nakharabhuçuṇḍigadāçatāir hatāḥ
dviradanarahayāḥ sahasraço
rudhiranadīpravahās tadā 'bhavan

xii, 179, 35, bahukathitam idaṁ hi buddhimadbhiḥ
kavibhir abhiprathayadbhir ātmakīrtim
idam idam iti tatra tatra tat tat[1]
svaparamatāir gahanam pratarkayadbhiḥ

I have now given seriatim all the mātrāchandas cases in the great epic, with the exception of one case in Vana, to be

[1] v. l. hanta.

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mentioned immediately, and two or three peculiar groups in Çānti, also to be discussed below. It will have been noticed that in the later books great heaps of stanzas of this metre are piled together. Thus all the twenty-five in Karṇa (a late book in its present shape) are in two sections, thirteen stanzas in one, twelve in another; while in Çānti another group of thirteen is found. This stupid massing of adornments — for these tag-metres were used originally only as fringe-work — the still later thirteenth book exceeds by uniting together in one heap, first, a puṣpitāgrā, xiii, 14, 180, then four āryās, ib. 181–4, then two çlokas, ib. 185–6, then an āryā, ib. 187, then an upajāti, ib. 188, then a vasantatilakā, ib. 189, then a puṣpitāgrā, ib. 190, then an āryā, ib. 191.

Despite this profusion of puṣpitāgrās and aparavaktras, the Mahābhārata has no such regular vāitālīyas and āupacchandasikas as has the later Rāmāyaṇa. But the following interesting verses occur in the popular story of Yudhiṣṭhira and the dæmon, who required him to answer certain questions. They are not tags, iii, 313, 112–113; they are late; and they are an approach to vāitālīyas:

priyavacanavādī kiṁ labhate
vimṛçitakāryakaraḥ kiṁ labhate
bahumitrakaraḥ kiṁ labhate
dharme rataḥ kiṁ labhate kathaya

⏑⏑, ⏑⏑⏑ – –, – ⏑⏑ –, 15
⏑⏑⏑⏑, – ⏑⏑ –, – ⏑⏑ –, 16
⏑⏑, – ⏑⏑ –, – ⏑⏑ –, 14
– – ⏑ –, – ⏑⏑ –, ⏑⏑⏑, 16

priyavacanavādī priyo bhavati
vimṛçitakāryakaro 'dhikaṁ jayati
bahumitrakaraḥ sukhaṁ vasate
yaç ca dharmarataḥ sa gatiṁ labhate

⏑⏑, ⏑⏑⏑ – –, ⏑ – ⏑⏑⏑, 15
⏑⏑⏑⏑, – ⏑⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑⏑⏑, 16
⏑⏑, – ⏑⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑⏑ –, 15
– ⏑, – ⏑⏑ –, ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –, 17

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In C., 17,397–98, the same text. This is the kind of story which, because it appears Buddhistic, is often labelled as a matter of course 'certainly old.' But the tale, on general principles, is just as likely to be late as early; perhaps more so, when one considers that kings interviewed by spirits who ask conundrums are merely stalking-horses, and must first be famous as kings before such stories are fastened upon them. This particular tale bears all the marks of a late inset.[1]

Although the great epic lacks the regular vāitālīya of the Rāmāyaṇa's Uttarakāṇḍa, yet Çānti offers a type of metres which shows forms ending in the close of this measure. For besides the usual ending _ ∪ _ ∪ _ of the mātrā form, the close may also be _ ∪ ∪ _ _ (called āpātālikā). Also the beginning of the verses given below is of mātrā-formation, but the mātrās are not regular. The group xii, 322, 28–32 = 12,071–75, follows a group of praharṣiṇīs (4 × 13 syllables):

28, rājā sadā dharmaparaḥ çubhāçubhasya
goptā samīkṣya sukṛtināṁ dadhāti lokān
bahuvidham api carati praviçati
sukham anupagataṁ niravadyam

_ _ ∪ _, _ ∪ ∪ _, ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪
_ _ ∪ _ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, _ ∪ _ ∪ _ _
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, _ ∪ ∪ _ _

Moræ 20 + 21 + 14 + 14, the first hemistich bridging the preceding praharṣiṇīs, _ _ _, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, _ ∪ _ ∪ _ _, and the āpātālikā (c–d scheme also in 30, below).

29, çvāno bhīṣaṇakāyā ayomukhāni
vayāṁsi balagṛdhra[kula] pakṣiṇāṁ ca saṅghāḥ
narakadane rudhirapā guruvaca —
nanudam uparataṁ viçanty asantaḥ

_ _, _ ∪ ∪ _, _ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪
∪ _ ∪, ∪ ∪ _ ∪ [∪ ∪], _ ∪ _ ∪ _ _
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, _ ∪ _ ∪ _ _

19 + 19 + 15 + 16

[1] Compare Holtzmann, who rightly says that the story is a late addition to the third book to connect it with the fourth, Neunzehn Bücher, p. 95.

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30, maryādāniyatā svayambhuvā ya ihe 'māḥ
prabhinatti daçaguṇā manonugatvāt
nivasati bhṛçam asukham pitṛviṣa—
ya-vipinam avagāhya sa pāpaḥ

– –, – ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – ∪, – ∪ ∪ – –
∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, – ∪ – ∪ – –
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (= 28 c)
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, – ∪ ∪ – – (= 28 d)

22 + 18 + 14 + 14

31, yo lubdhaḥ subhṛçam priyānṛtaç ca manuṣyaḥ
satatanikṛtivañcanā[1]-bhiratiḥ syāt
upanidhibhir asukhakṛt sa paramanirayago
bhṛçam asukham anubhavati duskṛtakarmā

a, – –, – ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – (= 32 a)
b, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪, – ∪ ∪ – –
c, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ –, ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ –
d, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, – ∪ ∪ – –

22 + 17 + 19 + 18. Here c has the resolved equivalent of the ⏑ ∪ ⏑ – close of a, b, d. The choriamb of a is all resolved in d, ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ∪ ∪ ⏑, – ∪ ∪ – –; in c only the first syllable, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ∪ ∪ – (as if sa were interpolated).

32, uṣṇām Vāitaraṇīm mahānadīm[2] avagāḍho
'sipatravanābhinnagātraḥ
paraçuvanaçayo nipatito vasati (ca)
ca mahāniraye bhṛçārtaḥ

– –, – ∪ ∪ –, (∪ –) ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – (= 31 a)
∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –
∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ –, ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ (∪)
∪ ∪, – ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – –

22 (19) + 13 + 16 + 13

[1] C. vacana, but N. vañcanā cāuryādi.
[2] C. omits mahā°.

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Mātrāsamakas.

In xii, 336, 11–12 = 12706–7 occur two lines, as printed in C., which seem to be rather rhythmical prose than poetry; but in 347, 18–22 = 13444 there are five mātrā stanzas, of which I give the scheme alone (they are not arranged in the same way in both texts):

18, ⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑– (16 × 2)
⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑– (16 + 17)

B. adds ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑–, which C. gives to the next stanza.

19, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑–⏑– (16 + 14)

C. adds ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, which B. gives to the next hemistich.

⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑–⏑– (16 × 2)
20, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ––⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑– (16 × 2)
⏑⏑–⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑–⏑––– (16 + 17)
21, ––⏑–⏑⏑, ⏑–⏑⏑–, (⏑––), ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–, ⏑–⏑⏑– (16 + 22 or 17)
⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑– (15 + 16)

Perhaps purāṇaṁ in 21 is to be omitted. The text is:

taṁ lokasākṣiṇam ajam puruṣam purāṇaṁ ravivarṇam īçvaraṁ gatim bahuçaḥ
praṇamadhvam ekamanaso yataḥ salilodbhavo 'pi tam ṛṣim praṇataḥ

22, ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ––⏑–⏑⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑– (16 + 17)
––⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, ––⏑–⏑⏑, ⏑–⏑–⏑– (16 + 18)

The āryā form is clear in stanzas 18 and 20. On the other hand, the first stanza is an almost pure praharaṇakalitā pāda, ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑–, while the pramitākṣarā pāda, ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑ ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, prevails in the following stanzas; not, however, as pure çakvarī or jagatī stanzas, but with mātrā resolution. The stanzas, if they are treated as one group, may perhaps be considered as rather rough mātrāsamakas (four pādas of six-

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teen moræ each), partly of the viçloka type;[1] or as āryāgīti (but with four moræ in the sixth foot), mixed with mātrāsamakas. Nothing of this sort is found in the Rāmāyaṇa.

Gaṇacchandas.

The statement that the āryā metre occurs in Buddhistic writings (and earliest inscriptions) but not in epic poetry, was made so long ago that the learned author of Das Rāmāyaṇa can scarcely at this date be held responsible for the slight oversight.[2] Nor is the main argument, to which this statement served as a support, especially affected by the fact that the Mahābhārata, besides the stanzas of āryāgīti mentioned in the last paragraph, has eight āryā stanzas; since these are in parts of the epic so late that their presence, as affecting epic poetry in general, may be discounted; at least for any one who takes a reasonably historical view of the growth of the great epic.

Six occur in xiii, 14, 181–84, 187, 191 = 772–75, 778, 782:

181, – –, ⏑ – ⏑, – –; ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑,
– –, – ⏑ ⏑, – –; ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑, – –, ⏑

182, – –, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ –; ⏑ – ⏑, – –, ⏑ – ⏑, – –, ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,[3] ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –; – ⏑ ⏑, – –, ⏑, – –, –

183, ⏑ ⏑ –, – –, – –; – ⏑ ⏑, – –, ⏑ – ⏑, – –, –,
– –, – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, – –[4]

184, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –; ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, – –, ⏑,
– –, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑; ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑, – –, –

187, – ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –; ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑, – –, –,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑; – –, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑, – –, –

191, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, – –; ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – –, ⏑, – –, –,
– –, – –, – ⏑ ⏑; ⏑ – ⏑, – –, ⏑, – –, –

The last two stanzas are upagīti, that is, they have the

[1] Colebrooke, Essays, vol. ii, pp. 78, 142 ff.; Weber, Ind. Stud., vol. viii, pp. 314–318. I am indebted to a query note in Professor Cappeller's manuscript for the suggestion that these may be imperfect akṣaracchandases of the types named. The pure mātrāsamaka has brevis in the pāda's ninth syllable.

[2] ZDMG., vol. xxxviii, p. 600; Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 93.

[3] B., bhavati hi; C. omits hi.

[4] Text: yeṣāṁ na kṣaṇam api rucito haracaraṇasmaraṇavicchedaḥ; āyāgīti and neglected cæsura; but if *api* (an easy intrusion) were extruded, the neglected cæsura would be in its usual place, – –, – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –; ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑, – – –, with the āryā final foot of two moræ.

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short verse in each hemistich. The full eighth foot, āryāgīti, is found only in 183 b (if left uncorrected). There are no irregularities in the use of the amphibrach. Brevis may stand at the end of the first hemistich.[1]

Two cases occur in Harivaṅça. I give the text:

1, 1, 3, jayati Parāçarasūnuḥ satyavatīhṛdayanandano Vyāsaḥ
yasyā 'syakamalagalitaṁ vāṅmayam amṛtaṁ jagat pibati

1, 1, 7, yo Harivaṅçaṁ lekhayati yathā vidhinā mahātapāḥ sapadi

(in C.) sa yāti Hareḥ padakamala[ṁ] kamalaṁ yathā madhupo lubdhaḥ

(in B.) sa jayati Haripadakamalam madhupo hi yathā rasena saṁlubdhaḥ

The first stanza is regular. The second neglects the usual cæsura after the third foot in the first hemistich in both texts; while C.'s text is impossible in the second, though the metre may be set right by omitting the antecedent and reading (without sa):

– ∪ ∪, – ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ –; ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – ∪, ∪, – –, –

The text of B. is regular, with ∪ – ∪ as sixth foot, where (in the second hemistich) stands ∪ in the cases above.

On page 164, I cited in full a stanza beginning: āhuḥ ṣaṣṭim buddhiguṇān vāi (the sixty Sāṁkhya guṇas); the scheme (unique in the epic) for the whole stanza being (xii, 256, 12):

– – – – – ∪ ∪ – –, – ∪ ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – –
– ∪ ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – –, – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪

Although this lacks the marked characteristics of the āryā, both in its early and in its later forms, it is yet a gaṇa metre which may be reckoned either as āryāgīti, or as mātrāsamaka, but not pure.

As to the origin of the gaṇacchandas, the metre seems to me to be rather a species than a genus. As seen in the speci-

[1] There is here no case of four breves in the sixth foot of the second hemistich, which occurs in classic writers and inscriptional āryās, e. g., Vatsabhaṭṭi, loc. cit., vs. 39.

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mens above under mātrāsamakas, they are interchangeable with the latter, of which they are only a more special type, with ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑, – – as the last four feet of the hemistich (compare 183 a, only this is not in the āryāgīti form, but has the alternative one heavy syllable for two, or two moræ for four). The mātrāsamakas in turn are the equivalent in moræ of the çloka strophe (that is, a unit composed of two çlokas, such as the classical writers affect), the thirty-two syllables of the half strophe answering to the thirty-two moræ of the hemistich in the mātrāsamaka and āryāgīti (the one mora of the sixth foot and two moræ of the eighth foot being special modifications).[1]

The Distribution of Fancy-Metres in the Great Epic.

The relation of çloka and triṣṭubh,[2] which in the whole Mahābhārata stand numerically in the rough proportion of 95,000 to 5000 (out of 101,900 stanzas or prose equivalents, the sum of the whole), varies enormously from book to book, one triṣṭubh to three hundred and ten çlokas in the eighteenth book, almost nine hundred triṣṭubhs to four thousand çlokas in the eighth book, the extremes in absolute number of triṣṭubhs as well as in their proportion to çlokas.

From reasons quite apart from metre, I have elsewhere maintained that the first part of book i, and book xiii, with the Harivaṅça were late, as compared with books vii, viii, xii, but that these in their turn contain very late additions to

[1] One may, indeed, take the çloka hemistich in the form – – – – ⏑ – – –, – – – – ⏑ – ⏑ – and reckon it in moræ, 15 + 14, as a hemistich of a mātrāsamaka, which is as nearly correct, that is as near to a real samaka, as are the cases above, where the pāda may have 15, 16, or 17 moræ. But I prefer to rest with the fact that the mātrāsamaka is a parallel in terms of moræ to the çloka-strophe in terms of syllables, without attempting a derivation. For particular studies of the gaṇacchandas, see Professor Cappeller's Die Gaṇacchandas, and Professor Jacobi, ZDMG. vol. xxxviii, p. 595 ff. The latter scholar believes the āryā to have been a musical adaptation, and to have come into Sanskṛt from Prākṛt poetry. The metre can be traced back to the time of Açoka.

[2] That is triṣṭubh and jagatī. There are just about the same number of triṣṭubh-jagatī stanzas in the Mahābhārata as in the Rig Veda.

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the original epic, often palpable intrusions.[1] The use of the fancy-metres seems to illustrate the general correctness of my former analysis. Thus the rucirā occurs in i, iii, vii, xii, xiii, Hariv.; the vasantatilakā only in i, xiii, xviii, Hariv.; the mālinī only in vii, viii, xiii, Hariv.; the āryā only in xiii, Hariv. The tag-metres of Ādi are confined to the first quarter (two thousand) of the eight thousand in the whole book. They cease after Sarpasattra (almost after the beginning of Āstīka), or, in other words, they occur almost entirely in the most modern part of the book. Books ii, v, and vi have no fancy metres at all; book ix has but one, a bhujaṁgaprayāta. On the other hand, books iv, x, xi, xiv, xv, xvi, and xvii have none also, which however, need not surprise us much, as most of them are short supplementary books, and the fourteenth is mainly an imitation of the Gītā. That the fourth book is not adorned with these metres indicates perhaps that it was written between the time of the early epic and the whole pseudo-epic. The much interpolated eighth book would be comparatively free from these adornments were it not for its massed heaps of ardhasamavṛttas, twenty-five in all (otherwise it has only one çārdūlavikrīḍita and five mālinīs). The seventh book, on the other hand, has two drutavilambitas, nine rucirās, one praharṣiṇī, one mālinī, and eight ardhasamavṛttas, — twenty-one in all. The first book, that is, its first quarter, has thirty-one, of which twenty-two are rucirās; four, praharṣiṇīs; three, vasantatilakās; two, ardhasamavṛttas. The pseudo-epic shows the greatest variety, as well as of course the greatest number, the books represented (with the exception of one vasantatilakā in the eighteenth) being the twelfth, thirteenth, and Harivaṅça, with 48½, 28½, and 43, respectively.

[1] Compare the paper on the Bhārata and Great Bhārata, AJP., vol. xix, p. 10 ff. That there are antique parts in books generally late, no one I believe, has ever denied. Nor has any competent critic ever denied that in books generally old late passages are found. Ādi, Vana, and Anuçāsana, and in a less degree Karṇa, are a hodge-podge of old and new, and the only question of moment is whether in each instance old or new prevails or is subsidiary.

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The number of occurrences of each metre, according to the books in which they are found, is given in the following table:

		Cases occurring in books.									
		i	iii	vii	viii	ix	xii	xiii	xviii	Hariv.	Total.
	Rathoddhatā . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	6½	. .	. .	. .	6½
	Bhujaṁgaprayāta	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	2	. .	. .	. .	3
	Drutavilambita .	. .	. .	2	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2
	Vāiçvadevī	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	1
Akṣara	Rucirā	22	3	9	. .	. .	4	3	. .	10	51
	Praharsiṇī	4	. .	1	. .	. .	4	1	. .	2	12
	Vasantatilakā . .	3	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3	1	5	12
	Mālinī	. .	. .	1	5	. .	. .	3	. .	2	11
	Çārdūlavikrīḍita	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	3½	. .	. .	4½
Mātrā	Puṣpitāgrā, Aparavaktra, Mātrāsamaka	2	6	8	25	. .	31	9	. .	22	103
Gaṇa	Āryā	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	6	. .	2	8
	Total	31	9	21	31	1	48½	28½	1	43	213

How are we to account for these fancy-metres? Let us imagine for a moment — to indulge in rather a harmless fancy — that the whole epic was written by one individual, not of course by Vyāsa the arranger, but by Krit the maker, even as the pseudo-epic says; though the latter sets reasonable bounds to the human imagination and very properly adds that the maker of such a poem must have been divine.

This superhuman being, Krit (Bhāratakṛt or better, Mahābhāratakṛt) must have had from the beginning a well-developed ear for fancy-metres. When he writes them he writes them very carefully, seldom opposing the rules that later

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writers, say of 500 A. D. and later, impose upon themselves, except in the case of the ardhasamavṛttas. These at one time he writes correctly and another loosely, as if he occasionally failed to grasp the distinction between this class of metres and that of the strict mātrāchandas; which is rather peculiar, when one considers how correctly he writes at other times. But, passing this point, how are we to account for the distribution of these metres? Evidently there is only one way. Having started out with the statement that the poem was to glitter with various fancy-metres, the poet first gave an exhibition of what he could do, reserving, however, the more complicated styles for the end of the poem. Then, settling down into the story, he got so absorbed in it that he forgot all about the fancy-metres, till after several thousand stanzas he suddenly remembered them and turned off three rucirās and six ardhasamavṛttas, e. g., as tags, lauding Çiva's gift and Arjuna's glorious trip to heaven; but then, becoming interested again, again dropped them, while he wrote to the end of the sixth book. With the seventh book, feeling that an interminable series of similar and repeated battle-scenes was getting a little dull, he sprinkled five different kinds of fancy metres over his last production, and in the eighth emptied a box of them in a heap, which lasted till the first part of the poem was complete. On resuming his labors (we are expressly told that he rested before taking up the latter half of the poem) he decided that, as all interest in the story itself was over, the only way to liven up a philosophic encyclopedia would be to adorn it with a good many more fancy-metres, and toward the end he brought out the āryās, which he had had concealed all the time, but kept as a final attraction. In this last part also he emptied whole boxes of metres together, just as he had done so desperately in the eighth book.

This seems to me an entirely satisfactory explanation, granting the premiss. But in case one is dissatisfied with the (native) assumption of a homogeneous Homer, one might consider whether it were not equally probable that the present

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poem was a gradual accumulation and that fancy-metres were first used as tags[1] to chapters in the later part of the work, as an artistic improvement on the old-fashioned triṣṭubh tag (to çloka sections); and so find the reason why the masses of fancy-metres are placed in the middle of sections in a later exaggeration, a vicious inclination to adorn the whole body with gewgaws, whereas at an earlier date it was deemed a sufficient beauty to tag them on to the end of a section. The only difficulty in this assumption is that it recognizes as valid the delirament of believing in the historical growth of the epic.

As regards the āryā, it makes no difference whether it was a Prākrit style known before the epic was begun or not. Just as in the case of the Rig Veda, the point is not whether such and such a form existed, but only whether (and if so, in how far) the poets admitted the form into hymns;[2] so here, the question is simply as to when Sanskrit writers utilized Prākṛt melodies. It is somewhat as if one should properly try to define the decade in which a piece of X's music was composed by considering that it was in rag-time. One might object that rag-time melodies have been used for unnumbered decades by the negroes. The reply would be: True; but it is only in the last decade of the nineteenth century that rag-time has been utilized by composers; ergo, X must have published his composition in that decade or later.

When then did the vulgar āryā (i. e., melody used as a

[1] The expression tag-metres answers exactly to the function of the fancy-metres in the Rāmāyaṇa, and pretty closely to their function in the Bhārata. I have indicated above the few cases where in the latter poem they have been inserted in other positions. There can be no serious doubt that such medial position simply shows how late is the passage where are found such stanzas thus located. The bhujaṁgaprayāta appears in medial position in Çānti; the drutavilambita, in Droṇa; where also the rucirā (usually only tag); the praharṣiṇī (medial), only in Droṇa and Çānti; the vasantatilakā, generally a tag, medial only in Anuçāsana; the mālinī, medial in Karṇa; the çārdūlavikrīḍita, medial in both these last.

[2] The all-sufficient answer to the unsatisfactory contention that, because certain Vedic forms are pre-Vedic, therefore their employment by Vedic poets cannot be used in evidence of the age of certain hymns.

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frame for literature) appear in Sanskrit poetry? The author of the Rāmāyaṇa, using freely the akṣaracchandas and ardhasamavṛttas as tag-poetry, either knew it not or ignored it. The later poets of the Mahābhārata, doing the same, ignored it also. Only the poets of the latest tracts, the fourteenth section of Anuçāsana and benedictions in Harivaṅça, used it, whether inventing or utilizing is a subsidiary question. The employment of this metre, if borrowed from the vulgar, stands parallel, therefore, to the adoption of Prākrit licence in prosody.[1]

Further, the sometime intrusion into the middle of a chapter of metres used originally only as tags, shows that parts of the Mahābhārata reflect a later phase than that of the Rāmāyaṇa, which still confines them to their earlier function. In fact, the Mahābhārata is here on a level with the poems of inscriptions where all metres are flung together,[2] and, like these poems, its later parts show a predilection for long compounds and for long sentences extending over many verses.

The total result of a comparison of the various metres in the two epics shows in outline:

	In the Mahābhārata	In the Rāmāyaṇa
(a)	early (Vedic) çloka early (Vedic) triṣṭubh	
(b)	almost classical çloka classical triṣṭubh	(b) almost classical çloka classical triṣṭubh
(c)	late çloka stanzas (pure iambs) late triṣṭubh stanzas (çālinī) late use of fancy metres	(c) early use of fancy metres

A review of the results obtained in regard to the chief metre of the epic makes it clear that the presence in the

[1] Only xiii, 14 is really affected. The benedictive Harivaṅça verses are an addition too late to affect dates. Even the native (Bombay) edition omits them from the text proper.

[2] See on this point, Bühler's essay, Das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie, with examples at the end.

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Mahābhārata of çlokas of an older and also later type than are found in the Rāmāyaṇa indicates not only that the style of the Mahābhārata is more antique in one part than in another, but also that this difference is not due to conscious metrical variations on the part of one poet; or, in other words, that the epic was not made all at once. For the general shape of çlokas might voluntarily be shifted, though even here it is not probable that a poet who wrote in the refined style common to the Rāmāyaṇa and to parts of the pseudo-epic Mahābhārata would shift back to diiambic close of the prior pāda or a free use of the fourth vipulā. But even granting this, there remain the subtle differences which are perceptible only with careful and patient study, elements of style not patent to the rough-and-ready critique which scorns analysis. The poet who had trained himself to eschew first vipulās after diiambs and renounce a syllaba anceps would not write first in this particular style and then in the careless old-fashioned manner. The very presence of the more refined art precludes the presumption that the same poet in the same poem on the same subject would have lapsed back into barbarism. For the distinction is not one that separates moral discourses from the epic story. Except in the case of a few obvious imitations or parodies of Çruti texts, topics of the same sort are treated with a difference of style attributable only to different authors and in all reasonable probability to different ages.

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CHAPTER FIVE.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EPIC.

We have now reached a point where an intelligent opinion may be formed in regard to the general make-up of the Mahābhārata. It is based, as was shown in the second chapter, on a more or less stereotyped diction, and contains adventitious matter common to both epics. It contains allusions to the latest pre-classical works, as was shown in the first chapter; while its didactic parts recapitulate the later Upanishads; and it shows acquaintance with a much larger number of Vedic schools than were recognized even at a late date. Its philosophical sections, as was shown in the third chapter, reflect varied schools and contradictory systems, some of which are as late as our era. Its metres, as have just been explained, preclude the probability of its having been written by one poet, or even by several poets of the same era. It appears to be a heterogeneous collection of strings wound about a nucleus almost lost sight of. The nucleus, however, is a story.

This story is in its details so abhorrent to the writers of the epic that they make every effort to whitewash the heroes, at one time explaining that what they did would have been wicked if it had not been done by divinely inspired heroes; at another frankly stating that the heroes did wrong. It is not then probable that had the writers intended to write a moral tale they would have built on such material. Hence the tale existed as such before it became the nucleus of a sermon. There are then two elements in the epic, narrative and didactic.

In its present didactic form the epic is recited. At its own close we learn that it was not given as a dramatic recitation, still less as a rhapsodic production. A priestly reciter, vācaka,

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pāṭhaka, "speaks" or "reads" the epic as "he sits comfortably and recites, carefully pronouncing the sixty-three letters (sounds) [1] according to their respective eight places of utterance" (as gutturals, etc.). He reads from manuscripts, saṁhitāpustakas, which, after the performance is over and the gentleman has been dismissed with a brahmasūtra and a handsome fee, are wrapped in cloth and piously revered. The recitation takes four months, and should be performed by Brahmans during vasso, the rainy season, xviii, 6, 21 ff. (i, 62, 32).

Such recited stories are recognized elsewhere. A knight leaves town to go into the woods accompanied with "priests who know the Vedas and Vedāṅgas," and "priests who recite divine tales," divyākhyānāni ye cā 'pi paṭhanti, but also, and distinguished from these, with sūtāḥ pāurāṇikāḥ and kathakāḥ (besides hermits, çramaṇāç ca vanāukasaḥ), i. 214, 2–3. The story-tellers here named may be represented again by knights who tell each other, as they sit and talk, "the glorious deeds of old and many other tales," or, as it is expressed elsewhere, "tales of war and moil and genealogies of seers and gods." [2]

But buried with the story-nucleus are elements also more or less concealed. The first of these is the genealogical verses, anuvaṅçaçloka, or anuvaṅçyā gāthā, which in the extract

[1] saṁskṛtaḥ sarvaçāstrajñaḥ .. asaṁsaktākṣarapadaṁ svarabhāvasamanvitam triṣaṣṭivarṇasaṁyuktam aṣṭasthānasamīritam vācayed vācakaḥ svasthaḥ svāsīnaḥ susamāhitaḥ, xviii, 6, 21, and H. loc. cit. in PW. s. varṇa. In the enumeration of parvans following, the Anuçāsana is omitted, as it is in one of the lists in Ādi, whereas the other list makes it a separate work: "After this (i. e., after Çānti as rājadharmānuçāsana, āpaddharma, and mokṣa) with 329 or v. l. 339 sections and 14,732 çlokas [our text has 13,943 stanzas of all kinds] must be reckoned the Anuçāsana with 146 sections and 8000 çlokas" [our text 7796]; where ataḥ ūrdhvam shows, with the figures, that the Anuçāsana is not included with Çānti (the former is also called ānuçāsanikam parva), i, 2, 76–78, 328–331. On the list i, 1, 88 ff. which omits the thirteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth books, see AJP. xix, p. 5.

[2] tatra pūrvavyatītāni vikrāntānī 'tarāṇi ca bahūni kathayitvā tāu remāte, i, 222, 29; praviçya tāṁ sabhāṁ ramyāṁ vijahrāte ca, Bhārata; tatra yuddhakathāç citrāḥ parikleçāṅç ca, Pārthiva, kathāyoge kathāyoge kathayām āsatuḥ sadā, ṛṣiṇāṁ devatānāṁ ca vaṅçāṅs tāv āhatuḥ sadā, xiv, 15, 5–7.

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just referred to are recited; as, again, in iii, 88, 5, is found: Mārkāṇḍeyo jagāu gāthām (anuvaṅçyām). Such memorial stanzas in honor of the family either are strictly genealogical, "Devayānī bore Yadu and Turvasu," or characterize a man, as in i, 95, 46 (the other, ib. 9), where Çāṁtanu's name is derived, on the strength of such a stanza, from his having the healing touch (the careless compilers a little later, i, 97, 19, give another derivation). Such stanzas are sometimes inserted in prose narration [1] in honor of the family, though occasionally of very general content. On the other hand, really genealogical stanzas may be introduced without any statement as to their character, though the poets usually quote them from rhapsodes, "men who know the tales of old here sing (or recite) this gāthā," apy atra gāthāṁ gāyanti ye purāṇavido janāḥ, i, 121, 13; vii, 67, 14.

Though, as was shown in a previous chapter, the word for sing is scarcely more than recite, yet it reflects conditions where bards actually sang songs in honor of kings. The ancient age knew, in fact, just such a distinction as underlies the double character of the epic. On the one hand, it had its slowly repeated circle of tales (sometimes mistranslated by cycle of tales),[2] and on the other, impromptu bardic lays, not in inherited form but improvisations, where the rhapsode, as is especially provided for in the ritual, on a certain occasion was "to sing an original song, the subject of which should be, This king fought, this king conquered in such a battle." The song is here accompanied with the lute or lyre, which in the epic is called seven-stringed, saptatantrī vīṇā (ἑπτάτονος φόρμιγξ, see above, p. 172). Such song as "hero-praising verse," nārāçāṅsī gāthā, are recognized in the Gṛhya Sūtras

[1] Compare the illustrations by Lassen and Weber and Holtzmann himself, summed up in the last writer's work, loc. cit., p. 2.

[2] The tales of a (year's) circle, pāriplavam ākhyānam, have no cyclic element. For literature on the early rhapsodes and reciters, see Çat. Br. xiii, 4, 3, 3, 5; Weber, IS. i, p. 186. Compare Pār. G. S. i, 15, 17. The traditional legend in the epic is called (pāram) paryāgatam ākhyānaṁ kathitam, xii, 340, 125, 138. The early improvised lays are called svayaṁsambhṛtā gāthāḥ (loc. cit., Çat. Br.).

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as traditional texts, differentiated from "legends," and were probably genealogical stanzas preserved in the family. Besides the single singer, there were also bands of singers who "sang the (reigning) king with the old kings." [1]

In these Brāhmaṇa stories, the rhapsode-lay took place at the very time of the priestly recited tale, which circled round a year. There is no difference of date between them. The rhapsode and the reciter were contemporary. So in the epic, although the recitation of tales is noticed, yet rhapsodes are constantly mentioned. In xiv, 70, 7, praise is rendered by dancers and luck-wishers and also by rhapsodes, granthikas, "in congratulations that uttered the praise of the Kuru-race," Kuruvaṅçastavākhyābhir āçīrbhiḥ. In parallel scenes we find "story-tellers," who could praise only by performing their business, as in iv, 70, 20: "Eight hundred bejewelled Sūtas along with māgadhas (singers) praised him, as the seers did Çakra of old;" ib. 72, 29: "Singers, gāyanas, those skilled in tales, ākhyānaçīlas, dancers, and reciters of genealogical verses, naṭavāitālikas,[2] stood praising him, as did Sūtas with māgadhas." Again in vii, 82, 2–3: jagur gītāni gāyakāḥ Kuruvaṅçastavārthāni: "Singers sang songs which lauded the Kuru-race," where the rhapsode, granthika, above, appears as singer, gāyana. For the history of the poem it is worth noticing that, though the Pandus are the present heroes, the stereotyped phrase is always of "praise of the Kuru race," even where a Pandu is praised.

We have in the epic the names of what are to-day the epic reciters, kuçīlava and kathaka, and the repeaters of genealogical verses (in distinction from the Sūtas),[3] called vāitālikas.

[1] Weber, loc. cit., and Episches im Vedischen Ritual, p. 6.

[2] So in ii, 4, 7, naṭas, Sūtas, and vāitālikas wait on the king along with boxers and wrestlers. Such epic professionals are called (besides pāṇisvanikas) māgadhas, nāndīvādyas, bandins, gāyanas, sāukhyaçāyikas, vāitālikas, kathakas, granthikas, gāthins, kuçīlavas and pāurāṇikas (Sūtas).

[3] So xii, 37, 43, where a king is praised by Sūtas, vāitālikas, and (subhāṣita) māgadhas. Compare the distinction in R. vi, 127, 3, with Comm.: the Sūtas "know praise and Purāṇas" the vāitālikas recite genealogical verses. Both epics have the group (phrase) sūtamāgadhabandinaḥ.

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When the lyre is mentioned, it is to wake up sleepers by means of "sweet songs and the sound of the lyre," gīta, vīṇāçabda, i, 218, 14. Only Nārada, a superhuman archetypical bard, comes skilled in dance and song with his melodious mind-soothing tortoise-lyre, ix, 54, 19.[1]

There is then in the epic, though a musical accompaniment is unknown, a distinct recollection of the practice of reciting lays, gītāni, the sole object of which was to "praise the Kuru race," as opposed to reading or reciting conversationally stories of ancient times. To neither of these elements can a judicious historian ascribe priority. The story and the lay are equally old. Their union was rendered possible as soon as the lay, formerly sung, was dissociated from music and repeated as a heroic tale of antiquity. This union was the foundation of the present epic.

Traces of the epic quality of the early poem cannot be disregarded. The central tale and many another tale woven into the present narrative are thoroughly heroic. To this day, warped and twisted from its original purpose, it is the story, not the sermon, that holds enthralled the throng that listens to the recitation of the great epic. Be it either epic, its tale is still popular in India. But the people cannot understand it. Hence the poem is read by a priest, while a translator and interpreter, of no mean histrionic talent, takes up his words and renders them in forcible patois, accompanying the dramatic recital by still more dramatic gestures and contortions. Such a recitation, without the intermediate interpreter (the modern dhāraka) was undoubtedly the performance given (not by the later paṭhaka, but) by the earlier epic gāthin, gāyaka, and granthika, just as they are depicted about the second century B. C. on the Sânchi Tope.[2]

[1] The pāṇisvanikas mentioned above may be pantomimists or simple "hand-clappers." The latter is the meaning in the cognate pāṇivādaka at R. ii, 65, 4 (compare Brahmajāla Sutta, Rhys Davids' note, p. 8). In the passage above, ix, 54, 19, the prakartā kalahānāṁ ca nityaṁ ca kalahapriyaḥ is represented as kacchapīṁ sukhaçabdāntāṁ gṛhya vīṇām, a late passage, apparently.

[2] Lévi, Le théâtre indien, p. 309.

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But though it is a gross exaggeration of the facts, as well as a misapprehension of poetic values, to make the epic a poem that was from the start a moral and religious narrative, yet, inasmuch as in the hands of the priest the latter element was made predominant, there is no objection to the statement that from the point of view of the epic as a whole the Mahābhārata is to-day less tale than teaching. That this double character was recognized by those who contributed the introduction to the poem itself is indisputable (above, p. 53). The "tales" are counted as separate. The original Bhārata was only a quarter of its present size. Then, as later, the different elements were still distinguished, and the poem was not regarded as wholly a Smṛti or instruction-book, but as an artistic poem, Kāvya, per se. So the pseudo-epic vaunts its own literary finish: *çabde* çā 'rthe ca hetāu ca eṣā prathama-sargajā (sarasvatī), xii, 336, 36.

The particular school of priests in whose hands the epic was transformed was probably that of the Yajurvedins. The Yajur Veda is "the birth-place of the warrior caste," according to a well-known verse, and it has been shown by Weber that the Çatapatha, a Yajur Veda text, stands in peculiarly close relation to the didactic epic.[1] As has been shown in the first chapter, the Çatapatha is the only Brāhmaṇa praised, perhaps even mentioned, in the epic; while the Yajur Veda Çatarudriya is exalted above all texts (except perhaps where Indra sings this, Vishnu sings the jyeṣṭha sāman, and Brahmá, the rathaṁtara, xiii, 14, 282, but even here the Çatarudriya is not slighted). In dividing the Itihāsa from the Purāṇa, moreover, the epic groups the former with the Yajur Veda, as against the Purāṇa with the other Vedas, viii, 34, 45. Here the Itihāsa represents the epic, as it does in the similar antithesis of xii, 302, 109: yac cā 'pi dṛṣṭaṁ vividham purāṇe yac ce 'tihāseṣu mahatsu dṛṣṭam,

[1] Vālmīki too belonged to this school. Compare Weber, IS., xiii, p. 440, and as cited by Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 18; Muir, OST., i, p. 17, citing TB. iii, 12, 9, 2, where the Vāiçyas are derived from the Rig Veda, the Kṣatriyas from the Yajur Veda, and the Brāhmans from the Sāma Veda.

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where, as already observed, the Great Itihāsas point to several epic poems. Lastly, the Upanishads especially copied in the epic are those belonging to the Yajur Veda.

But while this is true of the completed epic, there is nothing to show that the Bhāratī Kathā was the especial property of any school, and no preference is given to the Yajur Veda in the later epic, for in the Gītā the Sāma Veda stands as the best, "I am the Sāma Veda among Vedas," 10, 22, and this is cited with approval and enlarged upon in xiii, 14, 323: "Thou art the Sāma Veda among Vedas, the Çatarudria among Yajus hymns, the Eternal Youth among Yogas, Kapila among Sāṁkhyas."

In the epic itself the Sūtas called pāurāṇikas are recognized as the re-writers and reciters of the epic. They probably took the epic legends and arranged them in order for the popular recitation, which is also recognized when "priests recite the Mahābhārata at the assemblies of warriors," v, 141, 56, a passage recently cited by Professor Jacobi, as evidence of a difference between the manner of handing down the heroic tales and the recitals of legends.[1]

The method of narrating the epic stories is that of the old priestly legend, where the verse-tale is knit together, as in the epic, by prose statements as to the speaker. So in the epic, a narrative, not a rhapsodic or dramatic, delivery is indicated by such phrases. In the Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, the verse is knit more closely together, and the speakers are indicated almost always in the verse. The one exception is a late addition (G. ii, 110, 4–5).

The Mahābhārata is not only a Veda, it is so important a Veda that to read it is to dispense with the need of reading other Vedas.[2] In the dynamic alteration consequent on the attaining of such an ideal, we may expect to find that the tale, as a tale, is full of the grossest incongruities; for to fulfil its

[1] Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige, 1899, p. 877 ff. I fully agree with the author's view in regard to the "Puranic" Sūtas being the compilers of the epic mass.

[2] vijñeyaḥ sa ca vedānām pārago bhāratam paṭhan, i, 62, 32.

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encyclopedic character all is fish that comes to the net, and scarcely an attempt is made to smooth away any save the most glaring inconsistencies. Tale is added to tale, doctrine to doctrine, without much regard to the effect produced by the juxtaposition. If we take these facts as they stand, which is the more probable interpretation, that they were originally composed in this incongruous combination or that they are the result of such a genesis as has just been explained? As for the facts, I will illustrate them, though to any Bhāratavid they are already patent.

In i, 214, Arjuna protests that he is a brahmacārin for twelve years, in accordance with the agreement (chapter 212) that he has made with his brother, which is to the effect that he will be "a brahmacārin in the woods for twelve years." This can have only one meaning. A brahmacārin is not a man wandering about on love-adventures, but a chaste student. Above all, chastity is implied. Now the first thing the hero Arjuna does is to violate his agreement by having a connection with Ulūpi, a beautiful water-witch, who easily persuades him to break his vow; after which he resides in a city, taking to himself a wife with whom he lives for three years. After this he has a new adventure with some enchanted nymphs and then stays with Krishna; when, in a new vikrānta or derringdo (the hero's rape of Subhadra, chapter 220), all the talk of brahmacārin wandering in the woods stops inconsequently. When he marries (in town) not a word is said of his vow; but when he approaches Krishna on the subject of Subhadrā the poet makes the former say "how can a wood-wanderer fall in love?" This is the only allusion, and one entirely ignored, to the matter of the vow; which in the earlier Maṇipur scene is absolutely unnoticed. Each of these feats is a separate heroic tale and they are all contradictory to the setting in which they have been placed by the diadochoi and later epic manipulators. As heroic tales they are perfectly intelligible. Certain feats in separate stories were attributed to the hero. They had to be combined and they were combined by letting him go off by himself under a vow

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of wandering in the woods. The wood-wanderer was usually a chaste ascetic, so he was given this character, but this rôle is kept for only one of the noble deeds. For after he has protested once at the outset, all pretence of his being a brahmacārin vanishes and the next we know he is comfortably mated and living in town, while still supposed by the poets to be a brahmacārin in the woods. The independent origin of these stories is seen at the beginning in the formula "Hear now a wonder-tale of him," tatra tasyā 'dbhutaṁ karma çṛṇu tvam, 214, 7. Such formulae of special tales are found frequently, idaṁ yaḥ çṛṇuyād vṛttam is another, used for the Urvaçī episode, iii, 46, 62. Another is like our "once upon a time," purā kṛtayuge rājan, e. g., ix, 40, 3.

The fact that Arjuna is here banished for twelve years is not without significance. The epic has been completed on rather formal lines. Agni is satiated for twelve years at Khāṇḍava. Arjuna's banishment is for the same length of time as that of the brothers as a family. So the epic is divided into eighteen books, as there are eighteen Purāṇas (p. 49); and there are eighteen armies battling for just eighteen days, and eighteen branches of younger Yādavas;[1] while finally there are eighteen islands of earth. The number of islands deserves particular notice, as it is one of the innumerable small indications that the poem has been retouched. Earth has four, seven, or at most thirteen islands in all literature of respectable antiquity. Seven is the usual number in the epic as it is in the older Purāṇas, but in the hymn to the sun at iii, 3, 52, "earth with its thirteen islands" is mentioned.[2] The mention of eighteen is found, of course, in one of the books where one who distinguished between the early and late elements would be apt to look for it, in the much inflated and rewritten seventh book, where (above, p. 229), with customary inconsistency, it stands beside another reference to the usual seven islands, sarvān aṣṭādaça dvīpān, vii, 70, 15; sapta dvīpān, 21.

[1] ii, 14, 40, 55; also 18,000 brothers and cousins, 56.

[2] The same passage calls the sun, çl. 61, vivasvān *mihiraḥ* pūṣā mitraḥ.

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Another tale which bears evidence of having been rewritten and still shows its inconsistencies is found in iii, 12, 91 ff. Here Bhīma and his brothers and mother are surrounded by fire, and he rescues them by taking them on his back and leaping clear over the fire. No suggestion is given of any other means of escape. On the contrary it is emphasized that he can fly like the wind or Garuḍa, and the escape is due entirely to his divine power and strength. But in i, 2, 104; 61, 22; and 148, 12, 20 ff., the same story is told with an added element which quite does away with the old solution. Here (in the later first book) the party escape through an underground tunnel, surañgā (çl. 12) or suruñgā, and after they are well off in the woods far from the fire, Bhīma is made to pick them up and carry them. The old feat was too attractive to lose, so it was kept postponed, but the later version with the Greek word to mark its lateness takes the place of the older jump. No one can read the account in Vana and fail to see that it is not a mere hasty résumé omitting the suruñgā, but that the original escape is a feat of the wind-god's son. But the first part of this same section in Vana contains a laudation to Krishna-Vishnu which is as palpable a late addition as one could find in any work.

The suruñgā, "syrinx," is not the only Greek word added in the later epic. As such must certainly be reckoned trikoṇa = *τρίγωνος*. There are in fact two koṇa. One is Sanskrit or dialectic for kvāṇa, the "sounder," or drumstick of the Rāmāyāṇa, vi, 32, 43; 42, 34, and elsewhere (not in the Mahābhārata). The other is found in the pseudo-epic xiv, 88, 32: catuçcityaḥ . . . aṣṭādaçakarātmakaḥ sarukmapakṣo nicitas *trikoṇo* garuḍākṛtiḥ, of an altar (the corresponding passage in R. i, 14, 29, has triguṇaḥ), where the word must mean angle and be the equivalent of *τρίγωνος*.

The question of the character of the epic is so intertwined with its date that I will not apologize for pausing here a moment to speak of another geographical and ethnographical feature. The apologia published under the title Genesis des Mahābhārata omits to reply to the rather startling conclusion

drawn by Weber in a recent monograph on the name Bāhlīka, or Bālhīka, as it appears in the epic. In the Sitzungsbericht of the Berlin Academy, 1892, pp. 987 ff., Weber claims that any work containing this name or that of Pahlava must be as late as the first to the fourth century A. D. I cannot but think that the escape from this conclusion, in part suggested by Weber himself, is correct. In the rewriting of foreign names it is perfectly possible that later copyists should have incorporated a form current in their own day rather than conserved a form no longer current, which it was easy to do when not forbidden by the metre. Again, that there was actual confusion between the forms Vāhīka and Bālhīka, the former being a Punjāb clan, the latter the Bactrians, it is not difficult to show. According to tradition, a drink especially beloved by the Bālhīkas is sāuvīra, or sāuvīraka. This can scarcely be anything else than the drink suvīraka, said to be lauded in the epic by degraded foreigners.. But here the foreigners are not Bāhlīkas but Vāhīkas, whose Madrikā (woman) sings, viii, 40, 39–40, "I will give up my family rather than my beloved suvīraka,"

> mā māṁ suvīrakaṁ kaçcid yācatāṁ dayitam mama
> putraṁ dadyām patiṁ dadyāṁ na tu dadyāṁ suvīrakam

It is possible that the epic arose further to the north-west, and in its south-eastern journey, for it ends in being revised in the south-east,[1] has transferred the attributes of one people to another, as it has transferred geographical statements, and made seven Sarasvatīs out of the Seven Rivers of antiquity, ix, 38, 3. As an indication of the earlier habitat may be mentioned the very puzzling remark made in iii, 34, 11. Here there is an apparent allusion to the agreement in ii, 76, which agreement is that on being recognized before the expiration of the thirteenth year, either party shall give up his kingdom (svarājyam, çl. 14); and it is assumed throughout that the two kingdoms are those of Hastināpur on the Ganges and

[1] See on this point the evidence presented in my paper on the Bhārata and the Great Bhārata, Am. Journ. Phil. vol. xix, p. 21 ff.

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Indraprastha on the Jumna. But in the passage of Vana just referred to there is an (old) triṣṭubh résumé of the situation, which makes the Kuru say:

bravīmi satyaṁ Kurusaṁsadī 'ha
tavāi 'va tā, Bhārata, pañca nadyaḥ

Here we get an account where the Pandus are lost in the older Bhāratas, and to them the Kuru king says, "If we break this agreement, yours shall be all this Puñjāb." But what has the Puñjāb to do with the epic in its present form? It is a land of Vāhīkas and generally despised peoples (who morally are not much better than barbarians), and also a holy land (another little inconsistency disregarded in the synthetic method); but, whatever it is morally, it has nothing to do politically with the present epic heroes, except to provide them with some of their best allies, a fact, however, that in itself may be significant of earlier Western relations.[1]

To return to the evidence of remaking in the epic. Passing over the passage ix, 33 to 55, a long interpolation thrust midway into a dramatic scene, we find that chapter 61 begins with the repetition of the precedent beginning of chapter 59, which latter, after 15 çlokas, together with chapter 60, is taken up with a moral discourse of Yudhiṣṭhira, who reproaches Bhīma for insulting the fallen foe. Then Rāma joins in and is about to slay Bhīma, when Krishna defends the latter, saying that his ignoble insult was entirely proper. This argument of Krishna is characterized by Saṅjaya as dharmacchalam, or, in other words, Krishna is said to be a pious hypocrite (60, 26); Rāma departs in disgust, and the virtuous heroes "became very joyless" (31). Then Krishna, who has all along been approving the act, turns to Yudhiṣṭhira who reproved it, and says,

[1] Jacobi touches on the significance of these Western allies in the review mentioned above. The "land of the Bhāratas" extends northwest of the Puñjāb even to the foot of the Himālayas, for in coming from Hemakūṭa to Mithilā one traverses first the Hāimavata Varṣa, then "passing beyond this arrives at the Bhārata Varṣa, and (so) reaches Āryāvarta" (seeing on the journey "different districts inhabited by Chinese and Huns," cīnahūṇaniṣevitān), xii, 326, 14–15. But this is the Varṣa or country in general.

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"Why do you approve of this sin?" Yudhiṣṭhira answers, "I am not pleased with it, but (because we were so badly treated by this man therefore) I overlook it. Let Pandu's son take his pleasure whether he does right or wrong" (38). And when Yudhiṣṭhira had said this, Krishna answered "as you will," and Yudhiṣṭhira then "expressed gratification at what Bhīma had done in the fight." In the next chapter, Krishna is openly charged with violating all rules of honor and noble conduct (61, 38); to which the god at first replies by specious reasoning (tit for tat), and then, throwing off all disguise, says: "This man could not be killed by righteous means, nor could your other enemies have been slain, if I had not acted thus sinfully," *yadi nāi 'vaṁvidhaṁ jātu kuryāṁ jihmam ahaṁ raṇe* (64).

Here there is something more than dramatic incongruities to notice. For is it conceivable that any priests, setting out to write a moral tale which should inculcate virtue, would first make one of the heroes do an ignoble thing, and then have both their great god and their chief human exponent of morality combine in applauding what was openly acknowledged even by the gods to be dishonorable conduct? Even if the act was dramatically permitted for the purpose of setting its condemnation in a stronger light and thus purging in the end, can we imagine that the only vindicator of virtue should be Rāma, and that Krishna and Yudhiṣṭhira of all others should cut so contemptible a figure? On the other hand, is not the whole scene explicable without any far-fetched hypothesis, if we assume that we have here the mingling of older incident, inseparable from the heroic narrative, and the later teaching administered by a moral deus ex machinâ? As the scene stands it is grotesque. Krishna's sudden attack on Yudhiṣṭhira is entirely uncalled-for; and the latter, who has first denounced the deed, then joins with the former in approving the very thing of which Krishna himself half way through the scene disapproves.

But to those who think that the epic was built on a moral didactic plan this is only one of many cases where a satisfactory

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explanation in accordance with the theory will prove difficult. They must explain why polyandry, in which the heroes indulge, while it is condemned, is permitted.[1] Ludwig explains this "sharing of the jewel" (i, 195, 25) as a "Mythisches Element;" others hark back to the old-fashioned allegorical treatment. But why is allegory with a bad moral seriously defended if the heroes are merely to be represented as models? On the other hand, it is known that polyandry was no uncommon thing on the borders of Brahmanic civilization, and Bühler recognized the custom within its pale; while the Pandus have no Brahmanic standing, and are evidently a new people from without the pale.[2] As a simple historic element it is perfectly natural, explained otherwise it remains an inexplicable mystery. So too with all the violations of the ethical code which are enumerated in the chapter referred to above. As characters in an historical epic, the heroes' acts are easily understood; as priestly models, dummies for sermons, their doings are beyond explanation.

Apart from the ignoble conduct of heroes, there are other items. Getting drunk at a picnic, for instance, is not proper conduct for an exemplary Hindu lady. But in the later epic the most virtuous ladies get so drunk that they cannot walk straight, madaskhalitagāminyaḥ, i, 222, 21, madoṭkate, 23. Such shocking behavior belongs to the revelry of the Harivaṅça and the probably contemporaneous tale here jovially recorded. It is not a moral episode of the fifth century B. C. Elsewhere ladies are supposed to be "unseen by the sun and wind," not only before they are married, but afterwards.[3] Drinking surā

[1] i, 158, 36; 195, 27, 28.

[2] This follows from the sharp contrast presented by the Kurus and Pandus in Brahmanic literature. While the Kurus are a famous folk in ancient records, the Pandus are there utterly unknown.

[3] ii, 69, 4 ff.; iii, 62, 21. The formal phrase here is noticeable. Drāupadī says: yāṁ na vāyur na cā 'dityo dṛṣṭavantāu purā gṛhe, *sā 'ham adya sabhāmadhye* dṛçyāmi janasaṁsadi (she was one of the ladies who got drunk at the outdoor picnic). So Damayantī, of whom Nala says: yāṁ na vāyur na cā 'dityaḥ purā paçyati me priyām, *se 'yam adya sabhāmadhye* çete bhuvāv anāthavat.

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is especially forbidden by the codes, but it is drunk without compunction by the heroes.[1]

The subject of meat-eating is not a trivial one to the Hindu. I need not cite the numerous passages describing the slaughter and eating of animals by the epic heroes, more especially as I have elsewhere illustrated the fact very fully.[2] What I wish to point out particularly at the present time is the impossibility of supposing that the same plan of moral teaching is carried out not only in the tales of meat-eating, but in the orthodox teaching that meat may be eaten at a sacrifice, and in the strict vegetarian diet even at sacrifices, which is insisted upon in the ahiṁsā doctrine of the later epic.[3] Here, not only is the substitution of a deer for a horse a new feature in the Açvamedha sacrifice, xii, 343, 52; but a king is held up as a model because there was no killing of animals at an açvamedha. For this model king was ahiṁsraḥ çucir akṣudraḥ, that is "he did no harm to any living thing, he was pure and not cruel" (akṣudra = akrūra), xii, 337, 10. The parts of the sacrifice were all wood-growth, for there is a vāidikī çrutiḥ which says bījāir yajñeṣu yaṣṭavyam; ajasaṁ-

[1] The codes are early Sūtras as well as Çāstras, e. g., Gāut. xxi, 1–7. In iv, 72, 28, at a wedding, surāmāireyapānāni and meat of all kinds, mṛgas and medhyāḥ paçavaḥ. Karṇa's asuravratam (surārahitam, N.) indicates his habitual use of surā, iii, 257, 17. Both Krishna and Arjuna are drunk when they receive an ambassador, v, 59, 5.

[2] Ruling Caste, p. 119. Further illustrations also are here given of the other vices mentioned. My position in regard to these points I find it necessary to restate, owing to the misrepresentation of them in the so-called Genesis des Mahābhārata. The author simply parodies when, on p. 55, he says, "these passages cannot belong to a time" (etc.). In the presentation thus caricatured I separated no parts of the epic; but simply pointed out that the statements of the moral code are not in harmony with the action of the heroes.

[3] To this, perhaps, is due the intrusion into epic sacrifices (among açvamedha, rājasūya, and other ancient rites) of the so-called puṇḍarīka sacrifice, or sacrifice of lotus(-roots), which is frequently mentioned, but appears to be unknown before the epic. The graciousness of the Vishnu cult is illustrated by its insistence on vegetal and not animal offerings. The orthodox Brahman (also the Çākta) demands blood-sacrifices; Krishna prohibits them. The difference, still marked, appears in the epic and no "synthesis" can explain it otherwise.

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jñāni bījāni cchāgān no hantum arhatha (you must not kill goats at a sacrifice; sacrifice with vegetables and call them goats) nāi 'ṣa dharmaḥ satāṁ devā yatra vadhyeta vāi paçuḥ (it is not the rule among good men to kill animals), xii, 338, 4. Now this whole teaching is opposed not only to the formal codes and to the practice of the epic heroes, but also to the formal teaching of the epic itself, which says expressly: "No man does wrong in eating food prepared with the sacrificial verses," yajuṣā saṁskṛtam māṁsam upabhuñjan na duṣyati, xiii, 163, 43.[1] Animal sacrifices are inveighed against in one part of the epic and praised in another (iii, 30, etc.). Even human sacrifices are not only mentioned but also enjoined on the model heroes: "Sacrifices are the chief means of success. Do thou therefore institute a Rājasūya, a horse-sacrifice, an all-sacrifice and a human sacrifice," xiv, 3, 6–8.[2]

As to hunting, all epic heroes hunt and eat the meat of their victims; but since this practice is opposed to the ahiṁsā doctrine the casuist has a good deal of difficulty in reconciling the practice of the model heroes with that doctrine. It is said to be permissible, because sacrificial animals may be eaten, and deer are brought under this head by a reference to Agastya who "sanctified them." But while Rāma is quite content to say that hunting even with traps is permissible, because the saints of royal blood practised it of old; the teacher in the Mahābhārata is still uneasy, even after contending that the quarry is "sacrificial;" so he says that really the hunter is contending for his life and it is a matter of fighting, which takes it out of the category of "injury," since the hunter himself is as likely to be killed as to kill.[3] All

[1] The chine is excepted, pṛṣṭhamāṁsam, 43. This and vṛthāmāṁsam is the same as putramāṁsam, that is, it is as bad to eat meat not used for sacrificial purposes as it is to be a cannibal, for amṛtam brāhmaṇā gāva ity etat trayam ekataḥ, cows are as holy as Brahmans, 42. Compare also xiii, 115 and 116 (below).

[2] Compare xiii, 103, 32 ff., "ārkāyaṇas, turāyaṇas, human sacrifices" (and others).

[3] The passages of the two epics are related. Compare: ato rājarṣayaḥ sarve mṛgayāṁ yānti, Bhārata, with yānti rājarṣayaç cā 'tra mṛgayāṁ dharmakovidāḥ, xiii, 116, 18, and R. iv, 18, 40, respectively. The law is laid down

of this is good sense, but it does not save the teacher from the weakness of advancing two excuses, and thus betraying the fact that the whole ahiṅsā received from Buddhism and half accepted, is a late modification of the practice of the model heroes, who disregard the real ahiṅsā. Yudhiṣṭhira says frankly that he likes meat, and Bhīṣma agrees that it is a most pleasant and strengthening food; but he says that those who indulge in it go to hell, and then explains that warriors may practise hunting for the reasons given above. It is no wonder that the model meat-eating hero says "my mind is befuddled on this point." Formal Brahmanic law accounts hunting one of the four worst vices a king may have.

Such contradictions are not those of a "great-hearted poet" who scorns the narrowness of accuracy. Of this latter class of contradictions the poem is full. The Hindu Homer nods continually. He forgets that his puppet is addressing Bhīṣma and makes him use the customary vocative, Yudhiṣṭhira, because the latter is his ordinary dummy, iii, 82, 64; 85, 111. He says that even a wise man who sells soma goes to hell, and that the sale of soma by one who is wise is no fault, xiii, 101, 12 ff., xii, 34, 31. His gods have no shadows in a well-known passage of Nala, but elsewhere "the gods' vast shad-

in Manu, vii, 50. The whole of xiii, 115 and 116 is an awkward attempt to unite hunting-morality with non-injury, na ca doṣo 'tra vidyate (Rāma), bhuñjan na duṣyati (M.). Rāma goes so far as to say that to kill a monkey is no crime, for the reasons given above, a peculiarly unbrahmanic argument. Due to the influence of Buddhism sporadically represented is also the passage so similar to the Dhammapada (Dh. P. 385, tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam, and 393, yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca, so sukhī so ca brāhmaṇo) in iii, 216, 14–15, yas tu çūdro dame satye dharme ca satatotthitaḥ tam brāhmaṇam aham manye vṛttena hi bhaved dvijaḥ, and the parallel passage in xiii, 143, 46 ff., which declares that a Çūdra not only may become a saṁskṛto dvijaḥ hereafter, but that he should be revered, sevyaḥ, like a regenerate person, if he is "pure of heart and of subdued senses," since "not birth, nor sacrament, nor learning, nor stock (santatiḥ) make one regenerate, but only conduct" is the cause of regeneracy (dvijatvasya vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam). We have from Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras a pretty clear idea of what Brahmanism taught in regard to the Çūdra. But it never taught this even in the Upanishads. It is pure Buddhism, taught as Brahmanism.

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ows" are seen, ix, 37, 9. His saints are stars, but again only "like stars," and finally "not stars," iii, 25, 14; 261, 13; xii, 245, 22; 271, 25, etc. I lay as little weight on such contradictions as would any one familiar with the history of literature, and it is a mere travesty to say that to this class belong such fundamental differences as those which are characteristic of the precept and practice of the epic. No poem, composed to teach certain doctrines would admit as its most virtuous characters those who disregarded these doctrines systematically.

Whether the fact that only the pseudo-epic puts the Atharva-Veda first in the list of Vedas be worthy of consideration or not, it has an interesting parallel in the fact that only the pseudo-epic places the Atharvan priest before the others. In early works the Ācārya, who taught gratis all the Vedas, is declared to be worth ten Upādhyāyas, Vas. xiii, 48; iii, 21–22; Manu, ii, 140–145. This Upādhyāya is the direct etymological ancestor of the modern ojha, wizard. In ancient times he was a sub-teacher, who taught for a livelihood one part of the Veda and Vedāṅga, and he is identified in the epic with the Purohita, who, as Professor Weber has shown, is essentially an Atharva-Veda priest,[1] or magic-monger, whom seers regard as contemptible.[2] The pseudo-epic inverts the ancient ratio and makes the Upādhyāya worth ten Ācāryas, xiii, 105, 14–45.

[1] One example of magic recorded in the epic is particularly interesting, as it is referred to the Kāulika-çāstra, or left-hand cult, and is a parallel to the practice recorded in Theocritus' second idyll. It is called chāyopasevana or shadow-cult, and consists in making an image of an enemy and sticking pins into it to cause his death, iii, 32, 4.

[2] The Jātakas, too, regard the Purohita as a mere magic-monger, though they call him also ācariya, Fick, Sociale Gliederung, p. 110. On the Purohita Upādhyāya, see the story of Marutta, xiv, 6, 7 ff. Here (and in xiii, 10, 36) the office is hereditary. The king in the former passage insists that his family Purohita shall serve him with an incantation, but the priest tells him he is engaged elsewhere, and says "Go and choose some one else as your Upādhyāya." So in i, 3, 11 ff., where a proper Purohita is sought "to kill bad magic" and is installed as Upādhyāya. On his practical importance and honors, compare i, 183, 1, 9; 6–7; v, 126, 2; 127, 25; ix, 41, 12. On the contempt with which he is regarded, xiii, 10, 36; 94, 33; 135, 11.

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The epic in its present form is swollen with many additions, but they are all cast into the shade by the enormous mass added bodily to the epic as didactic books, containing more than twenty thousand stanzas. I have elsewhere fully explained[1] the machinery by which this great appendix was added to the original work through suspending the death of the narrator, and shown that there are many indications left in the epic pointing to the fact that the narrator in the original version was actually killed before he uttered a word of the appendix. As this one fact disposes of the chief feature of that theory of the epic which holds that the work was originally what it is to-day, and as no sufficient answer has been given to the facts adduced, there can be no further question in regard to the correctness of the term pseudo-epic as applied to these parts of the present poem.[2] There has been, so far as I know, no voice heard in favor of the so-called synthetic theory in regard to the nature of these late books, except certain utterances based apparently on a misconception. Thus it has been said, I think, by Professor Oldenburg, that the discovery of the lotus-stalk tale among the early Buddhistic legends tends to show that the epic book where it occurs is antique.[3] On this point this is to be said: No one has ever denied that there are early legends found in the late parts of the epic; but the fact that this or that legend repeated in the pseudo-epic is found in other literature, no matter how old, does nothing toward proving either the antiquity of the book as a whole, which is just what the "synthetic" method contends for, or the antiquity of the epic form of the legend. The story of the Deluge, for example, is older than any Buddhistic monument; but this does not prove that the epic version in the third book is old. The same is true of the

[1] Am. Journ. Phil., xix, p. 7 ff.

[2] In this view I am glad to see that Professor Jacobi, in the review cited above, fully agrees. So also M. Barth, Journal des Savants, 1897, p. 448.

[3] I am not sure that I have here cited the well-known Russian savant correctly, as I have seen only a notice of his paper; but I believe the essential point is as given above. The Lotus-Theft, however, perhaps the same story, is alluded to as early as Ait. Br. v. 30.

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first book, where the pāurāṇī kathā of Khāṇḍava, for example, is a justifiable and instructive title, set as it is in a late book. A special "ancient tale" is just what it is; intruded awkwardly into the continuous later narration, 223, 14–16, but still bearing traces of its heterogeneous character, as I have shown elsewhere.[1] Knowing, as we do, the loose and careless way in which epic texts have been handed down (compare the way in which appear the same passages given in different editions of the same epic or in both epics), and the freedom with which additions were made to the text, we are in such cases historically justified in saying only that certain matter of the epic stands parallel to certain Bhāṣya matter or Buddhistic matter. A tale is found in the epic. Its content is pictured on a stone or found in different form in a Jātaka. What possible guarantee have we that the epic form of the tale is as old as the Jātaka, still less that it is as old as the stone, least of all that the book in which the epic tale appears must as a whole be antique? Only paucity of solid data could make eminent scholars build structures on such a morass.

Having already given an example or two of late features in the pseudo-epic, I would now point to some of the characteristic marks of the later poem in other regards. Midway in the development of the epic stands the intrusion of the fourth book, where to fill out an extra year, not recognized in the early epic, the heroes live at court in various disguises. Here the worship of Durgā is prominent, who is known by her Puranic title, mahiṣāsuranāçinī, iv, 6, 15, whose "grace gives victory," ib. 30 (though after the intrusion of the hymn nothing further is heard of her). The Durgā here depicted bears a kheṭaka (as she does when the same hymn is repeated in vi, 23, 7), iv, 6, 4. This word for shield amid innumerable passages describing arms, is unknown in the epic except in connection with Durgā, but it is found in post-epical literature. It stands in the same historical position as does the epithet just mentioned. In these cases we have

[1] Bhārata and Great Bhārata, p. 15.

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general evidence of the lateness of the book as well as of the hymn to Durgā. Matter and metre go hand in hand.

A very striking example is given further in the show of arms which are described in this book. Although Arjuna is still a young man, yet, when the exhibitor comes to show his bow, Gāṇḍīva, he says "And this is the world-renowned bow of the son of Pṛthā, which he carried for five-and-sixty years" iv, 43, 1–6. Nothing could be plainer than this passage. The exhibition of arms was composed when the later poet had in mind the actual number of years the hero carried the bow according to the epic story. He forgot that he was composing a scene which was to fit into the hero's young manhood and not into the end of his life. In iv, 71, 15 Arjuna is recognized as still a "dark-featured youth," [1] and some time after this scene it is expressly stated that it was even then only thirty-three years since the time when Arjuna got the bow, v, 52, 10 (referring to the Khāṇḍava episode, i, 225).[2]

While it is obvious to one who is willing to examine the

[1] Here there is another inconsistency. In iv, 44, 20, instead of being a çyāmo yuvā as in 71, 15, he is called Arjuna because of his white steeds and complexion, "which is rare on earth," where the "white" complexion matches steeds and deeds, "pure (white)." In v, 59, 10, Arjuna is also dark.

[2] According to v, 82, 40, and 90, 47 and 70, respectively, the time from the exile to the battle is thirteen years past ("this is the fourteenth"). Ignoring the discrepancy between twelve and thirteen years of exile, we must allow at least twenty-nine years for Arjuna to live before the Khāṇḍava incident, which, added to thirty-three, makes sixty-four, which would be Arjuna's age when "a youth," before the war begins! If, however, we overlook the statement of v, 52, 10, and add the years of exile to twenty-nine, we still get forty-odd years as his life-limit when he has carried the bow sixty-five years. It must be remembered that Arjuna was twenty-four years in exile, twelve years before the dicing and twelve or thirteen after it, and that Abhimanyu was sixteen when the war broke out (forty-four years for Arjuna if he won Drāupadī when he was sixteen, and he could not have been twenty years older at that time). The synthesist may say "How narrow! Poets do not regard such discrepancies," but even poets are generally aware that a hero less than fifty cannot have carried a bow for more than sixty years, especially when he got it at the age of forty or thereabouts! Krishna dies in the thirty-sixth year after the war (xi, 25, 44), which should make Arjuna about thirty at the beginning of the war. This throws a side-light on the intrusion of the twelve-years exile as a brahmacārin, spoken of above.

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epic with careful analysis that the Gītā and the thirteenth book, for example, are purely priestly products, and that one of them is on the whole as early as the other on the whole is late,[1] it is not easy to decide what is the relation between these great groups of verses and the heroic epic, with which neither has any inner connection. Nevertheless, although there can be as a result of the inquiry only the historical probability usual in answering the problems of ancient literature, and not such a mathematical quod erat demonstrandum as the synthesist demands, we are not wholly at a loss to reply to this question. In the first place we have a very instructive analogy in the intrusion into both epic texts of an incongruous didactic chapter found both in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, which bears on its face evidence of its gradual expansion. But even without this evidence it will, I think, be clear even to the synthesist that the same chapter cannot have arisen independently in both epics; so that in this instance we have a plain case of the dynamic intrusion into an epic text of foreign didactic material.[2]

Again, the presence of a huge volume of extraneous additions, containing both legends and didactic stuff, now tagged on to the epic as its nineteenth book and recognized in the last part of the epic itself, is an object-lesson in dynamic expansion which in itself shows how the pseudo-epic may with perfect regard to historic probability be supposed to have been added to the epic proper. The Rāmāyaṇa too is instructive, as it shows that whole chapters have been interpolated, as admitted by its commentator. The great epic itself admits that there is a difference between the main epic and the episodes, in saying that the former is only one-fourth of the whole, and relegating seventy-six of its hundred thousand stanzas to the domain of the episodic epic.[3]

[1] Compare the chapter on metres.

[2] This chapter is the Kaccit section ii, 5 and R. ii, 100, previously referred to, discussed in detail in AJP. xix, 147 ff.

[3] As an interesting example of the growth of Sanskrit popular poems, Mr. Grierson informs me that there is extant a vṛddha or bṛhad Vishnu Purāṇa, which contains large additions to the received text.

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That the priests developed the epic for their own interests, goes without saying; hence the long chapters of priestly origin on the duty of charity — to priests. That they added legends has already been shown, and the metre still attests the approximate age of a Nala or a Sulabhā episode. But besides didactic and legendary masses, it was necessary, in order to popularize the poem, to keep some sort of proportion between the tale and its tumors. Hence the fighting episodes were increased, enlarged, rewritten, and inserted doubly, the same scene and description occurring in two different places. For this reason, while there is an appreciable difference in the metre of the different episodes which were inserted whole, the fighting scenes are chiefly of one çloka-type, — a type later than that of some of the episodes, but on a par with that of the later didactic and narrative insertions.

Whether the original tale was occupied with the Pandus or not, the oldest heroes are not of this family, and the old Vedic tradition, while it recognizes Bhāratas and Kurus, knows nothing about Pandus. The Kuru form of epic may perhaps be preserved in the verse (restored) of one of the oldest Upanishads, Chānd. Up. iv, 17, 9:

> yato yata āvartate tad tad gacchati mānavaḥ
> Kurūn açvā 'bhirakṣati,

a gāthā restored by omitting an evident interpolation.[1] The style is like the usual epic turn, e. g., R. vi, 106, 22,

> yena yena ratho yāti tena tena pradhāvati.

Nevertheless, a Pandu epic of some sort existed as early as the third century B. C., as is shown by the testimony of Pāṇini and the Jātakas (which may indeed give testimony for an era even later than the third century), though in the latter literature the epic story is not presented as it is in our epic. This takes us from the form to the date of the Mahābhārata.

[1] Compare Müller, SBE. i, p. 71. See also the Sūtra verse on the Kurus' defeat, cited by Professor Ludwig, Abh. Böhm. Ges. 1884, p. 5.

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CHAPTER SIX.

DATE OF THE EPIC.

FIRST, to define the epic. If we mean by this word the beginnings of epic story, as they may be imagined in the "circling narration," in the original Bhāratī Kathā, or in the early mention of tales of heroes who are also epic characters, the time of this epic poetry may lie as far back as 700 B. C. or 1700 B. C., for aught we know. There are no further data to go upon than the facts that a Bhārata is mentioned in the later Sūtra, that the later part of the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the "circling narration," and that ākhyāna, stories, some in regard to epic personages, told in prose and verse, go back to the early Vedic period.[1] We must be content with Weber's conservative summary: "The Mahābhārata-saga (not the epic) in its fundamental parts extends to the Brāhmaṇa period."[2]

If, on the other hand, we mean the epic as we now have it, a truly synthetical view must determine the date, and we shall fix the time of the present Mahābhārata as one when the sixty-four kalās were known, when continuous iambic pādas were written, when the latest systems of philosophy were recognized, when the trimūrti was acknowledged, when there were one hundred and one Yajur Veda schools, when the sun was called Mihira, when Greek words had become familiar,

[1] On the early prose-poetic ākhyāna of the Vedic and Brahmanic age, compare the essays by von Bradke, Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxxvi, p. 474 ff.; and Oldenberg, ib. xxxvii, p. 54 ff., and xxxix, p. 52 ff. Ballad recitations, akkhāna, are mentioned in early Buddhistic works, which we may doubtfully assign, as Professor Rhys Davids does undoubtingly, to the fifth century B. C.

[2] Episches im Vedischen Ritual, p. 8: Die Mbhārata-Sage reicht somit ihrer Grundlage nach in die Brāhmaṇa Periode hinein.

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and the Greeks were known as wise men, when the eighteen islands and eighteen Purāṇas were known, when was known the whole literature down to grammars, commentaries, Dharmaçāstrās, granthas, pustakas, *written* Vedas, and complete MSS. of the Mahābhārata including the Harivaṅça. But this is a little too much, and even the inconsistent synthesist, who draws on a large vituperative thesaurus whenever another hints at intrusions into the epic, may well be pardoned for momentarily ceasing to be synthetic and exclaiming with reason Da liegt doch die Interpolation vor Augen![1]

That the complete Mahābhārata, for the most part as we have it to-day, cannot be later than the fourth or fifth century of our era, follows from the fact, brought out first by Professor Bhandārkār and then by Professor Bühler, that it is referred to as a Smṛti in inscriptions dated not much later than this, while by the fifth century at least it was about as long as it is now.[2] But we may go further back and say with comparative certainty that, with the exception of the parts latest added, the introduction to the first book and the last book, even the pseudo-epic was completed as early as 200 A. D. For the Roman denarius is known to the Harivaṅça and the Harivaṅça is known to the first part of the first book and to the last book (implied also in the twelfth book); hence such parts of these books as recognize the Harivaṅça must be later than the introduction of Roman coins into the country (100–200 A. D.); but though coins are mentioned over and over,[3] nowhere, even in the twelfth and thirteenth books, is the denarius alluded to.

[1] Genesis des Mahābhārata, p. 129:

[2] Quite important, on the other hand, is the fact recently emphasized by Dr. Cartellieri, WZ. xiii, p. 69, 1899: "Für Subandhu und Bāṇa war das Mahābhārata . . . kein dharmaçāstra, sondern ein Kāvya," which the poem itself proclaims itself to be, i, 1, 61.

[3] The money recognized is gold and silver "made and unmade" and niṣkas, though chests of precious metal are mentioned and a great deal of money is found when excavating for treasure (perhaps near Taxila). When the realm is prosperous the soldier's pay is "not copper." For references to money, coins, etc., see ii, 61, 2, 8, 20–30; iii, 15, 22; 255, 17; iv, 18, 18; 22, 10; 38, 43; xii, 328, 46 (threefold test of gold); xiv, 65, 20 (amount of treasure). On the

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Another interesting item is contributed by the further negative evidence afforded in the matter of copper-plate grants. Gifts to priests are especially urged in the Anuçāsana, and the gift of land above all is praised in the most extravagant terms. We know that by the second century of our era, and perhaps earlier, such gifts to priests were safeguarded by copper-plate grants, bearing the technical name of paṭṭa (paṭa) or tāmrapaṭṭa, and elaborate instructions for their making are given in the law-book of Nārada and Vishnu, while they are mentioned in the code of Yājñavalkya, but not before; for Manu, though he mentions the boundary-line being "recorded," nibaddha, has no suggestion of plate-grants. The epic, however, at least the pseudo-epic, speaks of writing down even the Vedas, and recognizes rock-inscriptions, but in the matter of recorded grants to priests says nothing at all; much less does it recognize such a thing as a tāmrapaṭṭa. The only terms used are parigraha and agrahāra, but the latter, which is very rare, is never used in the sense of a land-grant, though grāmāgrahāra occurs once in the later epic, xv, 14, 14. Even the general çāsana is never so employed.[1] It is true that this negative evidence does not prove the epic to have been completed before the tāmrapaṭṭa was known; but on the other hand, it is unlikely, were the tāmrapaṭṭa the usual means of clinching a bhūmidāna when the Anuçāsana was composed, that this mode would have passed unnoticed,

conquest of Takṣaçilā, see i, 3, 20. According to ii, 61, 20, the soldier's pay is "a thousand a month," here presumably copper.

[1] Legal documents appear first in Vas. Dh. S., xvi, 10, 15, under the name lekhita. Probably the first deeds were written on cloth or boards, phalaka, as a board-copy precedes the rock-inscription, ASWI., iv, p. 102. The epic has *picture*-paṭa, as in xv, 32, 20, dadṛçe citram paṭagataṁ yathā (āçcarya-bhūtam) and often. Rock-inscriptions are mentioned *only* in xiii, 139, 43, ciraṁ tiṣṭhati medinyāṁ çāile lekhyam ivā 'rpitam. Written Vedas are alluded to *only* ib. 23, 72. Seals are used as passports, iii, 15, 19. Compare also ii, 55, 10, na lekhyaṁ na ca mātṛkā; v, 148, 23, citrakāra ivā 'lekhyaṁ kṛtvā; ib. 189, 1, "lekhya and other arts;" vii, 99, 7, nāmāṅkitāḥ (compare above, p. 205), of arrows. The conjunct gaṇakā lekhakāḥ occurs only in xv, 14, 8, and in the verse of the Kaccit section, ii, 5, 72, which is a subsequent addition even to this late chapter; AJP., xix, p. 149.

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and we may conclude that the gift-sections of this book were at least as old as the oldest copper-plate grants to priests.[1]

The time of the whole Mahābhārata generally speaking may then be from 200–400 A. D. This, however, takes into account neither subsequent additions, such as we know to have been made in later times, nor the various recastings in verbal form, which may safely be assumed to have occurred at the hands of successive copyists.

For the terminus a quo, the external[2] evidence in regard to the Pandu epic, Mahābhārata, though scanty, is valuable. It shows us first that the Mahābhārata is not recognized in any Sanskrit literary work till after the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, and only in the latest Sūtras, where it is an evident intrusion into the text. For the Gṛhya Sūtras belong to the close of the Sūtra period, and here the words Bhārata and Mahābhārata occur in a list of authors and works as substitutes for the earlier mention of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in the same

[1] The verse xii, 56, 52, which the author of Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, p. 187, adduces to prove that written deeds were known, is given by him without the context. When this is examined it is found that the verse refers not to land but to a king's realm. Neither does the text nor the commentator necessarily (as asserted, loc. cit.) make it refer to land-grants. The word used is viṣaya, a king's realm or country (as in xiv, 32, 8) and the poet says that ministers who are given too much liberty "rend the king's realm by counterfeits" (or falsifications). The situation and the analogy of 59, 49, and 69, 22, and 100, 6, where general deceit and dissension are the means employed to destroy a realm, make it most probable that the word pratirūpaka is used here to distinguish the forged laws and edicts of the usurping ministers from the true laws which the helpless king would enact. Such suppression of the king and substitution of false edicts are thoroughly Oriental, and may easily be illustrated by the use of this very word, pratirūpaka, in the Lotus of True Law, where pratirūpaka means just such "false laws" substituted for the real king's true laws (iii, 22; SBE., xxi, p. 68, note, with Iranian parallel). The commentator says "corrupt the country by false edict-documents," that is, he gives a general application to the words, which may be interpreted as referring to land-grants, but this is not necessary. Possible would be the later law-meaning of frauds of any kind, perhaps counterfeit money. Certain it is that the passage is not "a direct proof for forged documents," still less for "false documents by means of which any one gets land."

[2] Cis-indic evidence is negative and without weight. Megasthenes, c. 300 B. C., has left no fragment on Hindu epics, and the source of Dio Chrysostomos (100 A. D.), who mentions a Hindu Homer, is unknown.

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place, so recent a substitution in fact that some even of the latest of these Sūtras still retain Itihāsa and Purāṇa. But when the words do actually occur they are plainly additions to the earlier list. Thus in Çāṅkhāyana iv, 10, 13, the list is Sumantu, Jāimini, Vāiçampāyana, Pāila, the Sūtras, the Bhāṣya, Gārgya, etc., with no mention of the epic. But the Āçvalāyana text, iii, 4, 4, inserts the epic thus: Sumantu, Jāimini, Vāiçampāyana, Pāila, the Sūtras, the Bhāṣya, *the Bhārata, the Mahābhārata, dharmācāryas, Jānanti, Bāhavi*, Gārgya, etc. The next step is taken by the Çāmbavya text, which does not notice the Bhārata and recognizes only the Mahābhārata (whereas some texts make even the Āçvalāyana Sūtra omit Mahābhārata altogether, reading Bhārata-dharmācāryāḥ). When it is remembered that these and other lists of literature are not uncommon in the Sūtras, and that nowhere do we find any other reference to the Mahābhārata, it becomes evident that we have important negative testimony for the lateness of the epic in such omission, which is strengthened by the evidently interpolated mention of the poem, withal in one of the latest Sūtras.[1]

Patañjali, it may be admitted, recognizes a Pandu epic in the verse, asidvitīyo 'nusasāra Pāṇḍavam, and in his account of the dramatic representation of the sacred legend, indissolubly connected with the tale.[2] This takes us at farthest back to the second century; but this date (p. 56) is doubtful.

Pāṇini knows the names of the epic heroes, and recognizes the Arjuna-Krishna cult in giving a derivative meaning "worshipper of Arjuna" (Krishna). He also, which is more important, recognizes the name Mahābhārata. It cannot reasonably be claimed, I think, that this name does not refer to the epic. It stands, indeed, beside mahā-Jābāla, and might (as masculine) be supposed from this circumstance to mean "the

[1] That these lists, anyway, are not of cogent historical value, has lately been emphasized by Dr. Winternitz in his last review of Dahlmann. They certainly cannot help in dating the epic before the fourth century. The intrusion of the genus itihāsa-purāṇa into such lists is illustrated even in the Upanishads. Compare Muṇḍ. Up. i, 5, with the note at SBE., xv, p. 27.

[2] Compare Weber, IS., i, pp. 147–149; xiii, pp. 356-357.

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great descendant of Bharata," yet not only do other words in the list show that this is not necessary, but further, there is no instance, either in the epic itself or in outside literature, where Mahābhārata means a man, or where it does not mean the epic. In this particular, therefore, as it gives me pleasure to state, I believe that the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann is right, and that Pāṇini knew an epic called the Mahābhārata. That he knew it as a Pandu epic may reasonably be inferred from his mentioning, e. g., Yudhiṣṭhira, the chief hero of the epic.[1]

But no evidence has yet been brought forward to show conclusively that Pāṇini lived before the third century B. C.

Again, it is one thing to say that Pāṇini knew a Pandu Mahābhārata, but quite another to say that his epic was our present epic. The Pandu epic as we have it represents a period subsequent not only to Buddhism 500 B. C., but to the Greek invasion 300 B. C. Buddhistic supremacy already decadent is implied by the passages (no synthesist may logically disregard them) which allude contemptuously to the eḍūkas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in iii, 190, 65, "They will revere eḍūkas, they will neglect the gods;" ib. 67, "the earth shall be piled with eḍūkas,[2] not adorned with god-houses." With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, cāturmahārājika, in xii, 339, 40, and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book. More important than this evidence, however, which from the places where it is found may all belong to the recasting of the epic, is the architecture,[3] which is of stone and metal and

[1] He mentions him not as a Pandu but only as a name, like Gaviṣṭhira; to distinguish the name from the expression (e. g. R. vi, 41, 65) yudhi sthiraḥ, I presume.

[2] Lassen, loc. cit., p. 490. So, iii, 188, 56, vihāra; 49, pāṣaṇḍa; 67, seven suns; all found in one place (p. 88). See final notes.

[3] Buddhistic buildings with wooden fences and walls of brick and stone are alluded to in Cull. vi, 3, 8. In connection with this subject it must be remembered that even the late Gṛhya Sūtras in giving directions for house-building know only wooden thatched houses. The Greek account states that the Hindus used only mud, wood, and brick. This makes it improbable that wood architecture had almost disappeared in the third century.

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is attributed in all the more important building operations to the demon Asura or Dānava Maya, who, by his magic power,[1] builds such huge buildings as are described, immense moated palaces with arches and a roof supported by a thousand pillars. There is in India no real architecture that goes back of the Buddhistic period, and of both Buddhistic and Jain architecture the remains are distinctly influenced by Greek models.[2]

The Greeks are described as a western people (northwestern, with Kāmbojas), famous as fighters, wearing especially fine metal armor, and their overthrow is alluded to. The allies engaged in the epic battles are not only native princes but also Greek kings and Persians, who come out of the West to the war. In one passage the Greeks are described as "all-knowing," though I think this to be a late interpolated chapter.[3] But rāçi, iii, 190, 90, surely implies the zodiac.

But even if the passage mentioning all-knowing Greeks be an interpolation, the fact that the "Greeks," who must here be the real Greeks, bear the name Yavanas, shows that the

[1] So the great walls and palaces of Patna, which are especially mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya, are attributed by tradition to demoniac power (Fa-Hien), and the great architecture of Mathurā is also ascribed to superhuman power. On Maya's māyā, to which is attributed the most extensive building, compare ii, 1; v, 100, 1–2; viii, 33, 17 (Asura cities); R. iv, 51, 10. It is possible that the Benares ghâts are referred to in vii, 60, 1 (Gaṅgā) cayanāiḥ kāñcanāiç citā. "Golden" buildings may be only gilded wood (as they are to-day). Plated stone is mentioned in ii, 3, 32. Old Patna's noble "walls and palaces" are now unfortunately under the Ganges, in all probability.

[2] The cāitya and stūpa *mounds* (only R. has a cāityaprāsāda, v, 43, 3), like the caves, are not to be compared with roofed palaces of stone and marble. A statue of iron is mentioned, āyaso Bhīmaḥ, xi, 12, 15; iron bells in temples, xii, 141, 32. In ii, 4, 21–22, the Greeks are compared to Kālakeya Asuras. Here, along with the king of Kāmboja, is mentioned one king, (the) Kampana, "who was the only man that ever frightened, *kamp*, the Yavanas, (men) strong, heroic, and skilled in weapons. Like as Indra frightened the Kālakeya Asuras, so" (K. frightened the Greeks). Compare also Kālayavana who had the Garga-glory (p. 15) in xii, 340, 95, Weber, loc. cit.

[3] Compare ii, 14, 14; iii, 254, 18; xii, 101, 1 ff.; Ruling Caste, p. 305; viii, 45, 36, sarvajñā Yavanāḥ, in the expansion of the preceding vituperative section, where from hanta bhūyo bravīmi te, in 45, 1, Karṇa bursts out again in new virulence, which looks almost too much like a later adornment.

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Yavanas elsewhere mentioned[1] are also Greeks and not some other people exclusively. It is a desperate resort to imagine that, in all these cases, well-known names refer to other peoples, as the synthesist must assume in the case of the Greeks, Bactrians, Persians, Huns, and other foreigners mentioned frequently throughout the poem. A further well-known indication of Greek influence is given by the fact that the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas were united into one nation for the first time by the invasion of Alexander,[2] and that they appear thus united under the combined name kṣudraka-mālavās in the epic, ii, 52, 15. The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples, ii, 51, 17 (cannibals, Chinese, Greeks, Persians, Scythians, and other barbarians), and stand thus in marked contrast to the Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often; though in the account of Krishna killing the Yavana whose name was Kaserumat, iii, 12, 32, it has been suggested by Weber that the name was really of Latin origin. It is clear from this that, while the Greeks were familiar, the Romans were as yet but a name. Further, the distinct prophecy that "Scythians, Greeks, and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come" (kali-age), which occurs in iii, 188, 35, is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away. When this was written the peoples mentioned had already ruled Hindustan. If this were the only place where the names occurred, the Mārkāṇḍeya episode, it might be regarded as part of an interpolation in mass. But the people here described as foreign oppressors are all mentioned repeatedly as barbarians and warriors, associated generally, as in the passage just mentioned, with other peoples of the West, such as Abhīras and Kāmbojas. Thus in iii, 51, 23, "Singhalese, Barbaras and barbarians,[3]

[1] Yavanas or Yāunas (xii, 207, 42–3), i. e., Ionians. So Jacobi, loc. cit.

[2] Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii, pp. 169–171; Weber, Ind. Stud. xiii, p. 375.

[3] That is both the Hindu and native name for Ceylon, and the Greek and Hindu name for barbarian! Siṁhalān Barbarān Mlecchān ye ca Laṅkānivāsinah. The word barbarās (= *οἱ βάρβαροι*) occurs in both epics but not in literature of an earlier date. Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 237, note, calls attention

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and the inhabitants of Laṅkā" are grouped together, in contrast to the "Western realms, those of the Persians, Greeks, and Scythians" (with the folk of Kashmeer, Daradas, Kirātas, Huns, Chinese, Tuṣāras, Indus-dwellers, etc.). So in xii, 207, 43, opposed to sinners of the South, are the Northern sinners, Greeks (Yāunas), Kāmbojans, Kandahar-people (Gāndhāras), Kirātas and Barbaras, who are here said to be wandering over this earth from the time of the Tretā age, having customs like those of wild animals or of the lowest castes.

Such allusions as these can mean only this: the Pandu-Epic, in its present form, was composed after the Greek invasion.[1] I have suggested above that the form of the name Bactrian does not compel us to accept Professor Weber's conclusions in regard to the date of passages now containing this form. If this seems inconclusive, there is nothing for it but to refer the epic in its present form to a post-Christian era. But even otherwise, the presence of the Greeks and Bactrians as warriors and rulers in India cannot be explained out of the poem by a loose reference to the fact that India had heard of Yavanas before Alexander.

This brings us to another point of view. A stanza following the one last cited proclaims that "even Nārada recognizes Krishna's supremacy," an utterance[2] which points clearly to a comparatively recent belief in Krishna as All-god, a point long recognized. On the basis of the Arjuna cult implied by Pāṇini, the synthesist urges that the whole epic, in its present Smṛti form and with its belief in the all-godhead of the Krishna-Arjuna pair, is as old as the fifth century B. C. But even if an Arjuna cult were traced back to this date,

to this constant union of Greek with other Western peoples in other literature as well. The name was extended to Indo-Scythians and later even to Persians and Arabians. Weber, loc. cit.

[1] As has long ago been suggested, of the Greeks mentioned in the epic among the allied forces, Bhagadatta may be Apollodotus the founder of the Græco-Indian kingdom (160 B. C.). Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 204 ff. This Greek is especially mentioned not only as "ruler of the Yavanas," but as the friend of the epic hero's father, that is, as known to an older generation, ii, 14, 15; von Schroeder, Lit. und Cultur, p. 463 (with other references).

[2] Narado 'py atha Kṛṣṇasya param mene . . . çāçvatattvam, xii, 207, 48.

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there would still be no evidence in regard to the cult of the twain as All-god. And this is the claim of the present epic, except where, as in the case just cited, incredulity is involuntarily manifested or plainly stated (as in the reviling scene in Sabhā). The Gītā itself admits that those who worship Krishna as the All-god, or recognize him, are few in number: vāsudevaḥ[1] sarvam iti sa mahātmā sudurlabhaḥ, 7, 19; "Me (as All-god) in human form, not recognizing my godhead, fools despise," 9, 11. The Mahābhāṣya does not recognize Krishna as All-god, but as hero and demigod. The cult is growing even in the epic itself. So, too, no Smṛti[2] can be implied by Pāṇini's words.[3]

I come now to the testimony of Buddhistic literature. As said above, the oldest literature knows only ballad tales. It may be assumed that the Jātakas are older than Açvaghosa, who knows epic tales, but not always in epic form, and does not refer to the epic either by name or by implication, his general āgama being, as I have shown, a term used of any traditional literature, sacred or profane.[4] The Jātakas may

[1] Mathurā in the whole epic is the birthplace of Vāsudeva, who seems to herd his cattle there; while in the Mahābhāṣya it is bahu-Kurucarā Mathurā and the chief city of the Pañcālas, clearly the older view. See ii, 14, 34, 45 ff.; xii, 340, 90; i, 221, 46 (cows, māthuradeçyāḥ); IS. xiii, p. 379 ff.; on Krishna as *not* Vishnu in the Bhāṣya, ib., pp. 349, 353. In ii, 14, Krishna (as All-god?) "could not injure his foe even in three hundred years," 36 and 67.

[2] The state of mind that in the face of the "evidence" of Pāṇini can lead one to say *Pāṇini was acquainted with a Pandu-Mahābhārata peculiarly didactic* (Das Mbh. als Rechtsbuch, p. 155) is inconceivable. The whole "evidence" at its most evincing is that Paṇini knew a Mahābhārata in which the heroes were objects of such worship as is accorded to most Hindu heroes after death.

[3] So the later Rāmāyaṇa is turning into just such a moral and didactic work as the other epic. I have already instanced the intrusion of the Kaccit section. So Rāma, in vii, 55, 3, sets himself to telling homilies, with a familiar sound, *kathāṁ paramadharmiṣṭhāṁ* vyāhartum upacakrame (just as in xv, 29, 14, kathā divyā dharmiṣṭhāç cā 'bhavan, nṛpa); and R. ib. 37, 24, kathāḥ kathyante dharmasaṁyuktāḥ purāṇajñāir mahātmabhiḥ. In the same way, the late (gradual) identification of Rāma with Vishnu stands parallel to the change of the demigod Krishna to the All-god Vishnu, for Krishna is never mortal — there is no such antithesis — but he nevertheless is often not supreme god but only demigod in the epic.

[4] So of law-rules in epic language, e. g., çiṣṭāḥ çāstreṣv anāgatam vyavasyanty anu rājānaṁ dharmam, R. iii, 50, 9 (G. has nayaçāstreṣu).

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go back to the third or fourth century, or they may not, so far as their present form is concerned. At any rate, they show no knowledge of the epic as such. What they show (the material has been sufficiently collected by the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann) is that the epic characters were familiar and the story of the Pandus was known, although the characters do not occupy the position they do in the epic.[1] But no date of an epic, still less of our epic, can be established on casual references to the heroes of the epic found in literature the date of which is entirely uncertain. Perhaps it is negatively quite as significant that the Jātakas do not refer to the epic at all, but only to people mentioned in it.

The present epic, if it records anything historical, records the growth of a great power in Hindustan, a power that could not have arisen before Buddhistic supremacy without leaving a trace of the mighty name of Pandu in the early literature. There is no such trace. Moreover, even the idea of such a power as our epic depicts was unknown before the great empire that arose under Buddhism. For this reason it is impossible to explain the Pandu realm described in the epic as an allegory of the fifth century, for we cannot have an allegory in unknown terms. The Pandus, be it remembered, rule all India, and the limits of their empire, as geographically defined in the epic, far surpass the pre-Açokan imagination, as it is reflected in the literature. Even Manu has no idea of an empire. His king is a petty rāj.[2]

Before the Mahābhārata there were tales of Kurus and Bharats known to antiquity. Incongruous as the name appears to be, Bhārata yet designates the Pandu epic. How

[1] The latter point proves nothing, for even in Sanskrit literature, as I pointed out long ago, the heroes of the two epics are mixed up confusedly, and we cannot suppose a Buddhist would be more careful than a Brahman in verifying references to Brahmanic literature.

[2] "Great kings" and "emperors" are indeed known even in pre-Buddhistic times, but what was the "empire" of any king before Açoka? Certainly not that of the Pandus. It is significant, in view of the great importance laid by some scholars on the cakravartin idea, that this word does not occur before the later Upanishads, although "great kings" are mentioned; nor is it an early epic phrase.

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the Pandus succeeded in attaching themselves to the tales which told of the old national heroes is unknown. All theories and hypotheses of development are pure guesswork. What we know is that the tales which told of Kurus and Bhāratas became the depository of the Pandus, who appear to have substituted themselves for Bhāratas[1] and may in fact have been a branch of the tribe, which from a second-rate position raised itself to leadership. There is a theory that the epic story has been inverted, in favor of the Pandus; there is another that it is what it pretends to be, the strife of Pandus, calling themselves Bhāratas, with the scions of the old Kurus. With the former, that so persuasively advanced by Professor Holtzmann, I have never been able to agree; but my own theory I have from the beginning put forward merely as one of probable epic growth.[2]

While, however, it is necessary to recognize the doubtful character of speculation in regard to the exact course of epic development, it is not desirable to blink the truths that are made clear in view of the facts we actually possess, the evidence of remaking, the base of the poem resting on old Kurus and Bhāratas, the present structure of Pandu material; the age of the Pandu poem as a whole (synthetically considered), evinced inter alia by its recognition of late philosophical writers such as Pañcaçikha (c. 100 A.D.), by a growing modernness of metre, by acquaintance with Greeks and Greek art, etc.

Putting these facts together with those gleaned from other works than the epic itself, we may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages: Bhārata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B.C. A Mahābhārata tale

[1] The Bhāratī Kathā (never "Pandu-tale"), as the received name of the epic, certainly favors this view.

[2] This I was careful to point out at its first presentation in my Ruling Caste (now nearly fifteen years ago) with *mays* and *mights* and *seems*, and other useful words. As a theory I still consider this the best yet offered, but I have never held it to be demonstrable, only more or less probable, in outline and detail respectively.

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with Pandu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diaskeuasts, Krishna as a demigod (no evidence of didactic form or of Krishna's divine supremacy), 400–200 B. C. Remaking of the epic with Krishna as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of Puranic material old and new; multiplication of exploits, 200 B. C. to 100–200 A. D. The last books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anuçāsana separated from Çānti and recognized as a separate book, 200 to 400 A. D.; and finally 400 A. D. + : occasional amplifications, the existence of which no one acquainted with Hindu literature would be disposed antecedently to doubt, such as the well known addition mentioned by Professor Weber, Lectures on Literature, p. 205; and perhaps the episode omitted by Kṣemendra,[1] Indian Studies, No. ii, p. 52.

In the case of these more precise dates there is only reasonable probability. They are and must be provisional till we know more than we know now. But certain are these four facts:

1, That the Pandu epic as we have it, or even without the masses of didactic material, was composed or compiled after the Greek invasion; 2, That this epic only secondarily developed its present masses of didactic material; 3, That it did not become a specially religious propaganda of Krishnaism (in the accepted sense of that sect of Vaiṣṇavas) till the first century B. C.; 4, That the epic was practically completed by 200 A. D.; 5, That there is no "date of the epic" which will cover all its parts (though handbook makers may safely assign it in general to the second century B. C.).

The question whether the epic is in any degree historical

[1] We cannot, however, be too cautious in accepting the negative evidence of one mañjari, or précis, as proof that the original work lacked a certain passage. I dissent altogether from the sweeping statement, made loc. cit., p. 27: "The importance of the condensations lies in the fact that by means of them we are enabled to determine the state of these works (epics, etc.) in his (Kṣemendra's) time." Two or three compendia agreeing on one point of omission might "determine," but one résumé alone can only create a possibility, as in this case (p. 53 note).

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seems to me answerable, though not without doubt, and I cannot refrain from expressing an opinion on a point so important. As I have remarked above, there is no reflex of Pandu glory in Brahmanic literature before the third or fourth century. It is, further, impossible to suppose that during the triumph of Buddhism such a poem could have been composed for the general public for which it was intended. The metre of the poem shows that its present form is later than the epic form of Patañjali's epic verses, but this indicates simply recasting; so that a Pandu Mahābhārata may have existed previously, as implied by Pāṇini. But while a Buddhist emperor was alive no such Brahmanic emperor as that of the epic could have existed, no such attacks on Buddhism as are in the epic could have been made, and the epic of to-day could not have existed before the Greeks were personally familiar. In other words, granted a history, that history must have been composed at least as late as the history was possible. Pāṇini's allusions and those of Buddhistic writers show that the Pandus were known as heroes. It is, further, most improbable that the compilers, who made the poem represent Pandu virtues and victories, would have chosen them for this position had they been mythical. In their reassertion of Brahmanism they would have chosen rather the well-known ancient Brahmanic heroes of the older tale, Bhāratī Kathā; yet to appeal to the people something real and near was necessary. But while before the second century the conditions were lacking which could have produced the poem, with the second century they became possible;[1] and there was already the Pandu tribe

[1] As this book goes to press I receive Kirste's essay Zur Mahābhāratafrage, who says, p. 224, "It is incredible that the work could have been undertaken so long as a royal family favoring that sect (of Buddhists) reigned. This (state of affairs) suddenly changed when the Maurya dynasty (of Bṛhadratha) was overthrown by Puṣyamitra in 178 B. C., for the new ruler opposed the Buddhists." Professor Kirste thinks, indeed, that the polyandry of the heroes is not an historical trait, and gives a very ingenious explanation of it as a myth of divided divinity, which, however, scarcely seems to me probable. But I am glad to find my own suggestion, of the improbability of the anti-Buddhistic epic being cast in its present shape before the second century B. C., supported by this independent reference to actual historical data.

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with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bhāratas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type. In so far, then, as we may discern a historical germ in the midst of poetic extravagance, it would seem that the poem represents an actual legend of a real tribe, and in so far as that legend persists in its adherence to polyandry as an essential part of the legend, a tribe which, like so many others in India, had been brahmanized and perhaps become allied by marriage to the old Bhārata tribe, whose legends were thus united with its own.

Finally, I would speak shortly of the poem as a literary product of India. In what shape has epic poetry come down to us? A text that is no text, enlarged and altered in every recension, chapter after chapter recognized even by native commentaries as prakṣipta, in a land without historical sense or care for the preservation of popular monuments, where no check was put on any reciter or copyist who might add what beauties or polish what parts he would, where it was a merit to add a glory to the pet god, where every popular poem was handled freely and is so to this day. Let us think ourselves back into the time when the reciter recited publicly and dramatically; let us look at the battle scenes, where the same thing is repeated over and over, the same event recorded in different parts of the poem in slightly varying language. The Oriental, in his half-contemptuous admission of epic poetry into the realm of literature, knows no such thing as a definitive epic text. The Vedas and the classics are his only real care. A Bhāratavid in India is even now more scorned than honored.

If the epic as a whole belongs to no one era, and this remains an incontrovertible fact, it is then in the highest degree probable also that no one part of the whole can be assigned to a certain period. I mean, not only must we admit that old books contain more recent insets, as for example chapters five and eleven of book ii, and that late books contain old passages, as for example the rape of Subhadrā and the burning of Khāṇḍava in book i, or the lotus-theft in book

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xiii, but we must admit further that the smaller divisions, these special scenes themselves, have in all probability not remained untouched, but that the tale, the language, and the verse of the epic have been subjected to an evening process irregularly applied since first the poem was put together as a Mahābhārata; great liberty being taken with the poem both by reciters and copyists, the establishment of the text by commentaries (noticed as early as the introductory chapter of the poem itself) proving no bar to occasional alterations and additions. Such changes were not introduced of set purpose (or the metre would have been made more uniform), but incidentally and illogically. The same tale was told not in identical language but with slight variations; intrusions were not shunned; grammatical and metrical forms were handled freely, but with no thorough revision of form or sustained attempt at harmonizing incongruities of statement. It is for this reason that there is not a still sharper metrical line between old and new in the epic itself, and it is for this reason that the epic verses of the Mahābhāṣya are freer than those of the Mahābhārata. The former were fixed by their function as examples in a grammar; the latter were exposed to constant though sporadic modification, and appear to-day as they survive after having endured the fret and friction of innumerable reciters and pedantic purists. One by one, and here and there, the transmitters, working neither in concert nor continuously, but at haphazard and at pleasure, have trimmed this mighty pile into a shape more uniform, though they have not altogether hid its growth, except from eyes that, seeing the whole as a thing of power and beauty, are perhaps less apt to mark the signs of varying age.

But if this be so, it may be asked, and I think it will be asked, perhaps triumphantly, by those lacking in sobriety of judgment, what becomes of the results of the analysis of metres, of the discovery of late elements in this or that section? What do they signify?

They signify and proclaim that the Great Epic was completed in just the way the synthesist proclaims it was not

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completed. Pitched together and patched together, by the diaskeuasts and priests respectively, the older parts, though not free from rehandling, bear a general stamp of antiquity lacking in later parts. For this reason, the Gītā and Gambling scene are, as wholes, metrically and stylistically more antique than are the Anugītā and the extravaganzas in the battle-books; and for this reason, the pseudo-epic comes nearest in syntax and forms to the hybrid language that is preserved in literary monuments immediately preceding and following the Christian era. But it is true that no one can prove the relative antiquity of the Gītā and Gambling scene so absolutely as to prevent one devoid of historical sense from clinging to the notion that these parts of the epic are in origin synchronous with the pseudo-epic. Fortunately, however, the judgment of scholars is in general sane, and the determination of values may safely be left in their care.

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APPENDIX A.

PARALLEL PHRASES IN THE TWO EPICS.

[M. is prefixed to Mbh. references only where confusion with R. is possible.]

1, acireṇāi 'va kālena, ix, 2, 58; R. v, 26, 23; vi, 61, 20; acireṇa tu, R. ii, 80, 11.
atītāyām, No. 94.

2, atha dīrghasya kālasya, iii, 70, 1; v, 160, 20; R. iv, 9, 17; vii, 99, 14; atha dīrgheṇa kālenā, G. vi, 24, 3; R. vii, 24, 5, 72; tato dīrgheṇa kālena, M. ix, 1, 50; sa tu dīrgheṇa k., ib. 48; 36, 10; atha kālena mahatā, G. i, 40, 16 = R. 38, 19, v. l., atha dīrghena kālena; atha k. m., also G. i, 40, 22 = R., 38, 23, tataḥ kālena mahatā. See above, p. 271.
atha rātryām, No. 94.
athā 'nyad dhanur, No. 56, and No. 80.

3, anayad Yamasādanam, vi, 54, 81; vii, 19, 15; G. iii, 34, 31; 75, 28. See No. 225.

4, anastaṁgata āditye, vii, 145, 19; acc., G. v, 3, 41 (in R. iv, 67, 15, anastamitam).
anyat kārmukam, No. 80.
anyonyavadha°, No. 157.

5, abhidudrāva vegena, vi, 100, 49; 104, 34–35, etc.; R. vi. 69, 99; 76, 46. See No. 97.

6, abhivādaye tvā(m) bhagavan, iii, 207, 13; R. iii, 11, 72.

7, amṛṣyamāṇas taṁ ghoṣam (tat karma), etc., H. iii, 60, 3; R. vi, 67, 142; 69, 141, etc.

8, alātacakrapratimā(m), iv, 61, 9; R. iv, 46, 13; vi, 93, 28. The first and last refer to weapons, R. iv, 46, 13 to earth, pṛthivī, alātacakrapratimā dṛṣṭā goṣpadavat kṛtā.

9, alātacakravat sāinyaṁ tadā 'bhramata, viii, 81, 40; alātacakravac cakram bhramato 'rinirvāhaṇam (sic!) G. iv, 5, 25. Compare, of persons, vi, 59, 22; vii, 7, 53; xiv, 77, 30.

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10, avaplutya rathāt tūrṇam, vi, 94, 22; 96, 39; G. vi, 18, 47; avatīrya, G. vi, 36, 87; rathād avaplutya tataḥ, M. vi, 59, 99, etc. For other forms, see AJP. xix., p. 143.

11, avasīdanti, me prāṇāḥ, iv, 61, 12; pariṣīdanti me prāṇāḥ, G. vi, 82, 6 = R. 101, 6, avasīdanti gātrāṇi.

11 b, açokaḥ çokanāçanaḥ, iii, 64, 107; açokaḥ çokavardhanaḥ, R., iv, 1, 59.
açvānāṁ khura° No. 247.

12, astrāṇi vividhāni ca, vii, 7, 1; çastrāṇi, R. vi, 103, 29. The terminal is fixed, vasūni, vastrāṇi, bhāṇḍāni, etc., preceding, e. g., ix, 47, 24;
asmin hate, No. 328.
ākarṇa, No. 170.

13, ākrīḍa(m) iva Rudrasya ghnataḥ kālātyaye paçūn, vii, 19, 35; ākrīḍa iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paçūn, G. vi, 73, 38; ākrīḍabhūmiḥ kruddhasya Rudrasye 'va mahātmanaḥ, R. vi, 93, 35. Compare ix, 14, 18, Rudrasyā 'krīḍanaṁ yathā.

14, ākhyātum upacakrame, xviii, 5, 7; R. iii, 11, 10; iv, 8, 46; 52, 3; G. v, 66, 2, where R. 65, 2 has pravaktum upacakrame. Compare vaktum samupacakrame, xiii, 87, 2. The phrase is common in R.; rarer in M., owing to the use in the latter of the dramatic uvāca, extra metrum. Both epics have also the similar phrase vyāhartum upacakrame, e. g., xii, 350, 15; R. vi, 115, 1; vii, 51, 1. See No. 57.

15, ājaghāno 'rasi kruddhaḥ, vi, 61, 36; R. vi, 69, 152; 76, 29; passim in M. See l. c., No. 10, p. 142, and note to No. 35.

16, āditya iva tejasā, iii, 53, 2; R. vi, 55, 9; āditya iva tejasvī, R. v, 34, 28, metrical. See No. 176.

17, ālikhantam ivā 'kāçam, iv, 38, 3; R. vi, 99, 12.

18, āvarta iva saṁjajñe balasya mahato mahān, H. iii, 60, 4; G. vi, 32, 21; āvarta iva gāṅgasya toyasya, G. v, 50, 16; āsīd gāṅga ivā 'vartaḥ, M. vii, 36, 13.

19, āviṣṭā iva yudhyante, vi, 46, 3; āviṣṭā iva kruddhās te (cakrus tumulam uttamam), G. vi, 54, 64.

20, āçīviṣa iva kruddhaḥ, vii, 10, 31; R. v, 67, 7.
āsīt kila°, āsīc caṭacaṭā, etc., No. 334.

21, āsīd rājā Nalo nāma, iii, 53, 1; āsīd rājā Nimir nāma, R. vii, 55, 4. With Vīrasena-suto balī at the end of the first

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verse, compare Dyumatsenasuto balī, M. iii, 294, 18; suto balī, R. iii, 12, 2; Ayodhyāyāṁ purā rājā Yuvanāçvasuto balī, R. vii, 67, 5; Prajāpatisuto balī, R. vii, 90, 23 (in G., 'bhavat).

22, iti me niçcitā matiḥ, iii. 78, 6; G. v, 8, 25 (R. v. l.); 68, 36 (R. v. l.).

23, ity āsīt tumulaḥ çabdaḥ, vi, 119, 19; ity evaṁ t. ç., G. vi, 19, 4 (R., evaṁ sutumulaḥ çabdaḥ). Compare babhūva t. ç., M. vi, 56, 22, etc.; R. vi, 58, 17, etc.; saṁjajñe t. ç., M. vi, 46, 17, and l. c. No. 10, p. 144, ff. Compare Nos. 82–84.

24, idaṁ vacanam abravīt, iii, 69, 17, etc.; R. i, 26, 33; iv, 8, 1, etc. Sometimes tato for idam, ix, 3, 51 (= C. 176, idam). About forty times in Rām., unnumbered in Mbh. See No. 237.

25, Indradhvaja ivo 'cchritaḥ (tato nipatito bhūmāu), ix, 17, 53 and often; Indraketuṁ ivo 'cchritam, ix, 4, 16; Çakradhvaja ivo 'cchritaḥ, R. v, i, 59. Compare utthāpyamānaḥ Çakrasya yantradhvaja ivo 'cchritaḥ, R. ii, 77, 9; mahāmerum ivo 'cchritam, ix, 37, 20; ubhāv Indradhvajāv iva (petatuḥ), ix, 12, 24; dhvajāv iva mahendrasya (nipetatuḥ), R. vi, 45, 17–18; jagāma vasudhāṁ kṣipraṁ Çakrasye 'va mahādhvajaḥ, G. iii, 34, 25; apatad devarājasya muktaraçmir iva dhvajaḥ, R. iv, 17, 2; Indradhvaja ivo 'tsṛṣṭo yantranirmuktabandhavaḥ (papāta), M. vii, 93, 70; yantramukta iva dhvajaḥ (papāta), M. vii, 92, 72; yantracyuta iva dhvajaḥ (papāta), G. ii, 84, 8.

Indrāçani, No. 275.

25b, ihāi 'va prāyam āsiṣye, x, 11, 15; R. iv, 53, 19.

26, uttiṣṭha rājan kiṁ çeṣe, xi, 2, 2; G. vi, 95, 37; rājann uttiṣṭha kiṁ çeṣe, G. ii, 81, 10; uttiṣṭho 'ttiṣṭha, Gāndhāri, xi, 26, 1; uttiṣṭho 'ttiṣṭha, kim çeṣe, R. vi, 111, 81 (preceded by No. 45); uttiṣṭho 'ttiṣṭha, bhadraṁ te, M. i, 172, 4; R. i, 35, 2; preceded in Mbh. by uvāca madhuraṁ vākyam, with which compare ix, 36, 50, uvāca paruṣaṁ vākyam; ūcuḥ sumadhurāṁ vāṇīm, R. vii, 70, 1; bhadraṁ te being current ad nauseam in both epics.

uvāca . . . vākyam, No. 26.

27, ekāntabhāvopagatāḥ, xii, 337, 28; ekāntabhāvānugatāḥ, R. vii, 38, 5. In both, of the men in Çvetadvīpa, preceded

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in M. by tatra Nārāyaṇaparā mānavāç candravarcasaḥ; in R., by ananyamanaso nityaṁ Nārāyaṇaparāyaṇāḥ tadā rādhanasaktāç ca taccittās tatparāyaṇāḥ (ananyamanasaḥ is a Gītā phrase, 9, 13, bhajanty ananyamanasaḥ; 8, 14, ananyacetāḥ satatam).

28, etac chrutvā tu vacanam, vi, 48, 98; G. iv, 56, 19, and passim.

29, etat te kathitaṁ sarvam and (in prior pāda) etat te sarvam ākhyātam; ix, 46, 108; G. vi, 82, 167. In M. preceded by yan māṁ tvaṁ paripṛcchasi, as in xii, 334, 40; xiii, 14, 139, etc.

30, etasminn antare vīraḥ, vi, 48, 96, and often; R. iii, 30, 37; vi, 50, 7; vii, 28, 19; G. vi, 36, 99. The phrase here is etasminn antare, which is filled out with various words, as Rāmaḥ, R. vi, 111, 91; tatra or tasya (v. l.), R. vi, 92, 58; kruddhaḥ, R. vi, 100, 13; krodhāt, 102, 47. Compare also etasminn antare çūnye, M. vii, 17, 7; xii, 330, 1; cāi 'va, vii, 19, 38; çūraḥ, ix, 28, 17; G. vi, 32, 15, etc. A combination of this and the next (No. 31) is found in etasminn antare kāle, "in the meantime," R. vi, 20, 33.

31, etasminn eva kāle tu, like the last, a standing phrase, e. g., i, 149, 1; iii, 54, 13; 168, 13; 298, 1; v, 121, 9; vi, 74, 36; ix, 51, 25; xii, 328, 3, etc.; R. i, 9, 7; 33, 11; G. 21, 1, etc.

32, evam uktaḥ pratyuvāca, or tathe 'ty uktvā, vi, 59, 47; vii, 202 70; ix, 35, 68; G. vi, 36, 102. Compare evam astv iti (with pratyuvāca), ix, 48, 52; G. vi, 109, 18 (co 'vāca); (kṛtvā sa), ib. 82, 56.

33, kakṣam agnir iva jvalan, ix, 24, 62; kakṣeṣv agnir iva jvalan 4, 36 (C., kakṣe 'gnir iva saṁjvalan); vanāny agnis ivo 'tthitaḥ, R. vi, 66, 12; kakṣam agnir ivo 'tthitaḥ, G. v, 85, 24; kakṣeṣv iva hutāçanam, G. ii, 106, 25. Compare also (dahantam) kruddham agniṁ yathā vanam, M. vii, 21, 30; vanam agniri vāi 'dhitaḥ, R. ii, 63, 44, where G. 65, 39, has çuṣkaṁ kāṣṭham ivā 'nalaḥ, like R. v, 41, 11, çuṣkaṁ vanam ivā 'nalaḥ. The ivā 'nalaḥ ending is common to both epics, e. g., dahan kakṣam ivā 'nalaḥ, M. vii, 14, 1 (followed in 2 by sākṣād agnim ivo 'tthitam, C. vṛkṣam); tan me dahati gātrāṇi çuṣkavṛkṣam ivā 'nalaḥ, M. vi, 95, 7, etc. See also Nos. 75, 99, 117, 196, 226, 256, 291.

34, kaṅkapatrāir ajihmagāiḥ, vi, 103, 11 and often; R. vi, 52, 4.

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Frequently close together with svarṇa, rukma, or hema puṅkhāir ajihmagāiḥ, vi, 114, 11; vii, 18, 18, hema; G. vi, 19, 68. In G. vi, 20, 26, rukma° ajihmāgrāiḥ, metrical (v. l. in R.). The common terminal çarāir ajihmagāiḥ is sometimes inverted in jagatīs, as in G. iv, 30, 22, though the regular çloka order is also found in this jagatī metre, ib. 34, 34. See No. 234.

35, Kandarpa iva rūpeṇa, mūrtimān, iii, 53, 15; rūpavān . . . kandarpa iva mūrtimān, R. v, 34, 30. This with āditya iva tejasvī, is a description of Rāma, 28, as the two phrases, and also satyavādī (R. 29), here describe Nala.

36, kampayann iva medinīm, ii, 29, 7; viii, 34, 58; ix, 18, 26, etc.; kampayaṅç cā 'pi, ix, 30, 60; sa kampayann iva mahīm, iii, 78, 3; kampayann iva medinīm, G. vi, 37, 101; R. vi, 56, 13; 67, 115; kampayantī 'va, G. iii, 62, 31; kampayantī 'va parvatān, M. vii, 181, 11; cālayann iva medinīm, R. iii, 67, 13; dārayann iva, R. iv, 15, 5 (G. kampayann); dārayann iva parvatān, M. iv, 46, 21; nādayann iva medinīm, G. vi, 46, 91. pūrayann iva medinīm, M. iii, 73, 8 (pūrayanto diço daça, ix, 46, 77), etc., etc. For diço daça, see No. 114.

karaṁ kareṇa, No. 163.

karṇāyata, No. 170.

37, karmaṇā manasā vācā, iii, 65, 32, 41; ix, 50, 2; xii, 327, 34; manasā karmaṇā vācā cakṣusā ca, R. vii, 59, 1, 24. Compare Sprüche, 1,559 ff., 2,222; Dhammap. 391.

kalāṁ nā 'rhati, No. 196.

kalpyatām me rathaḥ, No. 230.

38, kaṣāyīkṛtalocanāḥ, °am, i, 102, 23; 131, 3; G. vi, 33, 17; 37, 68. In M., sakrodhāmarṣajihmabhrūḥ precedes in each instance. Compare Nos. 50, 51.

kasyā 'si. See above, p. 268.

39, kāñcanoṣṇīṣinas tatra vetrajharjharapāṇayaḥ, vi, 97, 33; kañcukoṣṇīṣinas tatra vetrajharjharapāṇayaḥ, R. vi, 114, 21. Compare G. vi, 33, 10 and 13, vetrajharjharapāṇibhiḥ.

40, kāmabāṇaprapīḍitaḥ, i, 220, 7; G. iii, 61, 2 (R. 55, 2, bāṇāiḥ); kāmabāṇābhisaṁtaptaḥ, iii, 280, 3; kāmabāṇavaçaṁgataḥ, R. vii, 88, 12.

41, Kālacakram ivo 'dyatam, vii, 7, 31; ivā 'param, G. vi, 73, 33 (R., 93, 30, iva prajāḥ); kāladaṇḍam ivā 'param (R., ivā

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'ntakaḥ); G. vi, 51, 89 = R. 71, 85. For the var. lec., compare s. daṇḍahasta, No. 104, and kālarātrim ivā 'ntakaḥ, R. vi, 69, 134. Compare kālarātrim ivo 'dyatām, ix, 11, 50; °sūryam, xiii, 14, 270.

Kāladaṇḍopama and Kālapāçopama, No. 220.

Kālānanam, No. 272.

Kālarātrim, No. 41.

42, Kālāntakayamopamaḥ, iii, 22, 31; 27, 25; iv, 33, 25; vi, 54, 47; G. iii, 32, 5; vi, 49, 36; R. vi, 57, 32; 60, 94; 82, 7; 95, 41. See No. 220; and for Kālāntakopama, see Nos. 104, 105.

43, Kālo hi duratikramaḥ. While not generally including in this list the proverbs common to the two epics, I enter this particular proverb because of the similar environment in imām avasthām prāpto 'smi, Kālo hi duratikramaḥ, ix, 64, 9 (C. vāi); so 'yam adya hataḥ çete, Kālo hi duratikramaḥ, R. iii, 68, 21. For the rest, compare Am. Journ. Phil., vol. xx, p. 26, and add (besides the above) Kālo hi duratikramaḥ in M. ii, 46, 16; also H. iii, 2, 30, and 5, 36; dāivam hi duratikramam, R. vii, 50, 18; dāivam tu, ix, 65, 31; and the later version, lekhā hi kālalikhitāḥ sarvathā duratikramā, H. iii, 2, 27.

44, kiñkiṇījālasaṁvṛta, ix, 23, 13, °āiḥ rathāiḥ; R. vii, 23, 1, 2, °aṁ nagaram. Ordinarily in M., kiñkiṇījālamālinam, etc., i, 221, 45; ii, 24, 18; viii, 86, 4; in R., kiñkiṇīçatabhūṣita, vi, 102, 9; but I cannot say whether or not mālin appears in R. in this combination. See No. 113.

45, kim māṁ na pratibhāṣase, part of a lament (see uttiṣṭha, above, No. 26), iii, 63, 9; 64, 19 ff.; xi, 20, 13–14; R. iii, 60, 26; vi, 111, 80 (doubled in G. 95, 36, and v. l. 37). In R. vi, 115, 15 (= G. 98, 12) kiṁ ca māṁ nā 'bhibhāṣase, v. l. as in G. 95, 37.

46, kuçalam paryapṛcchata, ix, 34, 17; R. i, 52, 4.

47, kṛtakāutukamaṅgalāḥ, i, 129, 24; viii, 1, 11; R. i, 73, 9.

kṛtapūrvāhṇikakriyah, No. 49.

48, kṛtvā karma suduṣkaram, vi, 14, 14; vii, 8, 32; R. ii, 101, 5; vi, 76, 70; G. vi, 21, 11; 30, 37; 55, 36. Variations are naturally many, e. g., karma kurvāṇaṁ duṣkaram, vi, 105, 6; kṛtaṁ karma suduṣkaram, R. vi, 67, 55; 127, 47; G. vi, 88, 17; karma kurvanti duṣkaram, R. vi, 65, 4; tat

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kṛtvā duṣkaraṁ karma, R. vi, 126, 14; kariṣyaṁ karma duṣkaram, G. iv, 15, 20. Similar in R. are mahat karma kṛtaṁ tvayā and kṛtaṁ tvayā karma mahat suduṣkaram, G. vi, 112, 100 and G. vi, 36, 118, respectively; aho mahat karma kṛtaṁ nirartham, R. v, 48, 50; sādhu, Lakṣmaṇa, tuṣṭo 'smi, karma te sukṛtaṁ kṛtam, G. vi, 70, 80; suduṣkaraṁ tu tat karma, G. iv, 11, 7. Somewhere in M. ix (verse lost) occur together the two phrases, kṛtvā na suskaraṁ karma, gato Vāivasvatakṣayam (No. 55).

49, kṛtvā pāurvāhṇikīḥ kriyāḥ, iii, 168, 2; 296, 10; °kam karma, R. iii, 17, 2; °kīṁ kriyām, R. vii, 59, 1, 1; kṛtapūrvāhṇikakriyaḥ, viii, 1, 13; R. i, 35, 3 (with the phrase, tac chrutvā vacanaṁ tasya).

50, krodhasaṁraktanayanāḥ, i, 78, 35; vii, 1, 19; R. i, 62, 15; G. v, 89, 1; vi, 76, 11. In M. v, 9, 45, united with idaṁ vacanam abravīt. See note to No. 51.

51, krodhasaṁraktalocanāḥ, v, 178, 40; vi, 100, 52; ix, 42, 13; R. v, 44, 19; vi, 95, 3; krodhāt sam°, R. iv, 9, 22; vi, 98, 1. Both forms, No. 50, No. 51, are common in both epics. They are the same phrase differentiated according to metrical requirements, and interchange with the similar kopa- and roṣa-forms, which it is unnecessary to give in detail. Variants are common, e. g., krodhaparyākulekṣaṇaḥ, v, 178, 94; G. iv, 15, 17; often united with another iterate, e. g., roṣasaṁraktanayana idaṁ vacanam abravīt, G. iii, 57, 15; saṁraktanayanaḥ krodhād (G. kopād) idaṁ vacanam abravīt, R. vi, 59, 56 = G. 36, 33. Compare taṁ krodharaktanayanaṁ kurvantaṁ bhrūkuṭīmukham, G. iv, 33, 40; sa kṛtvā bhrūkuṭīṁ vaktre roṣasaṁraktalocanaḥ, G. vi, 86, 46, where R. 102, 38, has sa kṛtvā bhrūkuṭīṁ kruddhaḥ kiṁcit saṁraktalocanaḥ. See Nos. 106, 123, 190, 198, and s. v. PW., where they are illustrated sufficiently.

52, kroçantīṁ kurarīm iva, i, 6, 12; G. ii, 68, 43; R. iv, 19, 29; yathā, vi, 32, 3; plural, xi, 12, 10; 16, 18; variants, G. ii, 67, 16; iv, 19, 4; v, 18, 12; R. vi, 49, 9, etc; kurarīm iva vāçatīm, M. iii, 63, 20. That in G. ii, 67, 16, the unusual form kuraryas trāsitā iva follows the exclamation hā nātha hā mṛto 'sī 'ti in 12, just as hā nātha in N. 11, 23 follows kurarīm iva vāçatīm in 20 (above), is perhaps worth

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noticing, especially as this chapter of R. G. is not in the Bombay text and may be supposed to be late. The correspondence is not remarkable enough to prove copying, though it may be due to the influence of the Nala passage, as this episode is well known to the later Rāmāyaṇa.

53, kṣitikampe yathā çailaḥ, vii, 174, 23; yathā 'calaḥ, vii, 36, 29; kṣitikampe yathā nagāḥ, G. vi, 30, 30, where R. has kṣitikampa iva drumāḥ, 56, 31. See No. 248.
khuranemisvanena ca, No. 247.

54, gatapratyāgatāni ca, term. tech., vii, 19, 6; R. vi, 107, 32. See maṇḍalāni, No. 201.

55, gato Vāivasvatakṣayam, or ninye, vii, 26, 53, and s. kṛtvā karma, No. 48, above; R. vi, 82, 183.

56, gadām ādāya vīryavān, ix, 11, 49; 32, 37; 55, 24; 56, 27, etc.; R. vi, 69, 33. In G. vi, 49, 18, vipulām. See l. c. No. 10, p. 142, and No. 80, for parallel variants.

57, gamanāyo 'pacakrame, i, 151, 14; R. vii, 25, 51; gamanāyā 'bhicakrāma, R. i, 77, 18 (G. 79, 4, upa°). See No. 14.

58, Garuḍaḥ pannagaṁ yathā, viii, 87, 96; R. vi, 69, 6, °gān iva, where G. 48, 6, has °gaṁ yathā; G. vi, 46, 3 has °gān iva. Many var. lec., e. g., Garutmān iva.

59, garjantāu iva toyadāu, ix, 55, 38; °tam, G. vi, 3, 19; garjanti na vṛthā çūrā nirjalā iva toyadāḥ, R. vi, 65, 3. See Nos. 77, 217.

60, giriḥ prasravaṇāir iva, iii, 279, 5, with cakāra rudhiram bhuvi preceding; R. vi, 67, 89, with rarāja çoṇitotsiktaḥ preceding. G. vi, 46, 75 has giripra, an error. Compare G. ib. 109, giriḥ prasravaṇaṁ yathā; R. vi, 67, 121, giriḥ prasravaṇāir iva. In R. vi, 58, 55, gireḥ prasravaṇo yathā, where G. 32, 43 has jalaṁ prasravaṇād iva, as in R. vi, 45, 21, jalaṁ prasravaṇāv iva, and R. vi, 88, 61.
gāirikam, No. 318.

61, cakāra kadamam mahat, vii, 21, 37; R. vi, 86, 24; 95, 50; G. vi, 46, 108; karomi, M. iv, 21, 2; kurvāṇaḥ, ix, 61, 30; akāri, G. vi, 49, 43; kṛtvā ca, G. vi, 110, 50; akarot, M. vii, 32, 41; ix, 44, 3; cakāra kadanaṁ ghoram (metre), R. vi, 58, 24; H. iii, 60, 3; kadanaṁ sumahat cakruḥ, R. vi, 55, 32.

62, cakṣurviṣayam āgataḥ: In vii, 17, 14, sa no diṣṭyā 'strasampannaç cakṣurviṣayaṁ āgataḥ; R. vi, 103, 19, diṣṭyā 'si

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mama mandātmaṅç cakṣurviṣayam āgataḥ (G. 88, 24, mama durbuddhe).

63, candrasūryāv ivo 'ditāu, ix, 55, 22; G. v, 53, 25 = 69, 23; sūryacandramasāv iva, M. iii, 288, 26. See Nos. 33, 189.

cayāṭṭālaka, No. 186.

caled dhi Himavān sthānāt, ii, 77, 35; çāilaḥ, v, 82, 48; caled api ca Mandaraḥ, G. v. 58, 9 (R. 59, 14, Mandaraḥ pracaled api). See No. 153.

65, cāmīkaravibhūṣitām, gadām, x, 9, 11; cāpam, R. iii, 20, 6.

66, cittapramāthinī (bālā devānām api) *sundarī*, iii, 53, 14; trāilokya-*sundarī* (kāntā, sarva-) cittapramāthinī, R. vii, 37, 1, 29 (compare R. ii, 10, 30, mama cittapramāthini). As said above, the Uttara recognizes the Nala, and this (prakṣipta) may be imitation. At any rate it may support pramāthinī against the Mbh. Bomb. and Calc. reading here, cittaprasādanī, which, however, is found in xii, 133, 13, janacittaprasādinī; compare naracittapramāthibhiḥ, R. i, 10, 4.

67, citraṁ laghu ca suṣṭhu ca, vii, 145, 77; laghu citraṁ ca suṣṭhu ca, R. vi, 88, 65.

68, cintā me vardhate 'tīva mumūrṣā cā 'pi jāyate, Karṇasya nidhanaṁ çrutvā, viii, 9, 6; cintā me vartate tīvrā mumūrṣā 'pi ca jāyate, bhrātaraṁ nihataṁ dṛṣṭvā, R. vi, 101, 7. See No. 213.

69, cintāçokaparāyaṇaḥ, vii, 1, 6; xv, 16, 18; G. iii, 52, 17; variants, viii, 96, 58; xv, 21, 7. See Nos. 27, 116, 161, 293.

70, chāye 'vā 'nugatā pathi, iii, 65, 57; chāye 'vā 'nugatā Rāmam, R. vii, 37, 3, 24, after rupeṇā 'pratimā loke (No. 236), also a Nala phrase. Compare No. 66.

chinnamūla iva drumaḥ, No. 248.

71, chinne 'va kadalī vane, xi, 17, 1, nyapatad bhūmāu; G. vi, 8, 6, papāta bhūmāu (both of grief-stunned woman) = R. vi, 32, 6, but here jagāma jagatīm bālā chinnā tu kadalī yathā. See Nos. 135, 136, 180, 248.

jarjarīkṛta, Nos. 184, 235.

72, jalaṁ sūrya ivā 'ṅçubhiḥ, vi, 109, 33; meghaṁ sūrya, G. vi, 18, 40 (R. 43, 29, karāir megham ivā 'ṅçumān); tamaḥ sūrya ivā 'ṅçubhiḥ, M. vii, 18, 24.

jalaṁ prasravaṇād iva, No. 60.

jājvalyamāna, No. 176.

jātarūpapariṣkṛta, No. 335.

73, jīmūta iva bhāskaram, vi, 64, 44; °tam iva °aḥ, G. vi, 21, 43; nīhāram, R. i, 55, 25; toyadād iva bhāskaraḥ, G. iv, 12, 24 (papāta). See No. 326.

74, jīrṇāṁ tvacam ivo 'ragaḥ, xiii, 62, 69; R. iii. 5, 37; sarpo jīrṇām iva tvacam, xii, 265, 15; G. vi, 21, 40; tvacaṁ sarpa ivā 'mucya, M. v, 40, 2. See Nos. 106, 139; Praç. v, 5.

jvalantam iva tejasā, No. 176.

75, jvalantam iva pāvakam, jvalantā iva pāvakāḥ (and jvalitā iva), vi, 16, 12; 18, 6; xi, 25, 16, etc.; R. iii, 32, 5; vi, 50, 36; 70, 19; 95, 33; G. 68, 36. Compare prajvalitām ivo 'lkām, M. v, 181, 5; prajvalantam ivā 'nalam, G. iii, 18, 23; jvalantam iva pannagam, M. vi, 82, 36; ix, 13, 21; G. iii, 18, 39, pannagāiḥ (but R. 12, 34, pāvakāiḥ): also parvatam, M. vii, 80, 37, apaçyata (on fire as it were). See Nos. 111, 176, 226, 255. For ivā 'nalaḥ, see Nos. 33, 99, 196, 291.

76, jhillikāgaṇanāditam, iii, 64, i; R. iii, 2, 3. The two descriptions (of a fearful forest) are similar also in the adjacent verses, e. g., nānāpakṣigaṇākīrṇam, in M.; nānāmṛgagaṇākīrṇam, in R. I have not entered others.

77, ta enaṁ çaradhārābhir, dhārābhir iva toyadāḥ, vii, 26, 54; athāi 'naṁ çaradhārābhir, dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, R. vi, 71, 92 (in M., siṣicuḥ; in R. abhyavarṣata); abhyavarṣat tadā Rāmaṁ dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, R. vi, 100, 59; vavarṣa çaravarṣeṇa dh. i. t., M. vi, 58, 26. Compare mahendra iva dhārābhiḥ çarāir abhivavarṣa ha, R. vi, 56, 11. See Nos. 59, 158, 217, 244.

tataḥ kilakilā, No. 334.

78, tataḥ prajavitāçvena rathena rathināṁ varaḥ. This hemistich H. 3, 59, 5 and also G. vi, 30, 6 (= R. 56, 6, but here pracalitāçvena). The prior pāda in M. vii, 116, 30; G. iii, 33, 27; R. vi, 95, 42 (with rathena). See No. 287.

79, tataḥ prabhāte vimale, viii, 1, 9; xiv, 64, 16; R. vii, 59, 1, 1, with kṛtvā pāurvāhṇikīṁ kriyām (No. 49); 68, 2. Compare prabhāte vimale sūrye, R. ii, 86, 24. The first phrase is in triṣṭubh as well as in çloka, loc. cit.

80, tato 'nyad dhanur ādāya, vi, 48, 67; G. iii, 34, 16, and 22. In the former of G., followed by pradīpta iva manyunā (as in M. iii, 63, 13, pradīpta 'va ca manyunā). The usual phrase in M. begins with athā 'nyad, e. g., vi, 45, 33; 77, 68; 114, 28; vii, 21, 17; ix, 10, 34; 15, 21. Compare anyat kārmu-

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kam ādāya, and so 'nyat kārmukam ādāya, vi, 45, 29; 110, 40; ix, 10, 45, etc.; R. as cited loc. cit., No. 56.

tato muhūrtam, No. 214.

81, tato halahalāçabdaḥ prītidaḥ samajāyata, i, 58, 9; tato halahalāçabdas tumulaḥ samajāyata, R. ii, 16, 33; the prior pāda, M. vii, 21, 2; xiv, 74, 26; R. ii, 81, 14; vii, 21, 24; 32, 33; 96, 12; G. iii, 31, 41 followed by the late trait, punaḥ *kolāhalo* mahān (not thus in M. or R.); G. ii, 82, 13, followed by sumahān samajāyata. Compare No. 334.

82, tatrā 'sīt sumahad yuddhaṁ tumulaṁ lomaharṣaṇam, vi, 58, 13; R. vi, 43, 16. For other forms, see l. c. No. 10, p. 144 ff. In R., roma for loma, but according to Winternitz, loc. cit., these forms interchange also in MSS. of M. See Nos. 23, 83, 84.

83, tad adbhutam ivā 'bhavat, iii, 167, 17 and 31; v, 131, 25; vi, 47, 28; 54, 82; vii, 7, 53 (with alātacakravad rājan); 14, 27 and 38; 21, 14; ix, 12, 13; xii, 334, 2 and 4 and 11, etc., etc. G. i, 75, 28. Compare G. iii, 33, 22, tad abhūd adbhutaṁ yuddhaṁ tumulaṁ lomaharṣaṇam; R. iii, 51, 3, tad babhūvā 'dbhutaṁ yuddham; R. vi, 102, 18, tad babhāu cā 'dbhutaṁ yuddham . . . romaharṣaṇam; M. xi, 16, 4, raṇājiraṁ nṛvīrāṇām adbhutaṁ lomaharṣaṇam; ix, 15, 28, tatrā 'dbhutam apaçyāma, and 15, 41, tatrā 'dbhutam paraṁ cakre. In M. iii, 76, 41, tad adbhutatamaṁ dṛṣṭvā; R. vii, 79, 1, tad adbhutatamaṁ vākyaṁ çrutvā. See also Nos. 82, 84, 110.

84, tad yuddham abhavad ghoram, vii, 16, 12 (sumahal lomaharṣaṇam); G. vi, 58, 34 (in R., 79, 23, tatra for ghoram). M. adds devānām iva dānavāiḥ, wherewith compare R. vi, 79, 2, tataḥ pravṛttaṁ sumahat tad yuddhaṁ lomaharṣaṇam . . . devānāṁ dānavāir iva. See Nos. 82 and 83.

tapantam, No. 175.

85, taptakāñcanabhūṣaṇāḥ, xii, 326, 34; R. iv, 17, 2; G. v, 24, 24 (hāṭaka, R. iv, 3, 18); preceded in M. by sūkṣmaraktāmbaradharāḥ, in G., by raktāmbaradharaḥ çrīmāṅs. See No. 280.

86, tam antakam iva kruddhaṁ, vii, 8, 11 (āpatantam); R. vi, 56, 24 (sadrutam). See Nos. 104–105.

tamaḥ sūrya ivā 'ṅçubhiḥ, No. 72.

87, tam āpatantaṁ sahasā, vi, 116, 49 and 50; R. vi, 59, 36; 106,

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4. Further examples, l. c. No. 10, p. 141. vegena in prior pāda, R. vi, 76, 36, etc.

88, taṁ dīptam iva kālāgnim, vii, 15, 5; sa dīpta, R. v, 67, 12. Compare kālāgnir iva mūrtimān, R. vi, 95, 3.

89, tam mumocayiṣur vajrī, i, 227, 9; tam mumocayiṣuṁ vīraḥ, G. vi, 80, 26.

90, taruṇādityasadṛçāiḥ çaṇagāurāiç ca vāṇarāiḥ, iii, 284, 28; taruṇādityavarṇāiç ca çaçigāurāiç ca vānarāiḥ, R. iv, 39, 13.

talaṁ talena, No. 163.

91, tasthāu girir ivā 'calaḥ, vi, 94, 22; vii, 15, 7; sthitaṁ çāilam ivā 'calam, G. vi, 79, 49; sthitaṁ çāilam ivā 'suram and v. l. sthitaṁ çāilam ivā 'param, R. iv, 48, 17 = G. 48, 18. In M. another standing phrase is tasthāu Merur ivā 'calaḥ, vi, 48, 34; 63, 8. Another ivā 'calaḥ phrase is çīghro vāyur ivā 'calam (nā 'kampayata), M. vii, 14, 36; vāyuvegāir ivā 'calāḥ (na prakampante), R. iii, 67, 8. See Nos. 218, 240.

tasthāu mṛtyur iva, Nos. 104–105.

tasmin jite and hate, No. 328.

92, tasmin vimarde tumule, i, 101, 9; vimarde tumule tasmin, R. vi, 43, 46; tasmin pravṛtte tumule vimarde, R. vi, 69, 66.

93, tasya tad vacanaṁ çrutvā, ix, 33, 56; 56, 42; 65, 21, etc.; R. iii, 69, 46, etc.; G. vi, 37, 21, etc.; rarer is tasya tad bhāṣitaṁ çrutvā, M. vii, 19, 22; G. iv, 38, 17. The first and tac chrutvā vacanam tasya are found passim in both epics (tasya, tasyāḥ, teṣām, tayos, etc.; l. c. No. 10, p. 144).

94 and 95, (a) tasyāṁ rātryāṁ vyatītāyām, iii, 150, 1; 175, 1; 299, 1, etc.; R. iv, 64, 11; G. ii, 82, 1; atha rātryām, G. ii, 67, 3; v, 1, 12; atha rātryāṁ pravṛttāyām, R. vii, 67, 1; atītāyāṁ ca çarvaryām udite sūryamaṇḍale, M. v, 35, 12; vyatītāyām tu çarvaryām ādityasyo 'daye tataḥ, R. ii, 67, 2; vyatītāyāṁ rajanyāṁ tu, M. ix, 8, 1; rajanyāṁ tu prabhātāyām, R. vii, 99, 1 (G. 106, 1, sa rajanyām prabhātāyām); (b) prabhātāyāṁ tu çarvaryām, M. iii, 2, 1; R. ii, 52, 1; 54, 36; vyuṣṭāyāṁ cāi 'va çarvaryām, xv, 10, 53; tato raj. vyuṣṭ., 11, 1; similar is G. i, 30, 1.

96, tārājālam ivā 'mbare, viii, 27, 35; G. vi, 68, 19; in M. of decapitation; in R. of breastplates!

97, tiṣṭha tiṣṭhe 'ti cā 'bravīt, vi, 111, 41 and 45 and often (l. c. No. 10, p. 142); R. vi, 79, 37; cā 'vadat, M. iv, 33, 24; cā

'bruvan, G. i, 43, 25; cukroça, ib. ii, 39, 46. United with the phrase (No. 5) abhidudrāva vegena, in M. vi, 101, 9.

98, tuṣārāvṛtamaṇḍalam, ix, 65, 7 (pūrṇacandram iva vyomni); tuṣāreṇāvṛtāṁ sābhrām pūrṇacandraprabhām iva, G. i, 50, 16 (R. 49, 15, satuṣārāvṛtāṁ. Compare pūrṇacandram ivo 'ditam, R. iv, 10, 3. Compare No. 169.

99, tūlārāçim ivā 'nalaḥ, vi, 75, 32 (vyadhamat); vii, 21, 24 (vyadhamat); R. vi, 88, 7 (vidhamiṣyanti); *tṛṇa*rāçim ivā 'nalaḥ, G. vi, 64, 26 (vidhamiṣyanti); tṛṇa-, ib., 67, 8 (vidhamiṣyanti) = R. 88, 7, tūlā° (above). In the former passage, R. has the verb but not the simile. See Nos. 33, 75, 196, 291.

100, tṛṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā, iii, 281, 17; R. iii, 56, 1; v, 21, 3. Compare tṛṇīkṛtya ca tad rakṣaḥ, R. vi, 40, 9; saṁgatān, M. i, 189, 2; matvā tṛṇena tāṁs tulyān, M. vi, 113, 36; tṛṇavat tān apaçyata, G. iv, 48, 19.

tṛṇarāçim, No. 99.

101, tṛṇāiḥ kūpā ivā 'vṛtāḥ, iii, 207, 59; kūpa iva, R. iii, 46, 10; G. iv, 16, 17. In M., adharmā dharma-rūpeṇa; in R. (abhavyo bhavyarūpeṇa) sa pāpas tena rūpeṇa, and dharmavāitaṁsikaḥ (the same, R. iv, 17, 22, with the bracketed words also in 28), also Mbh. phrase (PW.).

101 b, te vāi nirayagāminaḥ, xiii, 23, 60 ff.; R. sarve n., iv, 17, 36 (similar list).

102, totrā 'rdita iva dvipaḥ, vi, 54, 69; vii, 146, 55; ix, 21, 16; 25, 21; G. ii, 39, 43 (v. l. in R., totrāir nunnaḥ). See Nos. 149, 215.

103, totrāir iva mahādvipam, vi, 101, 13; ix, 13, 29; R. iii, 28, 10; totrāir iva mahāgajam, M. vi, 111, 7.

triṣu lokeṣu, No. 252.

104–105, (a): daṇḍahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ (and acc.), vi, 102, 36; vii, 15, 5; viii, 29, 30; ix, 3, 26, etc.; G. vi, 65, 25; iii, 32, 17; 34, 11 (where R. 28, 11, has pāçahastam); daṇḍapāṇir ivā 'ntakaḥ, M. iv, 22, 66; vi, 48, 90; 62, 55; dhanurdaṇḍam ivā 'ntakaḥ, G., iv, 31, 11 (R., dhanuḥ kālāntakopamaḥ). Similar and in part interchangeable are the phrases (b): pāçahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, vi, 109, 11; vii, 36, 32; ix, 12, 2; R. iii, 39, 15; vi, 53, 25; G. vi, 39, 30; vii, 28, 21. In G. vi, 46, 36, pāçahasto yathā Yamaḥ, where R. 67, 38, has pāçahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ.

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The epithet is used of Varuṇa, R. iii, 12, 19; iv, 42, 45, = G., 43, 58 (nilayaḥ pāçahastasya Varuṇasya). Compare M. vi, 112, 41, dahati vāi mahācamūṁ yuddheṣu sadṛças tāta Yamasya Varuṇasya ca. Compare also sākṣāt kālāntakopamaḥ, M. iii, 157, 50; sthitaḥ kālāntakopamaḥ, R. vi, 88, 2; çarāiḥ kālāntako°, G. vi, 45, 19; sākṣāt kāla ivā 'ntakaḥ, G. iv, 14, 25; tasthāu mṛtyur ivā 'ntakaḥ, M. vii, 16, 38. For kāladaṇḍam ivā 'ntakaḥ, see No. 41. See also Nos. 42, 86, 220, 250, 272.

106, daṇḍāhata ivo 'ragaḥ, ix, 14, 40; R. vi, 54, 33. The çloka in M. is worth noticing in its entirety: cukopa samare Drāuṇir | daṇḍāhata ivo 'ragaḥ | triçikhāṁ bhrukutīṁ kṛtvā | sṛkkiṇī parisaṁlihan, where c = ix, 32, 46 a; and sṛkkiṇī, etc., is a frequent phrase, No. 320; that is, the whole çloka consists of iterata except for the first words. See No. 150, ad finem.

107, dadarça Dvārakāṁ vīro mṛtanāthāṁ iva striyam, xvi, 5, 4; dadṛçus te tadā Laṅkām . . . narīm iva mumūrṣatīm, G. vi, 15, 27.

108, darçayan pāṇilāghavam, vi, 48, 66; 54, 73; 59, 22; 62, 28 (C_s 2, 743, hastalāghavam); vii, 145, 70; ix, 26, 30; R. vi, 99, 20; G. 36, 55. Compare darçayan vīryam ātmanaḥ, M. vii, 14, 57; d, svaparākramam, vi, 100, 34, etc.

109, darçayā 'tmānam ātmanā, iii, 64, 57; smara cā 'tmānam ātmanā, R. vii, 37, 5, 47. Better parallels might, I think, be shown, but I have at hand only Gītā, 6, 5.

110, Daçagrīvasya paçyataḥ, iii, 290, 4; R. vi, 41, 89. This type, especially in M., is common. Compare vii, 17, 7, Dṛṣṭadyumnasya; ix, 11, 13, Dharmarājasya; ix, 16, 40, Bhīmasenasya; xi, 14, 19, Vāsudevasya; R. vi, 38, 12, tasya Rāmasya paçyataḥ. But the M. type sarvalokasya paçyataḥ, which occurs repeatedly, e. g., vi, 48, 69; 58, 44; ix, 5, 7, and sarvasāinyasya paçyataḥ, e. g., vii, 18, 28; sarvakṣatrasya paçyataḥ, ix, 7, 24; 14, 37, is found in R., if at all, only as a rarity. I have noted G. vi, 93, 5, (Rāmam) lokasya paçyataḥ; G. vi, 25, 35, paçyatāṁ sarvarakṣasām; vi, 121, 16, sarveṣām eva çṛṇvatām. In M. these correspond rather to paçyatāṁ sarvasāinyānām, vii, 144, 20; 195, 9; paçyatāṁ sarvayodhānām, vii, 145, 70 (with darç. pāṇiv., No. 108); sarvalokasya çṛṇvataḥ,

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ix, 31, 27; paçyatāṁ sarvasāinyānām (tad adbhutam ivā 'bhavat, No. 83), ix, 10, 50.

111, didhakṣann iva pāvakaḥ vi, 94, 7 (krodhenā 'bhiprajajvāla, also phrase of M.); didhakṣur iva pāvakaḥ, xi, 12, 13; acc., G. iv, 38, 15 (with jājvalyamānaṁ kopena, phrase, No. 176). See also Nos. 75, 226, 255.

112, divī 'vā 'bhrāṇi mārutaḥ (vyadhamat), vii, 30, 35; mahābhrāṇī 'va mārutaḥ (vidhaman), R. vi, 96, 4; the same with karṣan, G. vi, 49, 58.

113, divyābharaṇa (and sarvābharaṇa) bhūṣitā(ḥ); lajjamāne 'va lalanā divyābharaṇabhūṣitā, i, 152, 22; divyaratnāmbaradharo divyābharaṇabhūṣitaḥ, ii, 9, 6; divyamālyāmbaradharo divyābharaṇabhūṣitaḥ, v, 122, 2; the prior also vi, 35, 11, and here also divyagandhānulepanaḥ, with which compare divyasraganulepana, in the same stanza with the titular pāda, R. vi, 50, 44 (also G. vi, 112, 8); divyamālyavibhūṣitāṁ divyāmbaradharāṁ devīm, iv, 6, 4; kṛṣṇaraktāmbaradharā . . . divyakuṇḍalasampannā divyābharaṇabhūṣitā, xii, 258, 16; divyarūpasamāyuktā divyābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ divyamālyāmbaradharāḥ, xv, 33, 23; sarvābharaṇabhūṣitā, iii, 53, 12; 277, 19; in G. iii, 15, 14–15, divyābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ . . . lalanāḥ (as in M. above); divyā°, G. iii, 23, 42; R. i, 16, 13; v. 24, 25; vi, 50, 44; divyāṅgarāgāṁ Vāidehīṁ divyābharaṇabhūṣitām, 114, 7; sarva° R. i, 73, 9, where G. 75, 9 has mahārhāmbarabhūṣaṇāiḥ; R. iii, 47, 31; G. iii, 25, 15; R. vi, 47, 9; 50, 44, without similar neighboring pādas. Compare also nānābharaṇabhūṣite, M. vi, 23, 6; sarvābharaṇananaddhāṅgaḥ, v. l. sarvābharaṇasarvāṅgaḥ, R. vi, 65, 31, where G. 44, 24 has °citrāṅgaḥ; sarva °saṁyukta and °sampanna, M. i. 153, 14; G. iv, 44, 108, respectively. The form with divyā°, Raghuv. x, 11. R. is generally content with the pāda, M. often adds, as above, similar pādas. See No. 44.

divyamālyāmbara, No. 113.

114, diçaç ca (pra and) vidiçaç cāi 'va: ii, 38, 26; H. 2, 127, 127; G. vi, 90, 28 (where R. 106, 30 has pradiçaḥ sarvāḥ); vidiças tathā, G. iii, 28, 41 (where R. 22, 23 has diçaḥ sapradiças tathā); G. vi, 58, 38 (where R.

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79, 28 has diçaç ca pradiças tathā). The shorter terminal diço daça, vii, 20, 52 (etc., often); R. vi, 75, 38; G. v, 55, 13; G. vi, 77, 30 (G. 93, 1; R. 115, 18 = G. 100, 18, not terminal; the last, daça diço). In C. to ix, 15, 17, the same v. l. as above in R., namely, vidiçaç cāi 'va in BM.; pradiçaç cāi 'va in C. 769. See also under No. 36.

115, diṣṭyā diṣṭye 'ti cā 'bruvan, i, 129, 31; abravīt, G. iv, 10, 23.

116, dīnāç cintāparāç cāi 'va, ii, 49, 4; tataç cintāparā dīnā, iii, 54, 2; dīnāç cintāparāyanāḥ, G. vi, 74, 6 (= R. 94, 4, °pariplutāḥ); iti cintāparo 'bhavat, R. vii, 79, 12. See Nos. 69, 161, 293.

117, dīptām agniçikhām iva, iii, 63, 36; vii, 14, 78; R. i, 49, 14; vi, 118, 17; vii, 30, 29; G. vi, 80, 20, where R. 100, 19 has pradīptām açanīm iva; dīptāv iva hutāçanāu, R. vi, 97, 25. See No. 33.

118, dīptāsyān uragān iva, v, 151, 25; 180, 7; G. iii, 69, 24 (instr.). See Nos. 74, 106, 141, 150.

119, dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca niḥçvasya, ix, 4, 51; 32, 8; x, 1, 4; G. vi, 34, 1; 99, 5, where R. 114, 6 has sa dīrgham abhiniḥçvasya. This phrase appears in a variety of forms, very likely in more than I have noted. The prevailing type is the titular one above. Compare the variant in C. 238 to ix, 4, 51 (above), dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca niçvāsaṁ mumoca ca mumoha ca (B. çuçoca ca mumoha ca); a form not unknown in R., dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca niçvāsaṁ vimuñcantam muhur muhuḥ, G. iv, 33, 41. This is followed (the next verse!) in M. by ix, 5, 1, niḥçvasya dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca tūṣṇīm āsīt; sa for ca in ix, 2, 55 (but C. 109, ca); like the form above in R., M. iii, 313, 3, sa dīrgham uṣṇaṁ niḥçvasya, çokabāṣpapariplutaḥ (phrase, see Nos. 120, 190); R. v, 34, 13, abravīd dīrgham ucchvasya, where G. 31, 33 has dīrgh. uṣ. ca niḥçvasya; R. vi, 95, 2, sa tu dīrghaṁ viniḥçvasya, where G. 75, 3, as before, followed by muhūrtam dhyānam āsthitaḥ (phrase, compare No. 214). The likeness, when given, is to snake or elephant. Thus G. iv, 33, 41 (cited above) continues: kupitaṁ saptaçirasaṁ jvālāruddham ivo 'ragam; ib. 33, 31-32, niḥçvasya dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca kopād raktāntalocanaḥ babhūva naraçārdūlo vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ (phrase, see

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No. 255) taṁ dīptam iva kālāgniṁ nāgendram iva kopitam; 35, mahendram iva durjayam (a fine mixture!). The turn dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca niḥçvasan is so common that in G. ii, 15, 7 it stands for the accusative! niḥçvasantaṁ yathā nāgaṁ, dīrgham uṣṇaṁ ca niḥçvasan (rectified with v. l. in R.). For other corresponding phrases, see below, Nos. 133, 141–143, 205.

120, duḥkhamohapariplutaḥ (v. l. çokamoha, duḥkhaçoka, çokabāṣpa, bāṣpaçoka), R. ii, 99, 29; G. 108, 26; 16, 33; C. vii, 96, etc.; tasthāu çokapariplutaḥ, M. iii, 76, 46; duḥkhaçokasamanvitaḥ, M. iii, 70, 22; xiv, 77, 17; xv, 21, 1; xviii, 2, 31; R. vii, 74, 1; °parāyaṇaḥ, xv, 10, 18. The ending occurs in all sorts of phrases, e. g., çoṇitāughapariplutaḥ, vi, 103, 10. B.'s v. l. for C. (above) is, vii, 3, 8, bāṣpavyākulitākṣaram. See Nos. 137, 190.

121, duṣṭahastī 'va hastipān, viii, 53, 17; R. vi, 67, 131.

122, devā iva çatakratum, iii, 78, 33; devāir iva çatakratuḥ, G. vi, 92, 80. The situation is the same, king restored to people; omitted in R. (Bombay).

devānām (iva) dānavāiḥ (iva), No. 84.

dāivam . . . duratikramam, No. 43.

123, dviguṇīkṛtavikramaḥ, vii, 19, 9; G. vi, 82, 179. There follows baddhvā ca bhrukuṭīṁ vaktre (M. 10); sa baddhvā bhrukutiṁ vaktre (G. 180). On these phrases see Nos. 51, 198. Compare R. vi, 100, 26, vimukhīkṛtavikramaḥ.

124, dvitīya iva (sāgaraḥ, etc.), ix, 30, 55, etc.; R. vi, 4, 104; 26, 41; pāvakaḥ, ix, 46, 54; xiii, 14, 278.

dhanurdaṇḍam, Nos. 104–105.

125, dhanurvede ca vede ça, i, 109, 19, etc.; G. v, 32, 9, etc.

dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, No. 77.

126, na kālasya priyaḥ kaççin na dveṣyaḥ, Kurusattama, xi, 2, 23; na kālasya priyaḥ kaççin na dveṣyo 'sti, Kapīçvara, G. iv, 18, 28. Compare Gītā, 9, 29, na me dveṣyo 'sti, na priyaḥ, Nos. 43 and 131.

127, na ca tāu yuddhavāimukhyaṁ çramaṁ vāpy upajagmatuḥ; copied H. 1, 54, 49 from R. vi, 88, 77 = G. 68, 37; almost the same in H. 2, 36, 25.

128, na tvaṁ çocitum arhasi, vi, 26, 27, etc.; R. iv, 7, 14; G. iii, 71, 10 (v. l. in R., vyathitum), etc.; many occurrences

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and many v. l., e. g., G. iii, 71, 11, çocituṁ nārhase deva (= Rāma), where RB. has vīra. See No. 147.

129, nanu nāma mahārāja, iii, 63, 4; mahābāho, R. vi, 111, 3. Compare M. iii, 64, 19, nanu nāmā 'ham iṣṭā tava, and G. iv, 24, 37, tave 'ṣṭā nanu nāmāi 'tāḥ (R. has nanu cāi 'va). Namuci, No. 250.

130, na hi çakṣyāmi jīvitum, iii, 249, 20; nāi 'va çakyāmi jīvitum, G. ii, 17, 32; na hi çaknomi, G. v. 26, 23. See No. 134.

131, nā 'kāle vihito mṛtyuḥ, nā 'prāptakālo mriyate, iii, 63, 7; 65, 39; akāle durlabho mṛtyuḥ, R. v, 25, 12; nā 'kāla-mṛtyur bhavati, G. v, 28, 3. Compare ix, 64, 10 and xi, 2, 5, kālam prāpya mahābāho (mahārāja) na kaçcid ativartate. See Nos. 43 and 126. The (new) references here given to M. are to be added to those in Journ. Phil., vol. xx, pp. 25–26, where will be found other parallels.

132, nāgāḥ . . . siddhāç cakracarās tathā, iii, 85, 72; nāgāḥ . . . cakracarāç ca siddhāḥ, R. v, 48, 23 ("the sun and other heavenly bodies" are the blessed cyclists).

133, nāgendra iva niḥçvasan, ix, 32, 38; bhujaṁga iva, R. v, 22, 30. See Nos. 119, 141–143, 205.

134, nā 'haṁ jīvitum utsahe. This is a commoner form than that above in No. 130. It occurs repeatedly, e. g. iv, 19, 13; vii, 24, 11; x, 4, 26; xvi, 8, 23; R. v, 26, 4 (= G. v, 26, 33, v. l.); vi, 116, 18; G. ii, 80, 9; vi, 24, 18; with many variations, e. g., kathaṁ jīvitum utsahe, G. vi, 34, 8, and above in No. 130.

135, nikṛttā iva kiṁçukāḥ, xiii, 30, 43; R. vi, 67, 29; pādapāḥ, R. iv, 17, 1; G. ii, 45, 5; G. iii, 31, 48; etc. See Nos. 71, 136, 168.

136, nikṛttā kadalī yathā, iii, 291, 14; G. ii, 17, 22 (= R. 20, 23, patitām kadalīm iva). See Nos. 71, 135, 180.

nityaṁ dharmaparākramaḥ, No. 293.

nipapāta, No. 148.

137, nimagnāḥ çokasāgare, vii, 1, 11; 193, 34; R. iv, 20, 9 (compare 10, 34); G. ii, 37, 22 (R. prapannā). Compare duḥkhasāgarasampluta, G. vi, 9, 7; patitā çokasāgare, R. vi, 111, 31; G. vi, 95, 20, and 34. See Nos. 120, 190.

138, nimeṣāntaramātreṇa, iv, 64, 28; v, 15, 31; xii, 334, 21, etc.; R. iv, 39, 11; v, 62, 36; vi, 44, 19; 45, 16; G. vi, 13, 9.

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139, nirmuktāv iva pannagāu, vii, 136, 29; inst. pl., ix, 15, 40; fem. sg., G. vi, 34, 23; nirmuktāu bhujagāv iva, G. (ref. lost). See Nos. 74, 140, 150, 243.

140, nirmokam iva pannagǎḥ, vii, 168, 5; R. vi, 33, 33; G. v, 3, 45; pannago yathā, G. ii, 91, 12. See Nos. 74, 139.

141, niḥçvasann urago yathā, vi, 121, 10; ix, 64, 5; R. vi, 51, 18; jihmaga iva, ix, 1, 49 (C. pannaga); iva pannagaḥ M. ii, 65, 42; yadvat for yathā (metre), vii, 193, 70; papāta bhuvi saṁkruddho niḥç. iva pannagaḥ, R. ii, 74, 35. See Nos. 118, 119, 133, 139, 142, 143, 150.
niṣpiṣya, No. 163.

142, niḥçvasantam punaḥ punaḥ, vii, 15, 30; G. vi, 55, 77 (dual, gajāv iva); R. vi, 76, 81 (v. l. of last, gajāv iva) niḥçvasantāu muhur muhuḥ; as in G. ii, 110, 14 (sg.), while here R. ii, 101, 15 has punaḥ punaḥ. See Nos. 141, 143.

143, niḥçvasantaṁ yathā nāgam, vi, 106, 71; xii, 224, 1; R. vi, 49, 1, dual; G. ii, 15, 7 (R. 18, 5, mahārājan); G. vi, 21, 5. The usual R. form is çvasantam iva pannagam, vi, 108, 10; with v. l., niḥçvasantam ivo 'ragam, G. ii, 19, 1; °tāu ivo 'ragāu, M. vii, 77, 1. C. vi, 3478, çvas.; B., jval. See Nos. 119, 133, 141, 142, 205.

144, nīlakuñcitamūrdhajaḥ, iii, 277, 9; 280, 50; G. vi, 37, 61, with another phrase, mattamātaṅgagāminam (No. 203); nīlakuñcitakeçī, M. ii, 65, 33.

145, nīlāñjanacayaprakhyaḥ, vii, 20, 18; °prabhuḥ, G. vi, 24, 43 = R. 49, 32, but here °cayopamaḥ, as in G. vi, 94, 7 = R. 110, 6.

146, nīlotpalamayīm mālām, vii, 139, 8 (dhārayan); mālāṁ nīlotpalamayīm iva, G. vi, 79, 62 (dhārayan), v. l. in R.; in both cases of a wreath of arrows.

147, no 'tkaṇṭhāṁ kartum arhasi, iii, 216, 10; xii, 170, 11, etc.; G. v, 36, 76 (not in R.), but in R. ii, 46, 2, na co 'tkaṇṭhitum arhasi (tvaṁ no 't° in G. 44, 2); and R. ii, 53, 2, tāṁ no 'tkaṇṭhitum arhasi (nāi 'vo 't° in G. 53, 3). R. here has the classical turn. See No. 128.

148, nyapatanta mahītale, ix, 56, 11; sa papāta, R. vi, 59, 88 = nipapāta, G. 36, 67; G. vii, 111, 47 (not in R.); petatus tāu, R. vi, 97, 24, 26. The usual variant is papāta dharaṇītale, ix, 27, 46; R. iii, 52, 26; 66, 18; G. iv, 19, 3; passim in both epics. See also No. 167, 240, 309.

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149, pañke magnā iva dvipāḥ, vi, 100, 9; pañkamagna iva dvipaḥ, G. iv, 15, 30; v, 87, 26. R. iii, 61, 13 extends the phrase, pañkaṁ āsādya vipulaṁ sīdantam iva kuñjaram (= G. 68, 2, sīdann iva mahādvipaḥ); a new turn in ix, 58, 33 gives anyonyaṁ jaghnatur vīrāu pañkasthāu mahiṣāv iva. See Nos. 102, 215.

150, pañcaçīrṣā ivo 'ragāḥ, iii, 57, 6; iv, 22, 56; R. v, 10, 18; vi, 99, 40 (of arrows, çvasantaḥ). Compare pañcāsyāiḥ pannagāiç chinnair Garuḍene 'va, vii, 36, 27; pañcāsyāv iva pannagāu, G. iii, 74, 22. This variety of snakes is recognized together with those having four and seven heads in Hariv. 3, 46, 38. The seven-headed variety, together with those having three and ten heads respectively, is recognized in i, 27, 51, while the saptaçīrṣa (çīrṣan) sort, pannago mahān, is taken as the form of the divine weapon, xiii, 14, 257. G. iv, 33, 41, saptaçiras, has been cited above under No. 119. For the ending ivo 'ragaḥ. See also Nos. 74, 106, 118, 141.

151, pataṁgā iva pāvakam, v, 130, 21; vi, 117, 35; pataṁgān iva pāvakaḥ, ib. 37; R. iii, 28, 14; vi, 44, 23; 97, 6; 102, 62; G. v, 38, 36; G. vi, 54, 53; pataṁgā jvalanaṁ yathā, C. ix, 152 (where M. ix. 3, 27 has pataṁgā iva pāvakam); R. vi, 66, 26; 96, 2; interchanges with çalabhān iva pāvakam (q. v. No. 283), R. vi, 65, 43 = G. 44, 38; pataṁga iva cā 'gnāu te, xvi, 3, 42 (prior pāda); triṣṭubh, yathā pradīptaṁ jvalanam pataṁgā viçanti, M. vi, 35, 29. See also Nos. 181, 258, 283.

152, patākadvajamālinī (°nam), iii, 77, 6 (açobhayac ca nagaram); G. ii, 42, 12; G. iv, 25, 38; G. vi, 14, 20. The corresponding verses in R. are sūcchritadhvajamālinī, ii, 43, 10; patākadhvajaçobhitā, iv, 26, 41; and a complete v. l., vi, 38, 11 (G. v, 9, 17 also has patākadhvajaçobhitā). But R. has the titular phrase at vi, 47, 14 = G. 22, 21 (both °mālinī); and at vi, 57, 3, where G. 31, 4 has bahudhvajapatākinīm.

patidarçanalālasā, No. 165.

153, pated dyāur himavān çīryet, iii, 12, 130; idem but pṛthivī, G. ii, 15, 29. In M. follows pṛthivī çakalī bhavet çuṣyet toyanidhiḥ; in G., çoṣaṁ jalanidhir vrajet. In v, 82, 48, dyāuḥ patec ca sanakṣatrā; in iii, 278, 38, and vii, 13, 10,

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prapated dyāuḥ sanakṣatrā pṛthivī çakalī bhavet; in iii, 249, 31–32, vidīryet sakalā bhūmir dyāuç cā 'pi çakalī bhavet . . himavāṅç ca parivrajet çuṣyet toyaṁ samudreṣu (with other like expressions). See Nos. 64, 327.

153 b, papāta ca mamāra ca, passim. See Nos. 148, 167.
param (-aṁ) vismayam, No. 264.

154, paraṁ kāutūhalaṁ hi me, iii, 296, 26; ix, 35, 39; 40, 2; xiii, 75, 7; R. i, 1, 5, etc., etc.; bhūyaḥ k. h. m., ix, 47, 3.

155, parasparajayāiṣiṇāu, vii, 14, 46; R. iv, 11, 42; vi, 89, 1; G. 76, 32; G. 79, 33. Interchanges with °jighāṁsavaḥ and °vadhāiṣiṇaḥ, q. v. below.

156, parasparajighāṁsavaḥ, vi, 46, 5, 15; G. vi, 29, 16, where R. 55, 17 has jighāṁsayā, which is found also in G. vi, 49, 42, but here R. 69, 54 has jayāiṣiṇaḥ (No. 155). So G. i, 77, 19 has jighīṣayā, where R. has jayāiṣiṇāu; G. vi, 77, 27, jighāṁsinam, where R. 97, 27 has jaghnatuç ca paraspararam. See Nos. 155, 157.

157, parasparavadhāiṣiṇāu, vii, 7, 32; ix, 12, 38; 55, 23 (with the phrase kruddhāv iva mahādvipāu); and passim; G. vi, 69, 1, where R. 89, 1 has jayāiṣiṇāu (No. 155); G. vi, 67, 31; 79, 33. Compare anyonyavadhakāṅkṣiṇāu, R. vi, 99, 31. I have noticed vadhāiṣin only in G., but cannot say that it is lacking in the Bombay edition. Nos. 155–157 might perhaps all be put under one head as simple variants of one phrase. See l. c. No. 10, p. 143.

158, Parjanya iva vṛṣṭimān, vi, 63, 25; vii, 89, 4; ix, 12, 59; 17, 2; xii, 67, 32; 69, 32, etc.; vṛṣṭibhiḥ, R. iii, 28, 7; G. vi, 54, 34; iva jīmūtāiḥ (metre), R. vi, 27, 8; Parjanyam iva karṣakāḥ (yeṣāṁ dārāḥ pratīkṣante), xiii, 60, 15; tvām eva hi pratīkṣante Parj. i. k., R. ii, 112, 12, where G. 122, 12 has tvām eva pratikāṅkṣante Parj. i. k. See No. 217.

159, parvaṇī 'va mahodadhiḥ, ix, 26, 28; jalāçayaḥ, G. ii, 87, 5, where R. 80, 4, has sāgarasye 'va parvaṇi.

160, parvatān iva nīradāḥ, vii, 89, 4; G. vi, 66, 28, where R. 87, 25 has toyadāḥ.

161, palāyanaparāyaṇaḥ, vii, 22, 15; 103, 32; 192, 83, etc.; G. v, 33, 31. See l. c. No. 10, p. 143, and Nos. 69, 116, 293.
palāçāir iva, No. 168.

162, paçum raçanayā yathā, iv, 22, 74, etc.; R. vii, 23, 1, 40.
paçyatāṁ sarvasāinyānām, No. 110.

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163, pāṇim pāṇāu viniṣpiṣya, vii, 73, 19 (with dantān kaṭakaṭāyya ca); R. ii, 35, 1; vii, 69, 2 (pāṇau pāṇim sa niṣpiṣya). Compare niṣpiṣya pāṇinā pāṇim, iv, 22, 81; pāṇāu pāṇiṁ nipīḍya ca (v. l. ha), ix, 65, 33; karaṁ kareṇa niṣpiṣya, i, 151, 42; karaṁ kareṇā 'bhinipīḍya vīraḥ, iii, 236, 19; talaṁ talena niṣpiṣya, vii, 193, 70.

164, pāṇḍureṇā 'tapatreṇa dhriyamāṇena mūrdhani, v, 178, 77; xiii, 14, 175; xiv, 64, 3; 75, 7; xv, 23, 8; R. iv, 38, 13 (G. pāṇḍareṇa); chatreṇa dhriyamāṇena pāṇḍureṇa virājatā, ix, 9, 2. Four references are here added to those cited, l. c. No. 10, p. 138.

pāçahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, Nos. 41, 104–105.

165, putradarçanalālasā, i, 122, 29; G. i, 9, 56; bhartṛdarçanalālasā, iii, 64, 124; 282, 60; G. ii, 26, 5; Rāmadarçanalālasā, iii, 289, 27; R. v, 14, 42; lālasā as terminal, çoka°, i, 2, 229; G. iv, 18, 19; pati°, M. iii, 65, 1; patidarçanalālasā, G. v, 29, 6, where R. 30, 6 has °kāṅkṣiṇī; yuddhalālasāḥ, G. vi, 27, 25, where R. 51, 25 has nardanto jaladā yathā. See also PW. s. v.

166, punarjātam ivā 'tmānam (mene), viii, 96, 47; R. vi, 39, 15; R. vi, 65, 15, and G. 44, 12. In R. vi, 69, 8, manyaṭe kālacoditaḥ, where G. 48, 8 keeps mene; in R. vi, 74, 25, manyate plavagottamaḥ, where G. 53, 30 keeps mene.

167, puṣpavṛṣṭiḥ papāta ha, iii, 76, 40; papāta puṣpavṛṣṭiç ca, R. vii, 110, 6. See also No. 148.

168, puṣpitāv iva kiṁçukāu, iii, 280, 32; vi, 45, 14; ix, 12, 15; 57, 4; dadṛçāte Himavati p. i. k., ix, 58, 34; plural, vii, 19, 14; ix, 9, 24; R. vi, 45, 9; 80, 34; 90, 37; G. vi, 32, 33, where R. 58, 46 has prabhinnāv iva kuñjarāu, a phrase, No. 178; extended in M. vi, 101, 17, saṁstīrṇa iva parvataḥ; kiṁçukaḥ puṣpavān iva, ib. 110, 36; puṣpitāv iva niṣpatrāu, yathā çālmalikiṁçukāu, G. vi, 68, 31; kiṁçukāv iva puṣpitāu, viii, 29, 18; palāçāir iva puṣpitāiḥ, R. vi, 58, 28, where G. 32, 25 has puṣpitāir iva kiṁçukāiḥ as in R. vi, 75, 27, and G. 54, 24. See Nos. 177, 178.

pūrayann iva, No. 36.

169, pūrṇacandranibhānanā, iii, 68, 26; R. vii, 33, 14. See also No. 98, for a similar phrase.

170, pūrṇāyatavisṛṣṭena çareṇā 'nataparvaṇā, vi, 95, 72; R. vi,

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71, 72 (G. 51, 75, karṇāyata°). The hemistich consists of two iterata, the last pāda being often used independently, vi, 64, 52; 88, 29; ix, 16, 39; G. iv, 17, 23; v, 31, 30. Compare çarāiḥ saṁnataparvabhiḥ, M. vii, 14, 30; ākarṇapūrṇam āyamya, R. iv, 11, 91.

171, pṛthivī sasyamālinī, vi, 3, 19; R. iii, 16, 5 (sasyaçālinī, in the other texts, C. vi, 86; G. iii, 22, 5); triṣṭubh, mahīm iva prāvṛṣi sasyaçālinīm, G. v, 80, 31 (not in R.).

172, pṛthivyāṁ caturantāyām, iv, 44, 20; R. v, 31, 4.
prakīrṇa, No. 251.

173, pragṛhya saçaraṁ dhanuḥ, iii, 282, 34; 288, 10; G. v, 93, 14.

174, prajākāmaḥ sa cā 'prajaḥ, iii, 53, 5; R. i, 38, 2; G. i, 14, 28.
prajvalam, No. 176.

175, pratapantam ivā 'dityam, vi, 59, 66; vii, 40, 24; G. ii, 117, 16; pratapantam ivā 'dityam madhyāhne dīptatejasam, R. vi, 128, 9; madhyaṁgatam ivā 'dityam pratapantaṁ svatejasā, M. vi, 106, 80. Compare tapantam iva bhāskaram, R. iv, 11, 86.
pradīpta iva manyunā, No. 80.

176, pradīptam iva tejasā, R. iv, 35, 1; G. iv, 33, 3; G. v, 80, 5 (°tā); vi, 46, 87. Compare prajvalann iva tejasā, xii, 325, 11; jvalantam iva tejasā, R. vi, 71, 70; G. v, 89, 44; G. vi, 46, 130; pradīptam iva pāvakam, xiv, 73, 4 and 6; G. iv, 44, 53; pradīptam iva sarvaçaḥ, G. iii, 78, 30; vapuṣā . . . jvalantam iva tejasā, R. vii, 37, 2, 8; jājvalyamānaṁ vapuṣā, M. i, 97, 27; iii, 100, 19; R. vi, 108, 7; G. vi, 19, 49; jājvalyamānaṁ tejobhiḥ (pāvakārkasamaprabham), M. iii, 188, 108; jājvalyamānaṁ kopena, M. iv, 22, 42; G. iv, 38, 15. See Nos. 16, 75, 80, 111, 177.

177, praphulla iva kiṁçukaḥ, v, 179, 31; G. vi, 68, 20; pradīptān iva kiṁçukān, G. ii, 56, 7; iii, 79, 33. See Nos. 168, 176.
prabhātāyām, No. 94; prabhāte, No. 79.

178, prabhinna iva kuñjaraḥ, vi, 92, 4; vii, 21, 52; 22, 4; 39, 29; ix, 57, 62, etc.; R. vi, 28, 8; G. ii, 116, 42; dual as v. l. in R. vi, 58, 46 for puṣpitāv iva kiṁçukāu, No. 168; prabhinnāv iva mātaṅgāu, M. vii, 10, 8; R. vi, 89, 1; prabhinnam iva mātaṅgam parikīrṇaṁ kareṇubhiḥ, M. iv, 19, 29; kareṇubhir mahāraṇye parikīrṇo yathā dvipaḥ, G. v, 14, 28.

179, prabhūtakamalotpalā, iii, 280, 1; R. iv, 26, 16.

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180, pravāte kadalī yathā, v, 13, 3, prāvepata; R. ii, 117, 18, pravepitā; R. iii, 2, 15; G. v, 26, 1. See Nos. 71, 136.

181, praviveça mahāsenām makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā, i, 138, 30; viii, 77, 10; ix, 18, 10, etc.; G. vi, 77, 6 (v. l. ripoḥ sāinyam); (sāinyam) mahārṇavam mīna ivā 'viveça, R. vi, 69, 67. In R. vi, 97, 6, pataṁga iva pāvakam (No. 151) takes the place of makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā in G. 77, 6.

182, prasannasalilām çubhām (nadīm), iii, 64, 112; prasannasalilaṁ saraḥ, R. vii, 38, 21.

182 b, prasādaṁ kartum arhasi, ix, 35, 72; R. iv, 8, 19; G. ii, 110, 7.

183, prahasann iva, Bhārata, vi, 45, 23; (uvāca) prahasann iva, (pratyuvāca) hasann iva, M. passim; R. iv, 5, 25, etc.; G. i, 41, 3; 53, 12; 74, 19; 33, 36; G. v, 1, 52, 62, etc.

184, prahārāir jarjarīkṛtaḥ, vii, 94, 60; viii, 56, 28; R. iv, 12, 22. See No. 235.

185, prahṛṣṭenāntarātmanā, iii, 57, 30; 72, 42; G. vi, 112, 21 (R. 128, 18, prahṛṣṭā putravatsalā); R. vii, 11, 19.

186, prākāratoraṇā, terminal, dṛḍha°, iii, 284, 2; xv, 5, 16; xvi, 6, 23; sāṭṭa°, G. v, 35, 35. Compare cayāṭṭālakaparyantam, G. i, 72, 3; cayāṭṭālakaçobhinā, M. iii, 160, 39. On these terms, see my Ruling Caste, p. 174, note.

187, prāṇāḥ saṁtvarayanti mām, G. ii, 66, 57 = G. iv, 21, 24 (neither in R.); in xii, 52, 8 ca for mām, but the latter is implied, as balam me prajahātī 'va precedes. In M. i, 172, 8, prāṇā hi prajahanti (sic!) mām.

prāvṛṣī 'va, No. 217.

phullāçoka, No. 228.

188, baddhagodhāṅgulitrāṇāu, and plural, iii, 283, 17; iv, 5, 1; R. i, 22, 9; ii, 23, 36; baddhagodhāṅgulitravān, x, 7, 52; khaḍgagodhāṅgulitravān, iii, 278, 19.

baddhvā ca bhrukuṭim, Nos. 51, 123.

babhūva tumulaḥ çabdaḥ, No. 23.

189, babhāu sūrya ivo 'tthitaḥ, vii, 18, 18; bhāti candra ivo 'ditaḥ, R. vi, 127, 29; kālasūrya ivo 'ditaḥ, M. vii, 16, 15; divākara ivo 'ditaḥ, R. vi, 60, 58; jvalan sūrya ivo 'ditaḥ, G. iii, 69, 1; bālasūrya ivo 'ditaḥ, G. v. 41, 36; bālacandra ivo 'ditaḥ, G. iii, 38, 15. See ivo 'thitaḥ, ivo 'ditaḥ, as terminals also under No. 63; babhāu, No. 228.

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189 b, bahutālasamutsedhāḥ, iii, 158, 91 (waterfalls); R. vi, 26, 5 (a palace).

bāṣpa, all under Nos. 51, 119, 120, 190; bāṣpagadgada, No. 331.

190–193, bāṣpavyākulalocanaḥ, vii, 1, 3 (also C. 97); ix, 65, 31; xv, 16, 9; R. vi, 46, 6; G. ii, 68, 51; vi, 46, 27, where R. 46, 30 has krodhavyākulalocanaḥ; G. vi, 83, 57, etc.; R. vi, 117, 1 = G. 102, 1; G. vi, 103, 1. This (a) is the usual parallel among these lachrymose pādas. Another (b) is çokavyākulalocanāḥ, M. vii, 78, 14; G. ii, 83, 31; and çokabāṣpapariplutaḥ, M. iii, 313, 3; G. v, 66, 20. In R. the commonest form is bāṣpaparyākulekṣaṇa, G. iii, 7, 32; R. vi, 114, 3 (G. 99, 3, with 4, īṣadbāṣpapariplutaḥ); R. vi, 101, 46 (v. l. to G. 83, 57, above); G. vi, 26, 27, where R. 50, 45 has harṣa° (No. 331). Varieties are bāṣpaçokapariplutaḥ, G. iv, 26, 9; R. iii, 2, 22; çokavegapariplutaḥ, G. v, 75, 18; çokabāṣpasamākulaḥ, M. vii, 52, 7; bāṣpaçokasamanvitaḥ, ix, 65, 32; bāṣpasaṁdigdhayā vācā (see No. 331), xv, 8, 23. A third (c) case of identity is found in tataḥ sā bāṣpakalayā vācā and sā bāṣpakalayā vācā, M. iii, 61, 25; iv, 20, 28; R. ii, 82, 10. Perhaps others will be found, of which I have given one side above, and finally in these: çokaviplutalocanāḥ, G. v, 39, 5; bāṣpopahatacetana, R. iv, 27, 32; çokenāviṣṭacetanā, G. vi, 9, 3; bāṣpaviplutalocanaḥ, G. ii, 96, 2; bāṣpadūṣitalocanaḥ, R. iv, 8, 29; bāṣpavyākulitekṣaṇaḥ, R. vii, 98, 2; bāṣpapūrṇamukhāḥ sarve, R. ii, 40, 21. See Nos. 51, 119, 120, 290, and especially the same compounds with *harṣa*, No. 331, where too are put the bāṣpagadgada compounds.

bījam uptam, No. 219.

194–195, Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ, ix, 2524 (= 45, 22, sarva°, as in 47, 15 and in R. i, 63, 17; vi, 61, 21); R. i. 57, 4, etc.; sarvabhūta°, M. i, 64, 39.

bhayagadgada, No. 331.

bhartṛdarçanalālasā, No. 165.

196, bhasmacchanna ivā 'nalaḥ, iii, 278, 32; R. iv, 11, 81; 27, 40; G. iv, 16, 17; bhasmacchanno va pāvako, Dh. Pada, 71. For the terminal ivā 'nalaḥ, see Nos. 33, 75, 99, 291. A pāda in the çloka preceding this in Dh. P., as Prof.

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Hardy has reminded me, is also an epic phrase, kalāṁ nā 'gghati soḷasim, Dh. P. 70, kalāṁ nā 'rhanti ṣoḍaçīm, M. i, 100, 68; ii, 41, 27; iii, 257, 4 (kalām arhati); vii, 197, 17, yaḥ kalāṁ ṣoḍaçīm pūrṇāṁ Dhanaṁjaya na te 'rhati; xii, 174, 46, and 277, 6, (ete) nā 'rhataḥ ṣoḍaçīṁ kalām; so Manu ii, 86.

197, bhīmo bhīmaparākramaḥ, ii, 30, 30; iii, 53, 5; 73, 19; iv, 22, 85; ix, 57, 47, and 61; R. vi, 58, 5; G. v, 35, 30; 38, 44; G. vi, 64, 23; 82, 181; bhīmam bhīmapratisvanam, R. vi, 107, 19. Bhīṣmam bhīmaparākramam, M. vi, 14, 17. See No. 206.

bhujaṁga iva, No. 133.

bhūyaḥ kāutūhalam, No. 154.

198, bhrūkutīkuṭilānanaḥ, iii, 150, 5; G. vi, 65, 33. See Nos. 51, 106, 123.

makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā, No. 181.

199, Maghavān iva Çambaram (jahi raṇe Çalyam), ix, 7, 35; Çambaram Maghavān iva (Bālinaṁ jahi), G. iv, 12, 8. Compare Mahendreṇe 'va Çambaraḥ (tena vikramya), G. v, 18, 29.

200, maṅgalyam maṅgalaṁ Viṣṇum, i, 1, 24; māṅgalyam maṅgalaṁ sarvam, R. vi, 112, 21 (G. 97, 20, maṅgalyam).

201, maṇḍalāni vicitrāṇi, iii, 19, 7; ix, 57, 17, etc.; R. vi, 40, 23. Here also gatapratyāgatāni ca, as in both cases in M. and elsewhere and in R. vi, 107, 32 (above, No. 54). The whole passage ix, 57, 17 ff. is the same with R. vi, 40, 23 ff. (not in G.), with slight changes. See JAOS., vol. xx, p. 222, and my Ruling Caste, p. 253, note (the gomutraka there mentioned is found R. loc. cit.).

202, maṇḍalīkṛtakārmukaḥ, i, 133, 3; R. iii, 25, 16.

203, mattamātaṅgagāminam, iii, 80, 14; 277, 9; R. ii, 3, 28; G. vi, 37, 61. Compare matttanāgendravikramaḥ, M. i, 188, 10, and mattamātaṅgavikramaḥ, R. vi, 3, 43. See No. 314.

204, mano vihvalatī 'va me, i, 1, 218; iv, 61, 4; xi, 14, 14; G. ii, 71, 21.

martukāma, No. 213.

205, mahānāga iva çvasan, ix, 32, 35; 57, 59; G. ii, 92, 26; mahāsarpa, R. iv, 16, 13; krudhaḥ sarpa, R. vi, 88, 38; ruddho nāga, R. iii, 2, 22. See Nos. 119, 133, 141–143.

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mahāpāpapraṇāçanī, No. 301.

206, mahābalaparākramaḥ, vii, 10, 72; ix, 45, 49, etc.; G. v, 1, 49; G. vi, 70, 6; 75, 49; 110, 40. Terminal, Nos. 273, 293.

207, maholkā patatī yathā, vii, 15, 20; maholke iva petatuḥ, G. vi, 70, 18; maholke 'va nabhastalāt (apatat), M. vi, 48, 85; divyolke 'va nabhaçcyutā, G. iv, 19, 31; nyapatad dharaṇīpṛṣṭhe maholke 'va mahāprabhā, M. vi, 104, 32; sā jvalantī maholke 'va . . . nipapāta, M. vii, 92, 67.

208, māṅsaçoṇitakardamă(m), vi, 54, 103; vii, 20, 53; 21, 43; ix, 14, 18; xi, 16, 56; xviii, 2, 17; R. vi, 42, 47; 69, 70; 125, 4; G. vi, 19, 16; °phenilām, R. vi, 69, 148 (compare uṣṇīṣavaraphenilā, M. vii, 14, 11; māṅsaçoṇitakardamām . . . patākavastraphenilām, vii, 187, 16–17).

209, mā dharmyān nīnaçaḥ pathaḥ, iii, 52, 15; G. i, 24, 9.

210, mānuṣaṁ vigrahaṁ kṛtvā, i, 98, 8; R. iv, 66, 10.
muktaraçmir iva, No. 25.

211, mudā paramayā yuktaḥ, ii, 53, 23, etc.; R. i, 52, 11. This is a phrase of various forms, yuktaḥ or yutaḥ, according to position; mudā, çriyā, prityā, according to sense. Other examples are given above, pp. 267, 269.

212, munayaḥ saṁçitavratāḥ, xiii, 6, 41; R. iv, 13, 18. In G. iv, 13, 24, ṛṣīṇāṁ saṁçitātmanām = maharṣīn saṁçitavratān, M. i, 1, 3.

213, mumūrṣur (-ṣor) iva bheṣajam, vi, 121, 57; ix, 5, 5 (na mām prīṇāti tat sarvam); G. iii, 45, 19; āuṣadham iva, M. ii, 62, 2; martukāma ivāu 'ṣadham, R. iii, 40, 1; G. v, 89, 57, where R. vi, 17, 15 has viparīta ivāu 'ṣadham. Compare mumūrṣur naṣṭacetanaḥ, M. v, 53, 12; and na prīṇayati mām bhuktam apathyam iva bhojanam, G. v, 76, 6 (paretakalpā hi gatāyuṣo narā hitaṁ na gṛhṇanti, R. iii, 41, 20). See No. 68.

214, muhūrtam iva ca dhyātvā, iii, 282, 66; sa muhūrtam iva dhyātvā, R. vi, 101, 38; sa muhūrtam iva dhyātvā bāṣpaparyākulekṣaṇaḥ, two pāda phrases (Nos. 190–193, compare also s. No. 119), G. v, 19, 2; tato muhūrtaṁ sa dhyātvā, ix, 5, 2.
mūle hate, No. 328.

215, mṛgā vyādhāir ivā 'rditāḥ, xii, 332, 31; mṛgāḥ kokair ivā 'rditāḥ, G. vi, 28, 19. In M. usually mṛgāḥ siṁhārditā

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iva, vii, 37, 36; ix, 3, 7; 19, 3, etc.; siṅhārdita iva dvipaḥ, G. v, 37, 19. See Nos. 271, 316.

216, mekalaprabhavaç cāi 'va Çoṇo maṇinibhodhakaḥ, H. 3, 46, 44, perhaps from G. iv, 40, 20 (°aṁ Çoṇaṁ nadam maṇi°), the passage entire.

meghaṁ sūrya, No. 72.

yathā devāsure yuddhe, No. 227.

217, yathā prāvṛṣi toyadāḥ, vi, 81, 39; R. iii, 18, 23; prāvṛṣī 'va balāhakaḥ, R. v, 1, 180; prāvṛṣī 'va mahāmeghaḥ, R. iv, 11, 25 (compare 8, 43); prāvṛṣī 'va ca Parjanyaḥ, xiii, 68, 71. See Nos. 59, 77, 158.

218, yathā bhūmicale 'calāu, C. ix, 614 (vicious); 'calaḥ, R. vi, 59, 61; 77, 13. In M. corresponding to 614, raṇabhūmitale calāu. Both R. passages have samuddhūto preceding. See Nos. 91, 240.

219, yatho 'ṣare bījam uptam (na rohet), xiii, 90, 44; suniṣphalam bījam ivo 'ptaṁ ūṣare, R. ii, 20, 52; bījam uptam ivo 'ṣare, R. iii, 40, 3. Compare Manu, ii, 112, çubham bījam ivo 'ṣare.

yantramukta (cyuta) iva dhvajaḥ, No. 25.

220, Yamadaṇḍopamāṁ raṇe, vi, 116, 49; Yamadaṇḍopamāṁ gurvīm Indrāçanim ivo 'dyatām, ix, 57, 12; Yamadaṇḍapratīkāçāṁ Kālarātrim ivo 'dyatām . . . dehāntakaraṇīm ati, ix, 11, 50 (gadām); Kāladaṇḍopamāṁ gadām, R. vii, 14, 14; 27, 48; G. iii, 35, 43; Yamadaṇḍopamaṁ bhīmam, R. vi, 77, 3; Kālapāçopamān raṇe, G. iii, 31, 16; Kāladaṇḍopamaṁ raṇe, M. vi, 45, 8; vajrasparçopamā raṇe, ix, 63, 21. See Nos. 42, 104–105.

221, yasya nā 'sti samo loke, xi, 23, 14 (çāurye vīrye ca); yasya nā 'sti samo yudhi, G. vi, 33, 24; yeṣāṁ nā 'sti samo vīrye, ib. 49.

222, yasya prasādaṁ kurute sa vāi taṁ draṣṭum arhati, M. xii, 337, 20; R. vii, 37, 3, 14 (copied). This is in the Çvetadvīpa interpolation of R.

223, yāvat sthāsyanti girayo, v, 141, 55; R. i, 2, 36; adding yāvat sthāsyanti sāgarāḥ, xii, 334, 37; G. vi, 108, 15–16 (sāgarāḥ); in Çānti, correlated with tāvat tava 'kṣayā kīrtiḥ . . . bhaviṣyati; in G. with kīrtir eṣā bhaviṣyati. Compare No. 224.

224, yāvad bhūmir dhariṣyati, iii, 291, 50; viii, 86, 20; ix, 53.

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21; R. vi, 100, 57; G. vi, 92, 76; 112, 102; yāval lokā dhariṣyanti, R. i, 60, 29; vii, 84, 13; yāvad bhūmir girayaç ca tiṣṭheyuḥ, xii, 343, 51; yāvat prāṇā dhariṣyanti, ix, 24, 40; yāvac ca me dhariṣyanti (prāṇā dehe), M. iii, 57 (N. 5), 32. See No. 223.

225, yiyāsur Yamasādanam, i, 163, 10; G. vi, 57, 23. See No. 3, and l. c. No. 10, p. 143 ff.

226, yugāntāgnir ivā 'jvalan, i, 138, 37; R. iii, 24, 34; v, 21, 25; G. vi, 80, 40, where R. 101, 38 has yugānta iva pāvakaḥ (bhāskaraḥ in R. iv, 11, 2). Compare yugāntāgnir iva prajāḥ, R. v. 58, 158; G. vi, 50, 50, where R. 69, 150 has iva jvalan. See Nos. 33, 75, 111, 176.

227, yuddhaṁ devāsuropamam, vii, 15, 2; yuddhe devāsuropamāḥ, G. vi, 4, 3; yathā devāsure yuddhe, M. vi, 116, 36; vii, 14, 48; purā devāsure yathā, iii, 285, 11.

yuddhe yuddhaviçāradāḥ, No. 307.

228, raktāçoka ivā 'babhāu, vi, 103, 10; phullāçoka ivā 'babhāu, R. vi, 102, 69. Compare babhāu Rāmo 'çoka iva raktastabakamaṇḍitaḥ, M. v, 179, 31. See No. 189.

rajanyām, Nos. 94-95.

rathanemisvanena ca, No. 247.

229, rathenā 'dityavarcasā, iii, 290, 12; 291, 51; R. vi, 71, 16.

229 b, rathopastha upāviçat, vi, 94, 19, etc.; R. vi, 59, 114.

230, ratho me kalpyatām iti, iii, 289, 33; kalpyatām me rathaḥ çīghram and ratho me yujyatām iti, R. vi, 95, 21; ii, 115, 7.

Rāmadarçanalālasā, No. 165.

231, Rāma-Rāvaṇayor iva, R. vi, 107, 53; Rāma-Rāvaṇayoç cāi 'va, Vāli-Sugrīvayos tathā, ix, 55, 31; Rāma-Rāvaṇayor mṛdhe (yādṛçaṁ hi purā vṛttam), M. vii, 96, 28. Compare Nos. 267, 274.

232, Rāmo rājīvalocanaḥ, R. iii, 61, 29, etc., and passim; M. iii, 148, 10; xiii, 84, 31 (Jāmadagnyaḥ !).

233, Rāvaṇaḥ krodhamūrcchitaḥ, iii, 277, 47; 284, 17; R. vi, 26, 6; 90, 57; G. i, 1, 51; vi, 75, 10; 88, 1; rākṣasī duḥkhamūrcchitā, M. iii, 277, 46. The terminal is found often in both epics, e. g. in M. iii, 46, 48, Urvaçī krodhamūrcchitā.

234, rukmapuṅkhāis tāiladhāutāiḥ, ix, 24, 60 (karmāraparimārjitaiḥ); G. vi, 34, 24; svarṇapuṅkhāiḥ çilādhāutāiḥ, ix, 15, 14. See Nos. 34, 337.

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235, rudhireṇa samukṣitāḥ, iii, 287, 14; iv, 22, 92; ix, 65, 4, etc.; G. vi, 75, 54; çoṇitena samukṣitaḥ, M. iii, 12, 62; jarjarīkṛtasarvāṅgāu rudhireṇā 'bhisamplutāu, ix, 58, 34; compare R. iv, 12, 22, klānto rudhirasiktāṅgaḥ prahārāir jarjarīkṛtaḥ (phrase of No. 184).

236, rūpeṇā 'pratimā bhuvi, i, 152, 17; iii, 62, 25; ix, 35, 47; 48, 2; xiii, 82, 4; G. i, 40, 4; R. i, 32, 14; iii, 34, 20, Sītā; 35, 13; 72, 5, vii, 58, 7 (last three, neuter with kanyā- or bhāryā- dvayam); vii, 80, 4; 87, 26; with loke for metre, xvii, 2, 14; R. v, 12, 20; Sītā cā 'pratimā bhuvi, R. vi, 110, 22; rūpeṇā 'sadṛçī bhuvi, Hariv. 1, 12, 7; with bala, balenā 'pratimam bhuvi, iii, 275, 7. The prevailing form in both epics is rūpeṇā 'pratimā bhuvi, as above and in R. iv, 66, 9, here after the pāda, vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu, with which compare M. iii, 53, 15, where Nala is lokeṣv apratimo bhuvi, but with rūpeṇa following, which in turn takes the place of mūrtimān (No. 35) in another R. phrase. In R. vii, 37, 3, 24, the phrase is united with chāye 'vā 'nugatā, No. 70, and sarvalakṣaṇalakṣita, No. 303. It is slightly modified on occasion, jānanty apratimām bhuvi, ix, 42, 20; rūpeṇā 'pratimā rājan, M. v. 35, 6.

laghu citraṁ ca, No. 67.

237, vacanaṁ ce 'dam abravīt, v, 178, 27; G. v, 23, 24; interchanges with vākyaṁ ce 'dam uvāca ha, R. i, 35, 3 = G. 37, 3. Loc. cit., No. 10, p. 144. See No. 24.

238, vajranispeṣagāuravam, iii, 11, 40; G. vi, 76, 27; °niḥsvanam, G. vi, 36, 105 (°niṣṭhuram, R. 59, 126).

vajrasparçopamā raṇe, No. 220.

239, vajrahasta ivā 'surān, viii, 9, 5 (mohayitvā raṇe); °tam i. °āḥ, vi, 108, 35; vajrapāṇer ivā 'surāḥ (saṁtrasiṣyanti), vii, 3, 15; asurān iva vāsavaḥ, G. vi, 14, 8; vajreṇe 'ndra ivā 'surān, G. v, 50, 19; vajrahasto yathā Çakraḥ, R. vi, 67, 38; vajravān vajraṁ dānaveṣv iva vāsavaḥ (krodham mokṣye), R. vi, 25, 25; surāṇām iva vāsavaḥ, ib. 26, 37; nibudhān iva vāsavaḥ (pātu), M. vii, 6, 4; tridaçā iva vāsavam, M. vi, 97, 24; vasavo vāsavān yathā (v. l. iva), R. iv, 26, 36, etc.; marutām (marudbhir) iva vāsavaḥ, G. v, 31, 57; R. ii, 106, 27; sahasrākṣam ivā 'marāḥ, R. iv, 26, 23. See No. 250.

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vajrāçani, No. 275.

240, vajrāhata ivā 'calaḥ, vii, 26, 16; R. vi, 69, 162 (ib. 95, yathā 'calo vajranipātabhagnaḥ); papāta sahasā bhūmāu, v. l. acalaḥ, R. vii, 69, 36 (No. 148); G. iv, 48, 22 (R. 48, 21, v. l., paryasta iva parvataḥ); vajrakṛttā ivā 'calāḥ, R, vi, 69, 73. See Nos. 91, 218.

241, vajrāir iva girir hataḥ, vii, 15, 26; vajreṇe 'va māhāgiriḥ, R. iv, 16, 23 (nihataḥ.)

vanam agnir, No. 33.

242, vane vanyena jīvataḥ, xii, 13, 10; xv, 11, 23; R. ii, 37, 2; 63, 27, and G. 80, 11; G. iv, 20, 7. Compare vane vanyena vartayan, Raghuv. xii, 20.

243, valmīka(m) iva pannagāḥ, vi, 117, 43; vii, 139, 7; R. iii, 20, 21; 29, 11. See Nos. 74, 139 ff., 150.

244, vavarṣa çaravarṣāṇi (°ena), vi, 47, 20 and 67; ix, 16, 33–34; etc.; R. vi, 58, 40, etc. Compare çaravarṣaṁ vavarṣa saḥ (or ca), common in M.; R. vi, 93, 18; çaravārṣāir avākirat, M. vii, 18, 19; G. vi, 30, 11; R. vi, 100, 25; 103, 23. See No. 77.

vasavo, No. 239.

245, vākyajño vākyakovidaḥ, iii, 278, 2; G. v, 7, 40; R. vi, 111, 97.

246, vākyaṁ vākyaviçāradaḥ, ii, 15, 10; v, 13, 10; R. v, 52, 4; 63, 15; vii, 87, 1; G. i, 60, 17; G. vi, 82, 46. Compare vākyaṁ vākyavidāṁ çreṣṭhaḥ, R. i, 70, 16; vi, 3, 6; vākyajño and vākyavid vākyakuçalāḥ, R. iv, 3, 24; vi, 17, 30; G. v, 81, 2 (G. 81, 46, çāstrāvid vākyakuçalaḥ); sarve vākyaviçāradāḥ, G. vi, 27, 11 (v. l. vākyakovidāḥ). Compare No. 307.

247, vājināṁ khuraçabdena rathanemisvanena ca, ix, 9, 14; G. vi, 111, 17, but with açvānām for vājinām, where R. 127, 20 has khuraçabdaç ca. In G. ii, 111, 46 (the second pāda only) khuranemisvanena ca, where R. 103, 40 has rathanemisamāhatā; rathanemisvanena ca is common in M., vii, 38, 12, etc.

248–249, (a) vātarugṇa iva drumaḥ, iii, 286, 4; C. xi, 611 = 21, 9, where is found °bhagna, as in vi, 13, 13; 14, 16; vii, 16, 4, but °rugṇa occurs again in vii, 79, 25 (C. bhugna). Other forms in M. are vātahata, vāyurugṇa, viii, 9, 5; agnidagdha (all with iva drumaḥ), iii, 63, 39; vāteritaḥ

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çāla ivā 'dṛiçṛīgāt, viii, 85, 38; iii, 16, 20, vātarugṇa iva kṣuṇṇo jīrṇamūlo vanaspatiḥ (vegavān nyapatad bhuvi). (b) Besides these, chinnamūla, iv, 16, 12; viii, 96, 54 (like chinne 'va kadalī, No. 71). In R. the last (b) is the favorite form, though in iii, 20, 21, bhinnamūlā iva drumāḥ stands for G. 26, 24 chinnamūlā; papāta sahasā bhūmāu chinnamūla i. d., G. ii, 74, 19; R. vi, 58, 54 = G. 32, 42; in R. iii, 29, 7, çīrṇamūla (= G. 35, 8, chinna), etc. Compare also vātanunna, M. vii, 190, 27 (vātanunnā ivā 'mbudāḥ, viii, 24, 27); chinnas tarur ivā 'raṇye, G. vi, 82, 115; drumā bhagnaçikhā iva, M. vi, 62, 44; vajrarugṇa ivā 'calaḥ, xiv, 76, 18. Other forms in R. are mūlabhraṣṭa, bhūmikampa, vātoddhūta, vajrāhata (all with iva drumaḥ); bhagnā iva mahādrumāḥ. I enter only two as identical, but there may be more. Compare Nos. 53, 71, 136, 240. I add here another like interchange of ptc.: bhagnadaṅṣṭra ivo 'ragaḥ, R. i, 55, 9; çīrṇa°, ix, 3, 7 (cf. 19, 3).

250, vāṣavo Namuciṁ yathā, ix, 7, 38 (jahi cai 'nam); G. vi, 51, 102 (jahī 'mam); Çakreṇa Namucir yathā, G. vi, 18, 16, (compare 30, 17); Namucir vāsavaṁ yathā, G. iii, 31, 36 (= R. 25, 31, kruddhaṁ kruddha ivā 'ntakaḥ, Nos. 104-105); Namucir yathā Hariṁ ! (samabhyadhāvat), G. iii, 32, 36; sa vṛtra iva vajreṇa phenena Namucir yathā Balo ve 'ndrāçanihataḥ, R. iii, 30, 28 (vā for iva, as often); dvandvayuddhaṁ sa dātuṁ te [samarthaḥ] Namucer ivā vāsavaḥ, R. iv, 11, 22. See No. 239.

251, vikīrṇā iva parvatāḥ (and instr. pl.), vi, 116, 39; iii, 172, 18; vii, 20, 50; G. iii, 56, 39; G. vi, 37, 30; 52, 37; interchanges with viçīrṇa, viii, 27, 38; G. iv, 7, 23, viçīrṇa = R. iv, 8, 24, vikīrṇa; so viçīrṇa in G. v, 87, 4; also prakīrṇa, R. iv, 5, 29; G. vi, 76, 13. Compare nirdhūta iva, G. v, 8, 4; patita, G. vi, 32, 24. See Nos. 75, 111.

252, vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu (above, No. 236); triṣu lokeṣu viçruta, iii, 84, 83; 85, 74; ix, 38, 38, etc.

253, vidyut sāudāmanī yathā, iii, 53, 12; 96, 22; R. iii, 52, 14, where G. 38, 19 has vyomni, as in G. vi, 80, 24, where the v. l. is dīptāçanisamaprabhā; also R. iii, 74, 34 (not in G.); R. vii, 32, 56 = G. 21, 57.

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254, vidhidṛṣṭena karmaṇā, iii, 166, 8; ix, 47, 10; R. i, 49, 19; Compare ṛṣidṛṣṭena vidhinā, ix, 50, 12.

255, vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ, vi, 109, 35; 117, 48; xii, 251, 7; 325, 12; R. iv, 67, 7; vi, 77, 7; 88, 20. See Nos. 75, 111, 226, 283.

256, vidhūmo 'gnir iva jvalan, i, 102, 38; ix, 14, 20; xii, 334, 3; R. iii, 28, 19. See Nos. 33, 226.

257, vinadya jalado yathā, vi, 49, 35; nādayan jalado yathā, R. iii, 70, 10; vineduḥ . . . jaladā iva, G. vi, 21, 22 (v. l. jaladopamāḥ); G. vi, 50, 36; jaladā iva cā 'neduḥ, R. vi, 60, 35.

258, vinirdagdham pataṁgam iva vahninā, ii, 42, 19; vinirdagdhaḥ çalabho vahninā yathā, G. vii, 23, 48. For another case of interchange between pataṁga and çalabha in the same phrase, see No. 151.

vimarde tumule, No. 92.

vimukhīkṛtavikrama, No. 123.

259, vivatsām iva dhenavaḥ (dhenukām), vii, 78, 18; R. ii, 41, 7. Compare gāur vivatse 'va vatsalā, G. ii, 66, 28.

259 b, vivarṇavadanā kṛçā, iii, 54, 2; R. ii, 75, 7.

260, vivyādha niçitāiḥ çarāiḥ, vi, 45, 77; and passim; R, v, 44, 6; G. vi, 19, 55; and passim. See l. c. No. 10, p. 141, for variants.

261, viçalyakaraṇīṁ çubhām, vi, 81, 10: G. vi, 82, 39; 83, 9, etc. The passage in M. should be compared as a whole with G. vi, 71, 23. In M.: evam uktvā dadāv asmāi viçalyakaraṇīṁ çubhāṁ oṣadhiṁ vīryasampannāṁ viçalyaç cā 'bhavat tadā; in G.: evam uktas tu . . . viçalyakaraṇīṁ nāma . . . çubhāṁ dadāu nasyaṁ sa tasya gandham āghrāya viçalyaḥ samapadyata (all explained again in G. 82, 39).

262, viṣapīta iva skhalan, Hariv. C. 4,840 = çvasan in 2, 32, 1; G. ii, 84, 1. Compare madakṣība iva skhalan, G. ii, 84, 5.

262 b, viṣam agniṁ jalaṁ rajjum āsthāsye tava kāraṇāt, iii, 56, 4 (Nala, 4, 4), where the situation is the same as in R. ii, 29, 21 (not in G.); viṣam agniṁ jalaṁ vā 'ham āsthāsye mṛtyukāraṇāt.

visphārya ca, No. 308.

263, visphūrjitam ivā 'çaneḥ, iii, 51, 13, and often; G. iv, 5, 24; G. v, 23, 19 (R. 21, 24, nirghoṣam açaner iva).

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264, vismayam paramaṁ gataḥ, ix, 54, 11; R. iv, 12, 5; R. v, 32, 3; gatvā, xiii, 14, 368; yayāu, M. iii, 71, 24, etc.; prāpa, G. vi, 16, 95; jagmuḥ, M. v, 131, 22; ix, 38, 10, 57, 9, etc.; R. vi, 107, 3; G. 99, 45; paraṁ vismayam āgatāḥ, M. iv, 22, 93 (sarve); R. i, 69, 16; R. vi, 107, 3 (sarve); G. vi, 4, 44; paramaṁ vismayaṁ gatāḥ, G. iii, 30, 38; sarve vismayam āgatāḥ, G. vi, 86, 11; çrutvā tu vismayaṁ jagmuḥ, R. vi, 130, 40.

265, vismayotphullanayanāḥ, i, 134, 28; R. iii, 42, 34; G. v, 9, 60; °locanāḥ, M. i, 136, 1; xiii, 14, 386; Hariv. 3, 10, 45; R. vii, 37, 3, 29; G. iv, 63, 10; G. vi, 105, 21, where R. has kiṁ tv etad iti vismitāḥ; vismayākulacetasaḥ, G. iv, 50, 14. See No. 332.

266, vīro raṇaviçāradaḥ, vi, 57, 16; G. vi, 60, 4.

267, vṛtravāsavayor iva, vi, 100, 51 (tayoḥ samabhavad yuddham); R. vi, 99, 31 (tayor abhūn mahāyuddham). Compare Nos. 231, 274.

268, vedavedāṅgapāragāḥ, iii, 64, 81; xiii, 14, 62; G. ii, 70, 16; °tattvajñaḥ, metrical, M. vi, 14, 44, etc.

269, velām iva mahodadhiḥ, vii, 197, 6; R. vi, 76, 63; 118, 16; G. ii, 30, 30; velām iva samāsādya, M. i, 227, 28; velām ivā 'sādya yathā samudraḥ, R. vi, 109, 21; velām iva mahārṇavaḥ, M. iv, 19, 22; ix, 3, 18; vele 'va makarālayam, iv, 52, 19; vi, 108, 60, etc.

vyatītāyām, No. 94.

270, vyāghrakesariṇāv iva, vii, 14, 68; G. vi, 67, 32.

271, vyāghraḥ kṣudramṛgaṁ yathā, iii, 10, 25 (jaghāna); vyāghrāt kṣudramṛgā iva (trastāḥ), G. iii, 33, 21. Compare (trāsayan) siṁhaḥ kṣudramṛgān yathā, M. iii, 288, 10; (dṛṣṭvā no 'dvijate), R. iii, 28, 13; siṁhaṁ kṣudramṛgā yathā (saṁtrastāḥ), M. vi, 19, 10; vyādhibhiç ca vimathyante vyādhāiḥ kṣudramṛgā iva, xii, 332, 29. See also Nos. 215, 316.

272, vyāttānanam ivā 'ntakam, vi, 63, 26; 107, 99; R. iii, 32, 6; and G. iii, 7, 8, where R. iii, 2, 6 has vyāditāsyaṁ; which phrase occurs also in M. vi, 114, 39. Compare viii, 91, 42, Kālānanaṁ vyāttam ivā 'tighoram. For ivā 'ntaka see No. 104.

vyāhartum upacakrame, No. 14.

vyuṣṭāyām, Nos. 94–95.

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vyomni sāudāmanī, No. 253.

273, Çakratulyaparākramaḥ. The common terminal is parākramaḥ, to which is prefixed Yama, Vāyu, Çakra, etc., as in ix, 15, 10, Yama; G. vi, 83, 39, Vāyu; G. vi, 75, 2, Çakra. The last is naturally the most frequent, Çakratulyaparākramaḥ, viii, 27, 27, etc.; G. iii, 42, 19; R. iv, 11, 43; 32, 11; vi, 69, 10 and 82; 71, 1; Çakratulyabalo 'pi san, G. iii, 47, 2. See Nos. 206, 293.

Çakradhvaja, No. 25.

274, Çakraçambarayor iva, R. vi, 76, 77; (yathā yuddhe) Çakraçambarayoḥ purā, M. vi, 100, 54. See Nos. 231, 267.

275, Çakrāçanisamasparçān (çarān), vi, 108, 35; G. vi, 68, 6, where R. 88, 42 has sarpān iva viṣolbaṇān; Indrāçani°, ix, 24, 57, etc.; R. vi, 98, 21; vajrāçani°, R. vi, 43, 32. So Çakra, Indra, and vajra, in Çakrāçanisamasvanam, Indrā°, vajrā°, M. vi, 44, 11; 62, 61; G. i, 42, 5 (mahā°, 33, 12); vajrā° also R. vi, 100, 32; G. iii, 26, 20; Çakrāçanisamaprabhā, R. vi, 54, 2. Compare çarāir açanisaṁsparçāiḥ, M. vi, 117, 22 with Çakrā° vajrāçanisamāiḥ çaraiḥ, R. vi, 88, 46 = G. 68, 10; also vajrasaṁsparçasamān çarān, G. vi, 70, 15 (= 90, 44, vajrasparçasamān); Çakrāçanisvanam, ib. 61, 1, etc.

276, çaṅkhadundubhiniḥsvanāḥ, i, 69, 6; °nirghoṣaḥ, R. vi, 42, 39.

277, çataço 'tha sahasraçaḥ, M. iii, 288, 24; vi, 35, 5; 57, 23; 59, 10; vii, 16, 5, etc.; R. ii, 57, 9; G. i, 56, 6; G. iii, 34, 14; G. iv, 50, 18; G. v, 73, 23; 95, 24; G. vi, 99, 14. Common is the terminal çatasahasraçaḥ, M. i, 134, 28; G. ii, 57, 9, etc.

çaravarṣaṁ vavarṣa ca, etc., No. 244.

278, çaravarṣāṇi sṛjantam (two pādas), vi, 59, 66; 106, 53; sṛjantaṁ çaravarṣāṇi, G. vi, 18, 36.

279, çaraç cāpād iva cyutaḥ, R. iv, 11, 14; çarāç cāpaguṇacyutāḥ, G. iii, 33, 16, where R. 27, 13 has guṇāc cyutān. M. has cāpacyutāḥ çarāḥ, vi, 48, 79; 116, 51, etc., but not I think cāpaguṇacyutāḥ, guṇa for jyā being rare in M., though it occurs a few times, e. g., viii, 25, 39; 26, 30; iii, 282, 12.

çareṇā 'nataparvaṇā, No. 170.

280, çarāiḥ kanakabhūṣaṇāiḥ (or °āḥ), vi, 64, 15; ix, 13, 43; R. vi, 71, 40; G. vi, 18, 45, where R. kāñcana (as in G. vi, 86, 30); G. vi, 55, 28; çarā hemavibhūṣitāḥ, R. iv, 8, 22;

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united with phrase No. 87 in ix, 28, 41. See Nos. 85, 336.

281, çarāir āçīviṣopamāiḥ (or °āḥ), vii, 37, 12; ix, 16, 11; R. vi, 88, 42; G. vi, 76, 25; jvalitāçīviṣopamān, M. vi, 100, 5. For other references, see l. c. No. 10, p. 146.

282, çarāiḥ sarpaviṣopamāiḥ (or °āḥ), vi, 117, 22; R. vi, 88, 18.

283, çalabhā iva pāvakam, vii, 36, 21; viii, 24, 61; 27, 7; xi, 25, 14; G. vi, 44, 38, where R. 65, 43 has pataṁgān; çalabhān iva mārutaḥ (vyadhamat), M. vii, 145, 70. Compare also the close resemblance in çalabhānām iva vrajāḥ or vrajā iva, M. ix, 11, 25; 13, 42, where C. 697 has çakunānām (in the former, one of a group of similes of arrows, bhramarāṇām iva vrātāḥ çalabhānām iva vrajāḥ hrādinya iva meghebhyaḥ, scil. nyapatan çarāḥ), and in R. vi, 41, 49, çalabhānām ivo 'dgamaḥ; ix, 13, 41, ivā *'yatim* (with vrajā iva above), perhaps for 'valim? Compare haṁsāvali, R. vi, 69, 37. Another favorite simile is the lamp, on which, however, I have at hand, besides the iva pāvakam phrases above, only çalabhā iva te dīptam agnim prāpya yayuḥ kṣayam, M. vii, 146, 14; te pāvakam ivā 'sadya çalabhā jīvitakṣaye jagmur vināçaṁ sarve vāi, G. v. 39, 12; çalabhā yathā dīpam (pīḍayeyuḥ) mumūrṣavaḥ (sūfyam abhraganā iva), M. vii, 22, 26. See Nos. 151, 181, 258.

284, çārdūla iva kuñjaram, vii, 14, 67; also in G., but ref. lost. Terminal, No. 297.

285, çiro bhrājiṣṇukuṇḍalam, iii, 289, 23; çiro jvalitakuṇḍalam, R. vi, 100, 15; 103, 20. See No. 317.

286, çīghragām ūrmimālinīm, R. ii, 55, 22, of Yamunā (cf. 113, 21); Vitastām (for çīghragām), xiii, 25, 7; ūrmimālinam akṣobhyaṁ kṣubhyantam iva sāgaram, R. ii, 18, 6; which adds upaplutam ivā 'dityam, a phrase found also in xiv, 11, 2, in the same situation.

287, çīghram prajavitāir hayāiḥ, M. vii, 98, 10; G. ii, 70, 3, and 6, where R. 68, 6 has çīghraṁ çīghrajavāir hayāih. See No. 78.

288, çubhaṁ vā yadi vā pāpam, v, 34, 4; R. iv, 30, 72. This phrase introduces in these passages two different proverbs. The same occurs xvii, 3, 31, etc.; R. ii, 18, 25, in a general relation. The first vā is often omitted in such turns, as in G. v, 64, 6 = Manu xi, 233, ajñānād yadi vā

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jñānāt (followed in G. by na kaçcin nā 'parādhyati = R. vi, 113, 43, where G. 98, 34 has na kaçcid apa°).

çuṣkaṁ vanam, No. 33.

289, çṛṅgābhyāṁ vṛṣabhāv iva, ix, 14, 25 (tatakṣatus tadā 'nyonyam); govṛṣo yathā, G. iii, 32, 4. In the latter case the warrior thus receives arrows! The reading is nimīlita iva 'ṛṣabhaḥ, R. iii, 26, 4. Compare çṛṅgiṇāu govṛṣāv iva, v. l. vṛṣabhāv, ix, 57, 2.

çokabāṣpaparipluta and some other çoka-forms, Nos. 137, 190.

290, çokopahatacetanāḥ, iii, 59, 14; R. iv, 1, 124; °cetasam, M. vii, 191, 1; ix, 41, 25. These to add to No. 190.

çvasantam iva, No. 143.

291, saṁvartako ivā 'nalaḥ, vi, 95, 54; G. iii, 70, 1; G. v, 8, 7; G. vi, 83, 16. See Nos. 33, 75, 196.

292, sakhe satyena te çape, i, 131, 46; G. iv, 13, 34. Compare, among other variants, vīra satyena te çape, G. ii, 48, 4, where R. 51, 4 has satyenāi 'va ca te çape; satyenāi 'va çapāmy aham, R. iv, 7, 22; satyena vāi çape devi, G. v, 34, 7. See No. 294.

293, satyadharmaparāyaṇaḥ, iii, 64, 83; vii, 12, 26; xii, 278, 39; 337, 63; R. vii, 74, 19 (where G. has puraskṛtya); G. i, 59, 7; G. ii, 74, 26; G. ii, 19, 6, where R. 22, 9 has nityaṁ satyaparākramaḥ; wherewith compare nityaṁ dharmaparāyaṇaḥ, G. iv, 38, 43. Compare satyavrataparāyaṇaḥ, M. i, 109, 6; xiii, 107, 122; G. ii, 21, 3. Compare also satyaparākramaḥ, terminal after dhīmān, M. iii, 73, 23; after Rāmaḥ, G. iii, 33, 10; G. v. 66, 21; after satyaṁ, R. vi, 119, 12. For the terminals parāyaṇa, parākrama, see Nos. 69, 116, 163, 206, 273.

294, satyam etad bravīmi te, i, 73, 17; iii, 56, 14; 57, 32; xiii, 14, 178, etc.; G. ii, 15, 19; G. v, 6, 13; 36, 70; G. vi, 98, 15; etat satyam, G. vi, 23, 32; tattvam etad, often in R.; satyenā 'ham, R. v, 38, 65; satyam pratiçṛṇomi te, R. v, 1, 148; vi, 100, 48; satyam etan nibodha me, G. iv, 61, 4; satyam etan nibodhadhvam, M. iii, 298, 13; satyam etad vaco mama, ix, 35, 75. See No. 292.

295, saṁdaçya daçanāir oṣṭham, vi, 91, 31; R. vi, 95, 3 (in M. with the phrase sṛkkiṇī parisaṁlihan; in R., with krodhasaṁraktalocanaḥ); R. vi. 69, 88, where G. 49, 76 has

sampīḍya daçanāir oṣṭhāu; ix, 11, 49, saṁdaçya daçanacchadam (C. 577, saṁdaṣṭa°).

296, sapakṣāv iva parvatāu, vii, 14, 71; R. ii, 89, 19. Compare saçṛṅgāv iva parvatāu, M. vii, 14, 25; ix, 12, 22; 55, 40; Kāilāsam iva çṛṅgiṇam, vi, 62, 33; 94, 23. See Nos. 75, 111, 251.

saptaçīrṣan, No. 150.

297, samadāv iva kuñjarāu, i, 134, 33 and 34; R. vi, 66, 9 (plural); samadā iva hastinaḥ, G. v, 81, 35.

298, samantād akutobhayāḥ, xii, 68, 30; G. iii, 11, 17; both after yathākāmam, but with different application; that of M. being found elsewhere, R. ii, 67, 18 (A. J. Phil. vol. xx, p. 33).

299, samudraṁ saritām patim, ix, 50, 15; R. iv, 11, 8.

300, sarvakāmasamṛddhinī, ii, 21, 25; ix, 38, 7, °inā, etc.; R. iii, 47, 4, etc.

301, sarvapāpapraṇāçanam (parva) i, 2, 79, etc.; R. vii, 83, 4 (dharmapravacanam); mahāpāpapranāçanī (kathā), R. vii, 37, 4, 7.

302, sarvabhūta (bhayaṁkara and) bhayāvaha (the former, ix, 36, 26; the latter), G. vi, 60, 49, where R. 69, 149 has sārvabhāuma; xiii, 14, 259. Also Manu viii, 347, sarvabhūtabhayāvahān. See also No. 304.

303, sarvalakṣaṇalakṣitā(ḥ), xii, 337, 35; R. vii, 37, 3, 24; °sampannam, ix, 6, 13, etc. In R. with phrase No. 236.

sarvalokapitāmahaḥ, No. 194.

304, sarvalokabhayaṁkaram, iii, 65, 20; R. iv, 8, 19; G. vi, 91, 1, where R. 107, 1, has sarvalokabhayāvaham; R. vi, 108, 30; °bhayāvaham also in xii, 68, 38; R. i, 9, 9; vii, 22, 6; trāilokasya bhayāvahaḥ, ix, 49, 14. See No. 302.

305, sarvalokavigarhitam, i, 118, 22; R. vi, 94, 9; G. ii, 76, 5 and 13; G. iii, 75, 15, etc.

sarvalokasya paçyataḥ, No. 110.

306, sarvaçāstraviçāradaḥ, ii, 5, 8; ii, 73, 15; vi, 14, 51; xiii, 32, 1; R. ii, 43, 19; iii, 5, 32; iv, 54, 5; G. vi, 51, 26 (where R. vi, 71, 28 has sarvāstravidụṣāṁ varaḥ); Manu, vii, 63. Compare G. v, 2, 2, sarvaçāstrārthakovidam, where R. iv, 66, 2 has sarvaçāstravidāṁ varaḥ. Compare No. 266.

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sarvābharaṇabhūṣita, No. 113.

307, sarve yuddhaviçāradāḥ, iii, 276, 13; vii, 23, 18; G. vi, 29, 2. Compare yuddhaṁ (or yuddhe) yuddhaviçāradaḥ, R. vi, 65, 10; G. vi, 31, 7; 42, 11; 76, 31; yudhi y°, ib. 77, 26. Compare No. 246.

308, sa visphārya mahac cāpam, vi, 49, 26; G. vi, 51, 5; 79, 9 (ib. 43, visphārya ca). In R. vi, 71, 5 (= G. 51, 5) tadā cāpam, where as often, the fact may be remarked that G., mahac cāpam, is more stereotyped than R.

309, savisphuliṅgā nirbhidya nipapāta mahītale, vii, 92, 67; savisphuliṅgaṁ sajvālam nipapāta mahītale, R. vi, 67, 23. In M., sā jvalantī maholke 'va precedes. See No. 148.

310, sahasraraçmir ādityaḥ, iii, 3, 62; G. iii, 62, 13; old Up. adj. sākṣāt kālāntakopama, Nos. 104–105.
sāṭṭa°, No. 186.

311, sāgarā makarālayāḥ, vii, 77, 5; sg., ix, 47, 7; G. iv, 9, 38.

312, sādhuvādo mahān abhūt, vii, 100, 3; R. vii, 96, 11; jajñe, ix, 13, 3; sādhu sādhv iti cukruçuḥ, M. vii, 14, 84; cā 'bravīt, R. iv. 8, 25; vi, 19, 27; G. v, 56, 35; sādhu sādhv iti Rāmasya tat karma samapūjayan, R. vi, 93, 36; sādhu sādhv iti te neduḥ, ib. 44, 31; iti saṁhṛṣṭāḥ, G. ii, 88, 22 (with vicukruçuḥ); sādhu sādhv ite te sarve pūjayāṁ cakrire tadā, M. v, 160, 36; sādhv iti vādinaḥ, R. vii, 32, 65.

313, sāyakāir marmabhedibhiḥ, vii, 21, 10; G. iv, 15, 9; iṣubhir, G. vi, 75, 65; nārācāir, M. vii, 16, 7.

314, siṁhakhelagatiḥ (çrīmān), i, 188, 10; siṁhakhelagatiṁ (vākyam), G. i, 79, 10. Compare in triṣṭubh, gajakhelagāmin, xv, 25, 7, with mattagajendragāmin in 6. See No. 203.

315, siṁhanādāṅç ca kurvantaḥ, vi, 64, 84; kurvatām, R. vi, 75, 41; G. vi, 32, 13, where R. 58, 17 has nardatām; siṁhanādaṁ nanāda ca, ix, 13, 27; athā 'karot, ix, 3, 3; pracakrire, ix, 8, 19, etc.
siṁhaḥ kṣudramṛgān yathā and siṁhārdita, Nos. 215, 271.

316, siṁhene 've 'tare mṛgāḥ, vii, 7, 53; siṁhasye 've 'taro mṛgaḥ, R. vi, 79, 13; siṁhasye 'va mṛgā rājan, M. vi, 109, 14. Compare also the pair; siṁhene 'va mahāgajaḥ, xi, 18, 27; R. vi, 101, 53; siṁhāir iva mahādvipāḥ, R. vi, 31, 33. See Nos. 215, 271.

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317, sumṛṣṭamaṇikuṇḍalaḥ, i, 78, 17; iv, 18, 19; G. vi, 37, 56; pra°, M. iii, 57, 4; sumṛṣṭamaṇitoraṇam, G. v, 16, 39. See No. 285.

318, susrāva rudhiraṁ gātrāir gāirikam parvato yathā, ix, 13, 14; susruvū rudhiram bhūri nagā gāirikadhātuvat, G. vi, 59, 13. With the first pādā of G. here, compare cakāra rudhiram bhūri M. iii, 279, 5; and compare also G. v, 83, 12, rudhirasravaṇaiḥ santu gāirikānām ivā 'kārāḥ.

319, sūtamāgadhabandinām, vii, 7, 8; G. ii, 26, 14, nom., where R. 26, 12 has bandinaḥ . . . sūtamāgadhāḥ.

320, sṛkkiṇī parisaṁlihan, iii, 157, 50; iv, 21, 51; vi, 91, 31; 111, 11; vii, 146, 120; ix, 14, 40, etc., v. l., parilelihan, C. vi, 4,094 = 91, 31; saṁlihan rājan, ix, 55, 24; in iii, 124, 24, lelihan jihvayā vaktram (vyāttānano ghoradṛṣṭir grasann iva jagad balāt sa bhakṣayiṣyan) saṁkruddhaḥ, as in R. vi, 8, 22 = G. v, 79, 12, kruddhaḥ parilihan sṛkkāṁ (G. vaktram) jihvayā. In R. vi, 67, 140, jihvayā parilihyantaṁ sṛkkiṇī çoṇitekṣite, where G. 46, 86 has lelihānam asṛg vaktrāj jihvayā çoṇitokṣitam. Compare, also in R., oṣṭhāu parilihan çuṣkāu (netrāir animiṣāir iva mṛtabhūta ivā 'rtas tu). In M. vi, 64, 31, sṛkkiṇī, where C. 2,840 has sṛkkiṇīm; in other cases, sṛkkiṇī is the Bombay reading, as observed PW. s. v. where sṛkv° is preferred. The type is not yet stereotyped in R., as it is in M.'s titular phrase. See Nos. 106, 295.

321, se 'ndrāir api surāsurāiḥ, vii, 12, 28, etc.; R. vi, 48, 30. In M. preceded by na hi çakyo Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ grahītum samare rājan; in R. by ne 'māu çakyāu raṇe jetum. The phrase is not infrequent.

sthitaṁ çāilam, No. 91.

322, sphurate nayanaṁ savyaṁ bāhuç ca hṛdayaṁ ca me, R. iii, 59, 4; sphurate nayanaṁ cā 'sya savyam bhayanivedanam bāhuḥ prakampate savyaḥ, H. 2, 110, 25.

323, smitapūrvābhibhāṣiṇī, iii, 55, 19; xii, 326, 35; H. 2, 88, 35; R. vi, 34, 2; G. iii, 49, 5; °bhāṣitā, M. i, 140, 55; nityaṁ susmitabhāṣiṇī, R. v, 16, 21 (G. sa°); smitapūrvam abhāṣata, G. v, 92, 12; smitapūrvābhibhāṣiṇam, Raghuv. xvii, 31.

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324, svabāhubalam āçritaḥ, iii, 285, 10; G. iii, 63, 13; G. vi, 84, 20; āçritya, M. i, 140, 38; v, 133, 45. Compare Manu ix, 255, rāṣṭraṁ bāhubalāçritam.

325, svabāhubalavīryeṇa, vii, 4, 5; G. vi, 25, 35.
svarṇapuṅkhāiḥ, Nos. 34, 234.

326, svarbhānur iva bhāskaram, iii, 11, 52, paryadhāvata; G. iii, 30, 44, abhyadhāvata. See No. 73.

327, svāireṣv api kutaḥ çapan (nā 'ham mṛṣā bravīmy evam), i, 42, 2; svāireṣv api na tu brūyām anṛtaṁ kaccid apy aham (after pated dyauḥ No. 153), G. ii, 15, 29; nā 'ham mithyā vaco brūyāṁ svāireṣv api kuto 'nyathā, xiii, 51, 17.

328, hate tasmin hataṁ sarvam, R. vi, 65, 45; tasmin hate hataṁ sarvam, ix, 7, 37; mūle hate, etc., G. vi, 79, 6; tasmin jite jitaṁ sarvam, R. vii, 20, 17; in triṣṭubh, R. vi, 67, 71, asmin hate sarvam idaṁ hataṁ syāt (G. 46, 57, vipannam).

329, hanta te kathayiṣyāmi, i, 94, 4; iii, 201, 9; vii, 12, 1; ix, 44, 5; xii, 341, 18; H. 1, 4, 31, etc.; R. i, 48, 14, etc. Compare hanta te 'ham pravakṣyāmi, M. vi, 101, 5; hanta te kīrtayiṣyāmi; hanta te sampravakṣyāmi, G. vi, 3, 1. In Kaṭh. Up. v, 6, hanta ta idam (te 'dam) pravakṣyāmi guhyam brahma sanātanam; kath., Gītā, 10, 19.

330, harīṇāṁ vātaraṁhasām, iii, 42, 7 (daça vājisahasrāṇi); 284, 23; sahasram api cā 'çvānāṁ deçyānāṁ vātaraṁhasām, G. ii, 72, 23.

331, harṣagadgadayā vācā, iii, 167, 2; xiii, 14, 342; R. vii, 33, 9; G. vi, 98, 13, 109. There are many harṣa°, compounds like those in bāṣpa above, Nos. 190–193; harṣavyākulalocanaḥ, R. iv, 5, 21; harṣabāṣpākulekṣaṇa, G. vi, 112, 100; harṣaparyākulekṣaṇa, R. vi, 50, 45; harṣagadgadam uvāca or vacanam, M. iii, 138, 12; G. iii, 3, 13. The common phrase of G. bāṣpagadgadayā vācā or girā is frequently unrepresented in the other text: G. i, 79, 24; ii, 35, 30; bāṣpagadgadabhāṣiṇī, G. iv, 19, 29 (but this occurs R. vi, 116, 17); G. v, 33, 2; G. vi, 101, 19; also R. v, 67, 33, where G. has saṁdigdhayā girā (noticed above in Nos. 190–193); but R. has bāṣpagadgadayā girā in v, 25, 2; 39, 7; 40, 21; vi, 113, 16; with a new turn (compare iv, 8, 16, harṣavyākulitākṣaram) in v, 38, 11,

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bāṣpapragrathitākṣaram, where G. 36, 10 has bāṣpagadgadabhāṣiṇī; both have roṣagadgadayā vācā, R. vi, 29, 6, = G. 5, 4. M. has haṁsagadgadabhāṣiṇī, iv, 9, 10; xi, 18, 14, etc., as also abravīd bāṣpagadgadam, iii, 259, 12; bāṣpasaṁdigdhayā girā and vācā, iii, 64, 101; 74, 24, etc. G.'s bāṣpagadgadayā tataḥ, after vācā, ii, 58, 13, is in R. sabāṣpaparibaddhayā. Compare R. iv, 7, 1 (vākyam) sabāṣpaṁ bāṣpagadgadaḥ. In R. vii, 6, 3, bhayagadgadabhāṣiṇaḥ. In R. iv, 8, 29, etāvad uktvā vacanaṁ bāṣpadūṣitalocanaḥ bāṣpadūṣitayā vācā no 'ccāiḥ çaknoti bhāṣitum. See Nos. 190–193.

332, harṣenotphullanayanaḥ, vii, 39, 9; G. ii, 74, 3; harṣād ut°, ix, 60, 42. See No. 265.

333, hāhākāram pramuñcantaḥ, iii, 65, 11; vimuñcatām, G. vi, 54, 11. A common form is hāhākāro mahān āsīt, vi, 48, 84; 49, 38; ix, 44, 42, etc.; tadā 'bhavat, ix, 16, 44; hāhākāro mahān abhūt, R. vii, 69, 13. Compare also hāhābhūtaṁ ca tat sarvam (āsīd nagaram), xiii, 53, 41; hāhābhūtā tadā sarvā Laṅkā, G. vi, 93, 4. The Hāhāhūhū pair of G. vi, 82, 50 are found xii, 325, 16, hāhāhūhūç ca gandharvāu tuṣṭuvuḥ.

334, hāhā-kilakilāçabdāḥ, vi, 112, 35; ataḥ k°, G. v, 65, 12; tataḥ, viii, 28, 11; hṛṣṭāḥ, ix, 18, 30, etc.; āsīt, M. i, 69, 8; āsīc caṭacaṭāçabdaḥ, C. ix, 1,249 = B. 23, 70, kaṭakaṭā. Compare No. 81.

335, hemajālaparikṣṛtaṁ, iii, 312, 44; R. vi, 102, 11; jātarūpa°, ix, 32, 39.

336, hemapaṭṭavibhūsitam, ix, 14, 30; G. vi, 106, 23 (padma in R. for paṭṭa); hemapaṭṭanibaddhayā, ix, 32, 68; °pariṣkṛtā, viii, 29, 35; usually of club or car. The ending hemaparikṣṛtam is found passim, ix, 16, 39; 21, 22; 57, 46; G. iv, 11, 4, when R. 12, 4 has svarṇa°; G. vii, 14, 7; 18, 8. See No. 280.

337, hemapuṅkhāiḥ çilāçitāiḥ, vii, 29, 4; rukmapuṅkhāiḥ çilāçitāiḥ, G. iii, 8, 7; cf. ix, 25, 7; 28, 5, etc. For svarṇapuṅkhāiḥ, see No. 234.

In presenting this list, I must again call attention to what has been said on p. 72. The phrases have been collected at haphazard and cannot be used to determine the relation of one

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text of one epic, but only to show the general base of epic phraseology. A more complete list would be needed for special critical purposes. Under No. 196, I have acknowledged a contribution from Professor Hardy. Eighteen parallels were also kindly sent me by Professor Jacobi, two of which, Nos. 153 b and 229 b, I had not previously enrolled. The parallels were slowly collected by memory, chance, and often, as I wish particularly to acknowledge, from the ample store of citations in the Petersburg Lexicon, which has given me many a trail to follow. But even in correcting the proofs I find more cases. Thus the simile of No. 149 is the same as that of Dhammapada 327, and the stanza on repentance, na tat kuryām punar iti, iii, 207, 51, is comparable in wording with Dh. P. 306. But on this field specialists can doubtless find many more cases. A long (omitted) parallel is that of M. xvi, 2, 6, cīcīkūcī 'ti vāçanti sārikā Vṛṣṇiveçmasu, and R. vi, 35, 32, cīcīkūcī 'ti vāçantaḥ çārikā (sic) veçmasu sthitāḥ, with the circumjacent stanzas. For one beginning upaplutam (not in place), see under No. 286.

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APPENDIX B.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EPIC ÇLOKA FORMS.

Prior Pāda of Epic Çloka.[1]

The pathyā, ∪ – – ⏑. Cæsura may be anywhere, but is usually after the fourth or fifth syllable. With the exception of Nos. 7 and 8 all these pathyā forms are found often in both epics, though Nos. 1 and 6 are less frequent than the other regular forms, of which Nos. 2 and 3 are most common, though No. 5 is often preferred to No. 3. See pp. 219, 248.

1, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ – – ⏑, sāha tvayā gamiṣyāmī; āvighnam astu Sāvitryāḥ; dyūte sa nirjitaç cāi 'vā; punyāhavācane rājñaḥ. For cæsura, further: çarāiḥ kadambakīkṛtya, vii, 146, 124; ādād bubhukṣito māṅsaṁ, R. vi, 60, 63. This measure is found passim but is less frequent than No. 6, q. v.

2, ⏑ – – – ∪ – – ⏑, kāriṣyāmy etad evaṁ cā; kāthāyoge kathāyoge; āsīd rājā Nimir nāmā; ūcus tān vāi munīn sarvān. To avoid third vipulā after spondee, yugeṣv īṣāsu chatreṣu (sic, vii, 159, 36 = 7,077). For cæsura: madhūni droṇamātrāṇī; nā 'taḥ pāpīyasī kācīd.

3, ⏑ ∪ – – ∪ – – ⏑, ābhigamyo 'pasaṁgṛhyā; bāhudeyāç ca rājānaḥ; nā 'rjunaḥ khedam āyātī; tatra gacchanti rājānaḥ. For cæsura: rākṣasāiḥ stūyamānaḥ san; tam ajaṁ kāraṇātmānaṁ.

4, ⏑ – – ∪ ∪ – – ⏑, nā çastreṇa na çāstreṇā; tātas tṛpta iti jñātvā; bhūtāç cāi 'va bhaviṣyāç cā; vedasyo 'paniṣat satyaṁ. For cæsura: saṁgrāme samupoḍhe ca (R. ii, 75, 39, cf. Āçv. G. S. iii, 12, 1); rudantau rudatī duḥkhāt;

[1] Some of the examples, especially in the case of rare forms, have already been given by Jacobi in his Rāmāyaṇa, and in the Gurupūjākāumudī. For the following lists I have sometimes drawn also on examples furnished by Gildermeister, Böhtlingk, and Benfey. References for usual cases are not necessary, and have not been given. Sporadic and rare forms, or those of special interest, are referred to their place.

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udāsīnavad āsīno; teṣām āpatatāṁ çabdaḥ; mantrabrāhmaṇakartāraḥ. This foot is sometimes duplicated, as it is both metrically and verbally in vinihçvasya vinihçvasya, and may be repeated a third time, not only with initial syllaba anceps, as in viii, 45, 19, dharmaṃ Pāñcanadaṁ dṛṣṭvā dhig ity āha pitāmahaḥ, but even syllable for syllable, as in vii, 201, 62, āṇīyāṅsām āṇubhyaç cā bṛhadbhyaç cā. Not infrequently, however, this measure seems to be avoided in favor of No. 6, as in vasāma (sic) susukham putra, i, 157, 12.

5, ⏑ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ⏑, tvāyi tiṣṭhati deveçā; vīditam bhavatāṁ sarvaṁ; sākṛd āha dadānī 'tī (iii, 294, 26 = Manu ix, 47); kā 'si devi kuto vā tvaṁ. For cæsura: kuru me vacanaṁ tāta; jagatī 'ndrajid ity eva; dhruvam ātmajayam matvā; kṣatajokṣitasarvāṅgāḥ; mṛṣṭakāñcanakoṇānām; lāṅgalaglapitagrīvāḥ. This arrangement is popular, often appearing in groups, as in dakṣiṇena ca mārgeṇa . . . gajavājisamākīrṇām . . . vāhayasva mahābhāga, R. ii, 92, 13–14, etc. Contrasted trochaic and iambic opening is somewhat affected (Nos. 5 and 3), as in: yo balād anuçāstī 'ha . . . mitratām anuvṛttaṁ tū . . . pradīpya yaḥ pradīptāgnim, ii, 64, 9–10. The pyrrhic opening is generally preferred; the amphimacer, although not shunned (mā' çuco, naraçārdūlā, ix, 63, 53, etc.) is often avoided when in one word, as in Nala, 5, 8, muṣṇantī (sic) prabhayā rājñām; so kurvantīm, ib. 16, 11, etc. This may be due, however, to grammatical unifying (p. 250). Many examples give an anapæstic fall according to the natural division of the words, as in vii, 54, 57, asinā gadayā çaktyā dhanuṣā ca mahārathaḥ. On na bibheti yadā cā 'yaṁ, see below the note to No. 35.

6, ⏑ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ⏑, ānekaçatabhāumānī; vānaṁ kusumitaṁ draṣṭum; brūyāsta janasaṁsatsū; yat tac chṛṇu mahābāho. For cæsura: dole 'va muhur āyāti; kim ābharaṇakṛtyena; antaḥpuracarān sarvān; mā bhāir iti tam āhe 'ndraḥ. This also is a favorite combination, though less frequent than Nos. 4 and 5. It appears in groups, as in ix, 12, 14, where three successive pādas begin – – ∪ ∪ (∪ – ⏑ –); or R. ii, 94, 4–5, 7, where three neighboring hemistichs begin thus (the last, nānāmṛgagaṇair dvīpitarakṣṿṛkṣagaṇāir vṛtaḥ). See No. 4, ad finem.

7, ⏑ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – – ⏑, çuktimatīm anaṅgāṁ cā, vi, 9, 35; raçmivatām ivā 'dityaḥ, v, 156, 12; eṣa hi pārṣato vīro, C. vii, 8,821, eṣo in B. Compare No. 33, note.

8, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – – ∪, Paçusakhasahāyās tu, xiii, 93, 79; phalakaparidhānaç ca, xii, 304, 14 (parallel to çiṅhacarmaparīdhānaḥ, etc.; metrically bettered[1] in C., phalakaṁ).

First vipulā, ∪ ∪ ∪ ⏑. Cæsura usually after the fourth or fifth. Final brevis not unusual even in R.; and common in Mbh. All forms are found in both epics, except No. 12, which is sporadic in both, and No. 13, unique. See p. 221.

9, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ⏑, ātho 'tthiteṣu bahuṣū; yāthā yathā hi nṛpatiḥ; na tvadvaco gaṇayatī; gatvā, Sudeva, nagarīm. For cæsura: sa kampayann iva mahīm; anekavaktranayanām; daṅṣṭrākarālavadanaṁ; satvaṁ rajas tama itī; tvayā hi me bahu kṛtaṁ yad anyaḥ (triṣṭubh, Nala, 18, 20). This combination, common in the older and freer style, declines in Rāmāyaṇa and classical poetry. As an example of the refinement of G., it is interesting in view of this fact to notice that No. 9 is often admitted even in the later R., when omitted (or altered) in G. For example, both ápītavarṇavadanām, R. ii, 76, 4 (not in G.); sukhoṣitāḥ sma bhagavān, R. iii, 8, 5 (smo in G.); mahodaraç ca çayitaḥ, R. v, 48, 8 c (not in G.); Vibhīṣaṇena sahito, R. vi, 85, 35 (not in G.); avaçyam eva labhate, R. vi, 111, 25 (not in G.); and also ahaṁ Yamaç ca Varuṇaḥ, R. vii, 6, 6 (otherwise G.); mātuḥ kulaṁ pitṛkulaṁ, R. vii, 9, 11 (otherwise G.); nihatya tāṅs tu samare, R. vii, 11, 17 (otherwise G.); sanakramīnamakarāsamudrasya, R. vii, 32, 35 (otherwise G.); tasmāt purā duhitaraṁ, R. vii, 12, 10 (otherwise G.). But in the (interpolated ?) passage, G. vii, 23, 45 and 46, the form occurs twice.

10, ⏑ – – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ⏑, nā hantavyāḥ striya itī, vii, 143, 67; na çakyā sā jarayitūm, R. iv, 6, 7; bhāveyur vedaviduṣaḥ; yogī yuñjīta satatām; yaḥ pūjyaḥ pūjayasi mām. For cæsura: tataḥ sā bāṣpakalayā; nā 'yaṁ loko 'sti na paro; putrāç ca me vinihatāḥ; hāhā rājann iti muhūr; mṛgīv-

[1] In R. iv, 43, 15 vicinvata (°tha in 12) mahābhāgam may be for vicinuta; but more probably the verb was ab initio modernized to the a-conjugation, like inv, jinv, pinv. The usual epic form is middle vicinudhvam.

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otphullanayanā; chāyāsaṁsaktasalilo; kiṁ kāryam brūhi bhagavan. To avoid second vipulā after spondee, vayaṁ paçyāma (sic) tapasā. See p. 248.

11, ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ūṣitāḥ smo ha vasatīm; Dāmayantyā saha Nalaḥ; yatra tad brahma paramām; yena doṣo na bhavitā. For cæsura: candralekhām iva navām; annasaṁskāram api cā; kuñjaradvīpamahiṣā-; brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviçām; āgrato vāyucapalāḥ; Sarayūm puṇyasalilām. When ending in brevis often followed by another or two: salilasthas tava suta, idaṁ, ix, 31, 37; sa tatho 'ktvā munijanam, arāj-; uṣitāḥ smo ha vasatim anujānātu, R. ii, 54, 37. Nos. 10 and 11 prevail over No. 9 in the later style. There is no general preference for either of the former two in the Mbh., but in R. No. 11 is more common than No. 10, as it often is in parts of Mbh.[1]

12, ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, pradīptāç ca çikhimukhaḥ, vii, 146, 7; viddhi tvaṁ tu naram ṛṣim, xv, 31, 11; tan no jyotir abhihataṁ, ii, 72, 7; tadā vartmasu calitāḥ, R. vii, 16, 30 (v. l. in G.). The last example is peculiar in not having the cæsura after the fourth syllable, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, irregular forms are usually (but, it may be added, not by any means invariably) cut.

13, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, jalacarāḥ sthalacarāḥ, G. i, 13, 29.

Second vipulā, – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑. Cæsura usually after fourth or fifth syllable; final prevailingly long (brevis quite rare in R.). No. 14 is the only form usually found in R. but Nos. 15 and 16 are common enough in Mbh.; all the other forms except a sporadic No. 18 being absent in R. and sporadic only in Mbh. See p. 221. I give here several examples of final brevis and therewith variant cæsuras. The cases I take chiefly from R., because they are anomalous there and not so easily found as in M.

14, ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, sūrāṁ surāpāḥ pibatā, R. ii, 91, 52; ānāhitāgnir çatagūr; yāto yato niçcaratī; āṇor aṇīyān sumanāḥ, v, 46, 31 (also a triṣṭubh opening); āvidhyad ācaryasuto; jāgarti cāi 'va svapitī; rājādhirājo bhavatī; dīno yayāu nāgapurām; tvām eva sarvaṁ viçati; vīro

[1] So far as I have noticed, this form of vipulā least often has final brevis in R., as in iii, 16, 22, nā 'vagāhanti salilām, out of twenty-nine with long final (in a thousand verses).

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jananyā mama cā, R. v, 39, 2; hā Karṇa hā Karṇa itī; somena sārdhaṁ ca tavā; vāsāṅsi yāvanti labhe; Rāmāyaṇaṁ vedasamaṁ, R. vii, 111, 4; dāvāgnidīptāni yathā; sā cintayāmāsa tadā; udvejite me hṛdayaṁ.

15, ⏑ – – – – ∪ ∪ ⏑, bhāvān dharmo dharma ītī; Ghṛtāciṁ nāmā 'psarasām; dūrāvāraṁ durviṣamaṁ, R. vi, 90, 66; tāto vāyuḥ prādur abhūt;[1] tātaḥ kruddho vāyusutaḥ, R. vi, 59, 112; pāriçrāntam pathy abhavat, R. ii, 72, 9;[2] pāṇāvaḥ kiṁ vyāharase; sāhasravyāmā nṛpate; yāvad bhūmer āyur ihā; ko māṁ nāmnā kīrtayatī; jñātvā rakṣo bhīmabalām R. vi, 60, 15; praty ādityam praty analaṁ; dṛṣṭve 'maṁ Vṛṣṇipravaraṁ; vedādhyāyī dharmaparaḥ; Viçvāmitro Dīrghatamāḥ, R. vii, 96, 2.

16, ⏑ ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ ⏑, āpaviddhāiç cā 'pi rathāiḥ, R. vi, 43, 43; ītī loke nirvacanaṁ; ātmayājī so 'tmaratīr; sāi 'va pāpam plāvayatī; çrāntayugyaḥ çrāntahayo; vāyuvego vāyubalo; ūrdhvadṛṣṭir dhyānaparā; hemaçṛṅgā rāupyakhurāḥ; nityamūlā nityaphalāḥ, R. vi, 128, 102; ekasāle sthāṇumatīm, R. ii, 71, 16; tāryamāṇān Vāitaraṇīm, G., vii, 25, 11; krūraçastrāḥ krūrakṛtaḥ. This combination is found in Manu, v, 152. Compare Oldenberg, ZDMG., xxxv, 183; and Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 25; Gurupūj., p. 50. It occurs oftenest in the older texts, e. g., four times in Dyūta, with cæsura always after the fourth, as far as I have observed. But it is not necessarily old (e. g., R. ii, 71, 16, is "interpolated"). I happen to have on hand no example of two breves (initial and final).

17, ⏑ – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ⏑, gṛhasthas tvam āçramiṇām, xiii, 14, 319; yāthā vartayan puruṣaḥ, xiii, 104, 5; brahmā 'dityam unnayatī, iii, 313, 46; agrāhyo 'mṛto bhavatī, xiv, 51, 34.[3]

18, ⏑ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ⏑, nā hinasti nā 'rabhate, xii, 269, 31; āpakṛtya buddhimataḥ, v, 38, 8; sātato nivāritavān, vi, 96, 3; Kūrupāṇḍavapravarāḥ, vii, 137, 16; vīṣamacchadāi racitāiḥ, iii, 146, 22; dvīpinā sa siṅha ivā, R. vii, 23, 5, 14 (unique in R.). This irregular combination also is found in

[1] So, tato varṣam prādur abhūt; tato vyomni prādur abhūt, etc.

[2] Professor Jacobi regards this as "irregular" and proposes to scan it as pārīçrāntam, but in view of the other examples this seems unnecessary, though çr do not always make position. Compare Nos. 26 and 39. R. has the same measure in iii, 30, 23; v, 4, 19.

[3] Perhaps originally agrāhyo amṛto bhavati.

Manu. See Oldenberg, l. c. Jacobi has most of the examples.

19, — — ∪∪ — ∪∪ ⏑, saṁskṛtya ca bhojayatī, iii, 96, 8. Also in Manu v, 47 (cited by Oldenberg, loc. cit.) and i, 88, adhyāpanam adhyayanaṁ (cited by Oldenberg, through an oversight, as a first vipulā). Not in R.

20, — ∪∪ — — ∪∪ —, ājagavaṁ nāmadhanuḥ, iii, 126, 34; dvādaçapūgāṁ saritaṁ, v, 46, 7. Compare Jacobi, Gurupūj., p. 51. The type is old; compare nā 'virato duçcaritāt, Kaṭha Up. ii, 23. Not in R.

Third vipulā, — — — ⏑. Cæsura usually, and in R. almost invariably, after the fifth syllable. The only general form is No. 21, but in Mbh., while not common, No. 22 is found more frequently than are the last four cases. Final syllable long or short. Except Nos. 25, 27, all irregularities are found sporadically in R.

21, ⏑ — ∪ — — — — ⏑, tāto 'bravīn māṁ yācantām; çīloñchavṛttir dharmātmā; pālāyamāno vadhyetā, R. ii, 75, 39; saptarṣayo māṁ vakṣyantī; na sthānakālo gacchāmaḥ; jāne ca Rāmaṁ dharmajñaṁ, R. ii, 90, 22. For cæsura: bhaveyur, açvādhyakṣo 'sī, Nala, 15, 6; bhavanti vīrasyā 'kṣayyāḥ, iv, 43, 13; tasmāt tu Māṁdhāte 'tȳ evaṁ, vii, 62, 71; gṛhasthadharmeṇā 'nena, xiii, 2, 87; tathāi 'va viçvedevebhyaḥ, xiii, 97, 14; sa vardhamānadvāreṇa, xv, 16, 3. This form of third vipulā is more common than the second vipulā in later texts. It is sometimes grouped, as in ix, 11, 28–29, where occur three successive hemistichs with this opening. In Nala 18, 21, the reading is sa evam ukto 'thā 'çvāçya, for which evam ukto 'thā 'çvāçya tām is read by some, an improbable change.

22, ⏑ — — — — — — ⏑. In several of the examples (see p. 242 ff.) it is questionable whether position is made by the lingual, that is whether the pāda is not pathyā; hāte Bhīṣme ca, Droṇe cā, ix, 4, 11; sthirā buddhir hi Droṇasyā, vii, 190, 43; tāthā Bhīṣmeṇa Droṇenā, ii, 58, 23; kiṁ arthaṁ Vālī cāi 'tenā, R. vii, 35, 11 (v. l. Vālighātena); kṣāyaṁ nā 'bhyeti brahmarṣe, R. vii, 78, 21 (v. l. in G.); bhakṣyaṁ bhojyaṁ ca brahmarṣe, ib. 24 (also G., 85, 28);[1]

[1] Compare Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 25, who gives also mā bhāiṣī Rambhe bhadraṁ te, and tam anvārohat Sugrīvaḥ, R. i, 64, 5 and vi, 38, 8 (with v. l.).

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so 'yam matto 'kṣadyūtenā, ii, 62, 6; dāivaṁ hi prajñām muṣṇāti, ii, 58, 18; jñānaṁ vāi nāma pratyakṣam, v, 43, 48; nityodyogāiç ca krīḍadbhiḥ; pṛṣṭhacchinnān pārçvacchinnān, x, 8, 116; tasyā 'çu kṣiptān bhallān hi, vii, 92, 9 (short before kṣ?);[1] brahman kiṁ kurmaḥ kiṁ kāryām, R. vii, 33, 12 (kurmahe in G.).[2] In vi, 16, 22 = 629, B. has çveṭoṣṇīṣaṁ çvetahayaṁ, where C. has çvetoṣṇīṣaṁ çvetacchatraṁ. As regards the licence, in ix, 4, 31, appears (after — — ∪ —) ca te bhrāta instead of the ca bhrātā te of C. Compare v, 121, 7, where bhr may fail to make position, mānena bhraṣṭaḥ svargas te. In Nala 16, 37, both B. and C. have kathaṁ ca naṣṭā jñātibhyaḥ (for bhraṣṭā). The type is antique, withal with cæsura after the fourth syllable, as in some of the examples above, and in Manu ii, 120 = Mbh. v, 38, 1 = xiii, 104, 64, ūrdhvam prāṇā hy utkrāmanti (v. l. vyutkrāmanti in Mahābhāṣya, IS. xiii, p. 405).

23, ⏑ ∪ — — — — — ⏑. The same question arises here in regard to the length of the first syllable of the second foot. Other examples are extremely rare: preṣayāmāsū rājānam, i, 141, 14; bhagavān devarṣīnāṁ tvaṁ, iii, 273, 4; sarvaçāuceṣu brāhmeṇa, xiii, 104, 112; kiṁ tu Rāmasya prītyartham, R. v, 53, 13; yam prāvarteyaṁ saṁgrāmam, G. vii, 38, 12.[3] This combination also is found in Manu, iv, 98, ata ūrdhvaṁ tu cchandāṁsi. In vii, 6,245, C. has prapalāyāntaḥ saṁtrastāḥ, where B. 146, 92, has prāpalāyanta. This form occurs also R. ii, 36, 28 (with v. l.).

24, ⏑ — — ∪ — — — ⏑, na ced vāñchasi tvaṁ dyūtaṁ, Nala, 26, 8; Rudrasye 'va hi kruddhasyā, vii, 192, 7. The form given by Oldenberg, loc. cit., from Manu is due to an oversight. Once in R. v, 23, 17, with v. l. To avoid this form and wrong cæsura, Nala 16, 18 has dehaṁ dhāraya(n)tīṁ dīnām. In hi (kruddhasya), *hi* is probably to be read as a light syllable.

[1] This licence is Puranic and may be assumed here.

[2] Perhaps kurma should be read here for kurmaḥ, as in ix, 32, 62, kiṁ kurma te priyam. In Mbh. vii, 52, 45 = 2,048, B. has kiṁ kurma and C. has kiṁ kurmaḥ kāmaṁ kāmārha.

[3] Perhaps for pravarteya, the middle, as in R. vii, 36, 30, evaṁvidhāni karmāṇi prāvartata mahābalaḥ.

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25, ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏓, dăça pañca ca prāptānī, xii, 319, 21; ăpakāriṇaṁ māṁ viddhī, xiii, 96, 7; yăjuṣām ṛcāṁ sāmnāṁ că, iii, 26, 3; narakapratiṣṭhās te syuḥ, v, 45, 8.[1]

26, — — ⏑ ⏑ —, — — —, adyaprabhṛti çrīvatsaḥ, xii, 343, 132 (perhaps pathyā).[2] The only case cited by Jacobi from R. is i, 65, 13, also of the same form, vināçayati trāilokyaṁ. Both are in late additions.

27, ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ — — — — ⏓, tvam iva yantā nā 'nyo 'sti, Nala 20, 18; saptadaçe 'mān rājendră, v, 37, 1. The texts have eva for iva in Nala, which is impossible. Odd as are these forms they are not without Manavic authority and it is far more likely that iva was changed to eva than that eva was written for iva. Oldenberg, loc. cit., xxxv, p. 184, gives examples from Manu (iii, 214; iv, 154). Not in R.

Fourth vipulā, — ⏑ — ⏓. No. 28 is the usual form, though Nos. 29–32 are not uncommon in Mbh. and are found occasionally in R. On the cæsura, usually after the fourth syllable, see Jacobi, Gurupūj., p. 51.[3]

28, ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏓, Bṛhaspatiç co 'çanā că; mŭhur muhur muhyamānaḥ; ănantaraṁ rājadārāḥ, R. ii, 89, 14; văyasyatām pūjayan me, R. iv, 7, 14; so 'vastratām ātmanaç că; akṣapriyaḥ satyavādī; Viṣṇoḥ padam prekṣamāṇāḥ, R. ii, 68, 19. Vāikhānasā vālakhilyāḥ, R. iii, 6, 2. Cæsura: tadāi 'va gantā 'smi tīrthāny, iii, 92, 17; Yudhiṣṭhireṇāi 'vam ukto, iii, 201, 8; Yudhiṣṭhirasyā 'nuyātrăm, iii, 233, 50; Dhanañjayasyāi 'ṣa kāmaḥ, v, 77, 19; rajas tamaç cā 'bhibhūya, vi, 38, 10.

29, ⏓ — — — — ⏑ — ⏓, păriṣvaktaç cā 'rjunenă; ănāditvān nirguṇatvāt; āpṛcche tvāṁ svasti te 'stŭ; ekaḥ panthā

[1] The first example may be pathyā and the three last are so good hypermeters that the change may be at least suspected, yajuṣāṁ ṛcāṁ (ca); ăpakāriṇaṁ (tu); narakapratiṣṭhās te tu syuḥ.

[2] Compare the second note to No. 15, and p. 242 ff.

[3] Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 25, states that in R. ii–vi there are only thirty-eight cases of fourth vipulā, and of these all but seven follow ⏓ — ⏑ —. In the Mahābhārata the same vipulā occurs on an average as many times as this in a compass equivalent to only half the sixth book of the Rāmāyaṇa. This statement therefore must restrict the somewhat Rāmāyanesque utterance of Oldenberg, who in ZDMG. vol. xxxv, p. 184, Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Çloka, says that this metre in general is common in Manu, but "much more restricted in epic poetry," a statement which is true of the Rāmāyaṇa and of parts of the Mahābhārata. Compare above, pp. 224 ff.

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brāhmaṇānām; ete nāgāḥ kādraveyāḥ, R. vi, 50, 49; Vidyutkeçād garbham āpa, R. vii, 4, 18, and 23. The measure is grouped in v, 35, 60–62, pāpaṁ kurvan pāpakīrtiḥ . . . puṇyaṁ kurvan puṇyakīrtiḥ . . . naṣṭaprajñaḥ pāpam evă, etc.

30, ⏑ ∪ — — — ∪ — ⏑, nă samāno brāhmaṇasyă; jātarūpaṁ droṇameyăm; atra gāthā kīrtayantī; atra gāthā bhūmigītāḥ; rājaputra pratyavekṣa; kāma eṣa krodha eṣă; Dhṛṣṭaketuç Cekitānaḥ Kāçirājaḥ, vi, 25, 5; evam ukte Nāiṣadhena; evam uktā Rāvaṇena, R. vii, 23, 5, 34; ekavarnān ekaveṣān ekarūpān, ib. 40; prapnuyāmo brahmalokaṁ, R. vi, 66, 24. The measure occurs oftenest in such repetitions as ūrdhvaretā ūrdhvaliñgaḥ, lokavṛttād rājavṛttam, etc.; proper names (as above); and in some set phrases, of which the commonest is an instrumental after evam uktaḥ or uktvā (which also is a common triṣṭubh opening, evam ukte Vāmadevena, etc.) or the stereotyped evam uktaḥ pratyuvāca, e. g., i, 145, 27; viii, 24, 5; 34, 144, etc.

31, ⏑ — — ∪ — ∪ — ⏑, kaṁcit kālam uṣyatāṁ vāi, iii, 216, 12; mumocāi 'va pārthive 'ndraḥ, R. vii, 33, 17 (v. l. in G.).

32, ⏑ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ⏑, çalabhāstram açmavarṣaṁ, iii, 167, 33; avicāĭyam etad uktam, iii, 294, 31; kiṁ nimittam icchayā me, R. vii, 16, 5; pakṣiṇaç catuṣpado vā, R. vii, 30, 10 (v. l. in G.), cited by Jacobi for abhorrent cæsura.[1]

33, ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪, yajurmaya ṛīmayaç ca, C. xii, 10,400, corrected in B. 285, 126, to yajurmayo[2]; tathā 'çramavāsike tu, C. xv, 1,105. This latter is in a benedictive stanza at the end of Āçrama Parvan. It is not in B.

Minor Ionic, ∪ ∪ — ⏑. These forms are all separately sporadic. They are found both in the earlier, Upanishad, and the later, Purāṇa, çloka.[3] I have called the measure the fifth vipulā merely to indicate that, while each special

[1] A Puranic measure; compare jitadevayajñabhāgaḥ, Ag. P. iv, 4, etc.

[2] A clear case of sacrifice of grammar, sandhi, to metre, as above in No. 7.

[3] For example, Agni P. x, 23, where the pāda ends daça devāḥ. Here too is found the major Ionic, e. g., ib. xiv, 1, a pāda ending in Dāuryodhanī (so Vāyu P. vii, 27); also the diiambus, e. g., Ag. P. iv. 11. The older of these Purāṇas has three cases of minor Ionic in the compass of two short sections, Vāyu, v, 34, paraç ca tu prakṛtatvāt; vi, 16, sa vedavādy upadaṅṣṭraḥ; and again, ib., 17. In Vāyu lxi, 108, ṛgyajuḥsāmātharva (-rūpiṇe brahmaṇe namaḥ), we must read sāma-atharva, as minor Ionic.

combination is sporadic, the ending itself is not a great rarity in Mbh., though not found in R. (except as shown in No. 36).

34, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⏑, Bhāgīrathaṁ yajamānāṁ, vii, 60, 8; tato 'rjuno çaravarṣaṁ, iii, 39, 36; 46, 52; hayān dvipāṇs tvarayanto, ix, 9, 47; satyavrataḥ purumitraḥ, vi, 18, 11 repeated from v, 58, 7; yan māmakāiḥ pratipannaṁ, C. vii, 8,133 (emended in B. 179, 20); tapasvino dhṛtimantaḥ, xii, 269, 10.

Jacobi, Gurupūj., p. 51, gives other examples of this and of No. 35, from the Mahābhārata.

35, ⏑ – – – ∪ ∪ – ⏑, yādā cā 'yaṁ na bibhetī, i, 75, 53; xii, 26, 14; 252, 5; 263, 15[1]; gātaçrīkān hṛtarājyān, iii, 267, 17; kāmaṁ devā ṛṣayaç cā, xii, 349, 78; svayaṁ yajñāir yajamānāḥ, xii, 341, 60; etaṁ dharmaṁ kṛtavantaḥ, xii, 245, 18; māurvīghoṣastanayitnuḥ, vi, 14, 27; çakṛnmūtre nivasatvam, xiii, 82, 24; Viçvāmitro Jamadagniḥ, vii, 190, 33; xiii, 93, 21; Jārāsandhir Bhagadattaḥ, xv, 32, 10. Here belongs the mutilated pāda of Nala 24, 13, sākṣād devān apahāya, which now appears in both texts as apāhāya (but apahāya tu ko gacchet, in çl. 11). A similar case will be found under No. 36. The measure has suffered the same fate in Manu ix, 101, where abhicāro has been changed to abhīcāro (though ∪ ∪ – – occurs in Manu ii, 85). The same change may be suspected in xii, 300, 44, asādhutvaṁ parīvādaḥ; 297, 25, atrā teṣām adhīkāraḥ. See No. 36.

36, ⏑ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ⏑, parivittiḥ parivettā (Manu iii, 172), xii, 34, 4; 165, 68; uṣṭravāmīs triçataṁ ca, ii, 51, 4; pāñçurāṣṭrād vasudāno, 52, 27; Kurukartā Kuruvāsī, xiii, 17, 107. Perhaps also amaratvam apahāya, texts apāhāya as above in No. 35, iii, 167, 48;[2] and the pāda cited above, in No. 35, atra teṣām adhīkāraḥ. It is to be observed, however,

[1] This is an old formula incorporated into the epic, which has it also in the pathyā form, na bibheti yadā cā 'yam, xii, 21, 4 (No. 5). Another form of this pathyā is found in xii, 327, 33, na bibheti paro yasmān (na bibheti parāc ca yaḥ). Compare vi, 36, 15, yasmān no 'dvijate loko lokān no 'dvijate ca yaḥ, with v. l. in xii, 263, 24.

[2] So H. 1, 9, 26 = 570, se 'yam asmān apāhāya. The Dhammap. has kaṇhaṁ dhannam vippahāya. Jacobi gives another example, v. 90, 44, putralokāt patilokam.

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that the analogous pratīkāraḥ and parīvāraḥ occur both in Mbh., R., and Raghuv. (xv, 16; xvii, 55) as pathyā forms, and all these cases may be such (but in abhīcāraḥ the older MSS. have this form). In vii, 81, 13, B. has aprameyaṃ praṇamato, where C. 2,898 has praṇamantāu. G. ii, 5, 24 has yatprasādād abhiṣiktam for yatprasādenā (Jacobi, Rām., p. 25); and G. vi, 70, 15, vajrasaṁsparçasamāṁs trīn (v. l. in R.).

37, ⏑ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ⏑, drāṣṭā 'sy adya vadato 'smān, iii, 133, 14; adhastāc caturaçītīr, vi, 6, 11; yāvān artha udapāne, vi, 26, 46 (compare v, 46, 26, yatho 'dapāne mahati).

38, – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ⏑, bhūcarāya bhuvanāya, xiii, 14, 305.

Major Ionic, – – ∪ ⏑. Cæsura after fourth or fifth. Sporadic and only in Mbh.

39, ⏑ – ∪ – – – ∪ ⏑, Ŭmāsahāyo vyāladhṛk, iii, 167, 44; āhaçcaro naktaṁcaraḥ, xiii, 17, 47; atrāi 'va tiṣṭhan kṣatriyā, v, 45, 21; tān prekṣyamāno 'pi vyathām, x, 7, 51; etān ajitvā ṣaḍ rathān, vii, 75, 29. In R. vi, 111, 93, vimṛçya buddhyā praçritaṁ, prā is light; v. l. with third vipulā, dharmajñaḥ.[1] In C. ii, 2,107, tadarthakāmaḥ Pāṇḍavān mā druhaḥ Kurusattama, where B. 62, 14 has tadarthakāmas tadvat tvaṁ mā druhaḥ Pāṇḍavān nṛpa, apparently changed for the metre. Similarly, in vii, 2,513, C. has açṛṇvatas tasya svanaṁ, changed in B. 72, 37, to svanaṁ tasya.

40, – – – – – – ∪ ⏑, gāyanti tvā(ṁ) gāyatriṇaḥ, xii, 285, 78 (Rig Veda, i, 10, 1).

[– ∪ – –, – – ∪ –, evam ukto 'thā 'çvāçya tām (?), see No. 21 (ad finem)]

41, ∪ ∪ – – – – ∪ –, abhijānāmi brāhmaṇam, v, 43, 56, but perhaps to be read with diiambic close (No. 46).

42, ∪ – – ∪ – – ∪ –, adṛçyanta saptarṣayaḥ, iii, 187, 46.

Diiambus, ∪ – ∪ ⏑. A few sporadic cases (identical with posterior pādas). One case, No. 45, in R.

43, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ⏑, sa cen mamāra Sṛñjayā, vii, 55, 49; 67, 20; āvisthalaṁ, vṛkasthalaṁ v, 72, 15; 82, 7; tasmāt Samantapañcakām, ix, 55, 9: anvālabhe hiraṇmayaṁ, v, 35, 14. Compare also the long extract, described above on p. 238, from xii, 322.

[1] Probably (Jacobi, loc. cit., pp. 25–26) çr fail to make position here. So perhaps tr and vy in M.? Compare note to No. 15 and No. 26.

44, ⏑ – – – ∪ – ∪ ⏑, Nalaṁ nāma 'rimardanam (B. and C. have damanam), Nala, 12, 105; tad vāi devā upāsate, v, 46, 1 (but in viii, 84, 12, Duryodhanam upāsante, as elsewhere); brahmāṇaṁ tvā çatakratum, xii, 285, 78 (as in No. 40).

45, ⏑ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ⏑, yatra gatvā na çocatī, iii, 180, 22; (saṁ or) ākṣipantīm iva prabhām, Nala, 3, 13. With the first (antique) example compare in the triṣṭubh specimens below: yatra gatvā nā 'nuçocanti dhīrāḥ. The case in Nala has been unnecessarily emended. It may belong here, or pr may fail to make position. No. 41 may belong here.

46, – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –, yā ca vāi bahuyājinām, vii, 73, 43 (but in a passage wanting in C.).

Professor Jacobi's list of "metrically false" pādas in Gurupūj., p. 53, includes praha (sic) vaco bṛhattaram, which would give another form; but it has been taken up through an oversight, as the words form part not of a çloka but of a jagatī, Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ prāha vaco bṛhattaram, viii, 71, 39. So from vi, 23, 8 is cited a "metrically false" pāda, but it is a perfectly regular *posterior* pāda.

Posterior Pāda of Epic Çloka.

1, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ⏑, manuṣyadehagocarāḥ, etc. (above, p. 238). Also in Manu, ix, 48, as posterior pāda, ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪.

2, ⏑ – – – ∪ – ∪ ⏑, krātūnāṁ dakṣiṇāvatām; ekāhaṁ jāgariṣyatī; samyak cāi 'va praçāsitā; sarve çṛṇvantu dāivatāḥ (sic!), R. ii, 11, 16 (devatāḥ in G.); māhāprasthānikaṁ (sic) vidhim, R. vii, 109, 3.

3, ⏑ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ⏑, nṛpate dharmavatsalā; çvāçuro me narottamaḥ; toṣayiṣyāmi bhrātarām, viii, 74, 30; kārayāmāsatur nṛpāu. Between this and No. 5 there is sometimes only a difference of editing, as in yad akurvanta tac chṛṇu, xviii, 3, where B. has the grammatically correct form.

4, ⏑ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑, tvāyā çṛṅgaçatāir nṛpaḥ; bhavadbhir pratibodhitaḥ; Puṇyaçloka iti çrutaḥ; bhidyante bahavaḥ (sic) çilāḥ, R. vi, 66, 11.

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5, ⏑ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑, yŭgapat samahanyată; kăluṣīkṛtalocanaḥ; Vīrasena iti sma hă;[1] na svapāmi niçās tadā (Nala, 13, 61, grammar sacrificed); mṛgayām upacakrame (common terminal). Cæsura: surasārathir uttamaḥ; Viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā, R. vii, 11, 17. Apparently avoided in mṛdnantī (sic) kuçakaṇṭakān, R. ii, 27, 7; bruvantīm mantharām tataḥ, R. ii, 8, 13; 12, 57; tapasā sma for smaḥ, R. i, 65, 19, etc.

6, ⏑ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑, nīkṛntata nikṛntată; ăkampayata medinīm; yaḥ paçyati sa paçyatī; saṁjīva çaradaḥ çatam; Viṣṇutvam upajagmivān. Cæsura: taṁ vāi naravarottamam; samāçvasihi mā çucaḥ; jagāma diçam uttarām; krīḍāpayati yoṣitaḥ, R. vii, 32, 18. In R. vii, 22, 2, ratho me (sic) upanīyatām, the metre seems as unnecessarily avoided as sought in the preceding example.

7, ⏑ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –, madhumatīṁ trivartmagām, xiii, 26, 84; caturaçītir ucchritaḥ, vi, 6, 11 (v. l. in C.); Kāuçiki pītavāsinī, vi, 23, 8. In R. the pāda pāitṛpitāmahāir dhruvāiḥ has a v. l. that destroys its value.[2]

For – – ∪ – (and ∪ – – – –) as last foot of the hemistich, see above, p. 242 ff.

[1] N. 1, 1, suto balī, is a stereotyped ending.

[2] These cases (except the first) are cited by Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 25, etc.

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APPENDIX C.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EPIC TRIṢṬUBH FORMS.

⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

1, ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –, passim, cæsura after the fourth or fifth syllable, inclining to the latter place, often irregular or neglected:[1] himātyaye kakṣagato yathā 'gniḥ, tathā daheyaṁ saganān prasahya, viii, 74, 56–57; na Pāṇḍavān çreṣṭhatarān nihanti, i, 1, 188 c; çamena dharmeṇa nayena yuktā, ii, 75, 10 a; prabrūhi me kiṁ karaṇīyam adya, i, 3, 176 c; Bhīṣmāya gacchāmi hato dviṣadbhiḥ, vii, 2, 30 d; yo veda vedān na sa veda vedyam, v, 43, 52 c; Madrādhipāya pravaraḥ Kurūṇām, ix, 17, 41 d; sa çāntim āpnoti na kāmakāmī, vi, 26, 70 d. Cæsura after second, in na cen, nigṛhṇīṣva sutaṁ sukhāya, iii, 4, 13 d; after fourth, in refrain of vii, 118, 11 d; 140, 15 d; or elsewhere in: yaç cittam anveti parasya rājan, vīraḥ kaviḥ svāṁ avamanya dṛṣṭim, ii, 63, 4 a–b; artho 'py anīçasya tathāi 'va rājan, i, 92, 5 c; vāsāṅsi divyāni ca bhānumanti, ii, 77, 7 b; evaṁ kariṣyāmi yathā bravīṣi, iii, 5, 22 a; gadāsibāhudraviṇaṁ ca te 'sti, viii, 76, 17 d; ye cā 'çvamedhāvabhṛthe plutāṅgāḥ, xiii, 102, 41 c. In jagatī: Kaṇādanāmānam ajam maheçvāram; H. 3, 85, 16 b; taṁ dharmarājo vimanā ivā 'bravīt, iii, 25, 7 a. The only triṣṭubh in Nala has this form, iii, 76, 53. Also hypermetric.

In the Rāmāyaṇa this is the typical pāda.

⏑ – – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

2, ⏑ – – – – ∪ ∪ –, passim, cæsura after fourth or fifth: yadā çrāuṣaṁ Vāiçravaṇena sārdham, i, 1, 166 a; vimucyā 'raṇye svaçarīradhātūn, i, 91, 7 d; 'bhittvā 'nīkaṁ lakṣyavaraṁ, dharāyām, i, 187, 22 b; kāuçyām bṛsyām āssva yatho 'pajoṣam, iii, 111, 10 a; mamāi 'tāu vāmyāu parigṛhya rājan, iii, 192, 54 a; na mitradhruṇ nāikṛtikaḥ kṛtaghnaḥ, xiii,

[1] On the cæsura here, see above on the upajāti stanza.

73, 15 a. In jagatī: ayaṁ jetā Madra-Kaliṅga-Kekayān, viii, 68, 11. Also hypermetric. Much rarer than No. 1.

⏑ ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ⏑

3, ⏑ ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ —, common, cæsura after the fourth: yadi lokāḥ Pārthiva santi me 'tra, i, 92, 9 b; na pṛthivyāṁ tiṣṭhati nā 'ntarikṣe, v, 44, 26 e; tam asahyaṁ Viṣṇum anantavīryam, v, 48, 88 a; maghavā 'haṁ lokapatham prajānām, xiii, 102, 56 a; taṁ jahi tvam madvacanāt prannunnaḥ, iii, 192, 63 c; nā 'sya varṣaṁ varṣati varṣakāle, nā 'sya bījaṁ rohati kāla uptam, iii, 197, 12 a–b; hrīniṣevo Bhārata rājaputraḥ, viii, 7, 18 a; dyāuḥ pṛthivyāṁ dhāsyati bhūri vāri, xiii, 159, 41 d. Change of cæsura in jagatī: eka evā 'gnir bahudhā samiddhyate, iii, 134, 8 a. Also hypermetric.

— — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ⏑

4, — — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ —, antique and sporadic, cæsura after the fourth (with long initial, as far as I have observed): sarvāṁ rātrim adhyayanaṁ karoṣi, iii, 132, 10 c; ācāryeṇa ātmakṛtaṁ vijānan, so to be read, v, 44, 14 a; yam manyeta tam pratihṛṣṭabuddhiḥ, C. v, 1,697 c (B. 44, 14 c, manyate); ākāçe ca apsu ca te kramaḥ syāt, so to be read, v, 48, 86, d.

— ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ⏑

5, — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —, antique,[1] and I think unique: antavataḥ kṣatriya te jayanti (lokān janāḥ karmaṇā nirmalena), v, 44, 24 a. See No. 11.

Between Nos. 4 and 5, in the order of the schedule, should be found the triṣṭubh pāda ⏑ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ⏑ but I am unable to give any example from the Bhārata, and the only case known to me in the Rāmāyaṇa, G. vii, 89, 19, vimānavaram bahuratnamaṇḍitam, is added to a late book (not in RB.). It is, however, not unknown in Buddhistic verse, e. g., Dh. P. 144, pahassatha dukkham idaṁ anappakam, with the cæsura to be expected for such a form. [The new ed. (not MSS.) has pahassathā.]

⏑ — ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ — ⏑

6, ⏑ — ∪ — — ∪ — —, passim, often mixed with upajātis, cæsura after the fourth: parasparaṁ spardhayā prekṣamāṇāḥ, i,

[1] E. g., BAU. iv, 3, 13, jakṣad ute 'vā 'pi bhayāni paçyan.

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187, 3 a; tato 'bravīd Vāsudevo 'bhigamya, i, 191, 20 a; devarṣayo guhyakāç cāraṇāç ca, i, 187, 7 b; prajñā ca te Bhārgavasye 'va çuddhā, iii, 4, 2 a; çatruḥ çadeḥ çāsater vā çyater vā, viii, 42, 32 c; Karṇas tvaran mām upāyāt pramāthī, viii, 67, 12 d; yat tat Pṛthāṁ vāg uvācā 'ntarikṣe, viii, 68, 10 a, etc. In jagatī, xiii, 102, 44 c, etc. Also in hypermetric form, atithivratāḥ suvratā ye janā vāi, ib. 19 a; sadā kumāro, yatra sa plakṣarājaḥ, ix, 43, 49 d,[1] etc. If pr make position, divyena rūpeṇa ca prajñāyā ca, iii, 186, 25 c (but cæsura indicates that cā is to be read, No. 1).

⏑ – ⏑ – – – ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

7, ⏑ – ⏑ – – – ∪ – –, passim, especially in upajātis, cæsura after the fourth or fifth when the initial is short (light); after the fourth when the initial is long (heavy) as a çālinī verse (pāda), which is even more common than the vātormī pāda, both in its full form and in its party shape ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ – –. In hypermetric form this pāda with a heavy initial is a vāiçvadevī pāda (common as such and found also as a complete vāiçvadevī stanza): raṇe çūraṁ dharmarājena sūta, i, 1, 207 b; nihanmī 'maṁ vipram adya pramathya, iii, 192, 65 b; Nalo hy akṣāir nirjitaḥ Puṣkareṇa, viii, 91, 13 b; satāṁ vṛttaṁ cā 'dadītā 'ryavṛttaḥ, i, 87, 10 d; hatam pārthenā 'haveṣv apradhṛṣyam, i, 1, 205 b; no 'tsrakṣye 'haṁ Vāmadevasya vāmyāu, iii, 192, 58 c; mitram minder nandateḥ prīyater vā, viii, 42, 31 c; with an unusual word-division, muniçreṣṭhā ṛgbhir ānarcur īçam, xvi, 4, 28 b. As vāiçvadevī also, pratyāmnāyantu tvaṁ hi enam mā hiṁsīḥ, iii, 197, 17 d, where hiatus must be read (C. has prāpayantu); rājā Gāndhāryāḥ skandhadeçe 'vasajjya, xv, 15, 9 c, etc. In C. xiii, 4,863 c, ye 'dhīyante se 'tihāsam purāṇam, the grammar is corrected in B. 102, 21 (No. 6). See also the note following No. 11, where – ∪ – ∪ appears as the second foot of the hypermetric pāda. With initial hypermeter, kṛtinaṁ vīraṁ (v. l. dhīraṁ) dānavānāṁ ca bādham, H. 2, 72, 33 b.

[1] One pada, c, of the half-vāiçvadevī in R. v, 63, 33, is of this form, aṅgāir praharṣṭāiḥ kāryasiddhiṁ viditvā. See above, p. 326.

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In the Rāmāyaṇa, saṁsiddhārthāḥ sarva evo 'gravīryāḥ, B. vi, 11, 30 b (with a case of No. 13), not in G.; also in a proverb, R. (B.) vii, 59, 3, 33 d (prakṣipta): na tat satyaṁ yac chalenā 'nuviddhaṁ, where G. vii, 64, 33, has satyaṁ na tad yac chalam abhyupāiti. Mbh. v, 35, 58 d, has na tat satyaṁ yac chalenā 'bhyupetam.

⏑ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — ⏑

8, ⏑ ∪ — — — ∪ — —, rather common, cæsura after the fourth, used chiefly in phrases and proper names, but often without constraint: pratikūlaṁ karmaṇām pāpam āhuḥ, i, 89, 4 a; bahuvittān Pāṇḍavāñç cej jayas tvam, ii, 63, 9 c; paribhūte pāuruṣe Dhārtarāṣṭre, C. vii, 72 b (B. 2, 21, parābhūte);[1] avasaṁ vāi brāhmaṇacchadmanā 'ham, viii, 42, 4 a, etc.; but the long (heavy) initial is more common: yatra gatvā nā 'nuçocanti dhīrāḥ, i, 93, 8 d; tatra yūyaṁ karma kṛtvā 'viṣahyam, i, 197, 25 c; evam ete Pāṇḍavāḥ sambabhūvuḥ, ib. 35 a; durvibhāṣam bhāṣitaṁ tvādṛçena, ii, 66, 2 a; ko hi dīvyed bhāryayā rājaputra, ib. 67, 5 b; tasya duḥkhe 'py aṅçabhājaḥ sahāyāḥ, iii, 5, 20 b; nā 'nuyogā brāhmaṇānām bhavanti, iii, 192, 56 a; evam ukte Vāmadevena rājan, ib. 57, a; so ib. 62, c; 64, a; v, 48, 96 b; 71, 2 a; vi, 20, 1 c; vii, 2, 31 c; viii, 37, 22 c, etc.; īrayantam bhāratīm bhāratīnām, v, 71, 2 a; brāhmaṇānāṁ hastibhir nā 'sti kṛtyam, xiii, 102, 13 a; duṣkṛtaṁ vā kasya hetor na kuryāt, xii, 73, 22 d. In jagatī, sa mahendraḥ stūyate vāi mahādhvare, xiii, 159, 28 c. Also in hypermetric form.

This measure is often divided by the words (as in some of the examples above, or in iii, 134, 36 a, mahad āukthyaṁ gīyate, sāma cā 'gryam) in such a way as to make a second cæsura after the seventh syllable, with the last three (5–7) syllables included in one word. It is an antique measure of the Upanishads and Buddhistic writings[2] and is clearly decadent in the epic, being far less common than the two preceding combinations, Nos. 6 and 7.

[1] The case in vii, 9,468 a, daça cā 'nye ye puraṁ dhārayanti, is also uncertain, as B. 201, 76 c, has daçā 'py anye.

[2] It is the only form found with trochaic opening in the Dhammapada; vs. 354, sabdadānaṁ dhammadānaṁ jināti.

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⏑ – – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

9, ⏑ – – ∪ – ∪ – –, sporadic, but also found in hypermetric form; cæsura after the fourth: yadā 'çrāuṣam Arjunaṁ devadevam, i, 1, 162 a (165 a); na hi jñānam alpakālena çakyam, iii, 133, 10 c; vānaspatyam āyasam pārthivaṁ vā, iii, 186, 25 b; in vii, 179, 24 c, B. has apaçyāma lo. hitābhraprakāçām, where C. 8,138, has tām paçyāmaḥ. The corresponding measure with the vātormī cadence, No. 15, is more frequent.

(9 b), Note: Between Nos. 9 and 10 should stand examples of ⏑ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –, but I have only Hariv. 2, 72, 44 a, vyañjano jano 'tha vidvān samagraḥ, and in this case it is clear that we may have a resolved semi-vowel and hypermeter: vi-añjano ja-no 'tha vidvān samagraḥ. Similar hypermeters are given in the discussion above, p. 288. Compare the resolution ib. 45 a, tri-ambakam puṣṭidam vo bruvāṇam (texts, also 7,434, tryambakam).

– – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

10, – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –, sporadic, cæsura after the fourth: yene 'cchasi tena kāmaṁ vrajasva, iii, 133, 2 b; nā 'nīçvara īdṛçaṁ jātu kuryāt, iii, 197, 24 c. Not rare in Vedic rhythms. Sporadic also as hypermeter, p. 289.

– ∪ ∪ ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑ (?)

11, – ∪ ∪ ⏑ – ∪ – –, questionable. The text of v, 44, 25 b has kṛṣṇam athā 'ñjanaṁ kādravaṁ vā, which can be read only with hiatus. I suspect that originally atho or athā stood in the verse. Compare p. 300, and the choriambic opening which precedes this passage, cited above as No. 5. Possibly the prose in xii, 343, 20 may have once been verse. It begins with vedapurāṇetihāsapramāṇyāt.

Note: To these cases of party-formed çālinī pādas must be added the hypermetric analogue of the çloka's fourth vipulā with final brevis, which from its first foot belongs more particularly under No. 7, to wit, yas tvaṁ devānām mantravitsu purodhāḥ, xiv, 9, 5 b.

⏑ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

12, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –, passim, cæsura after fourth, common in upajātis: sa cā 'pi tad vyadadhāt sarvam eva, i, 197, 32 a;

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na hi tvayā sadṛçī kācid asti, iii, 186, 23 a; vāci kṣuro niçitas tīkṣṇadhāraḥ, i, 3, 123 b; paçcād ayaṁ Sahadevas tarasvī, i, 191, 9 b; yasmāt striyaṁ vivadadhvaṁ sabhāyām, ii, 71, 17 b; satye rato guruçuçrūṣayā ca, xiii, 73, 26 b. In jagatī, kaccit sukhaṁ svapiṣi tvam Bṛhaspate, xiv, 9, 1 a. To this category belongs perhaps iii, 192, 58 a; but see No. 24. Not rare (e. g. iii, 197, 11 c; 16 d; v, 42, 6 c; 44, 14 d, etc.) are the hypermetric forms ⏑ – ∪ – ⏑, ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑, as shown above (initial and inserted), pp. 286, 289.[1]

⏑ – – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

13, ⏑ – – – ∪ ∪ – – –, passim, cæsura after fourth, common in upajātis: idaṁ çreyaḥ paramam manyamānāḥ, also sāṁkhyā yogāḥ paramaṁ yaṁ vadanti, iii, 186, 26 a and e; svarge loke çvavatāṁ nā 'sti dhiṣṇyam, xvii, 3, 10 a. Other examples under the vātormī stanza (also hypermetric).

In the Rāmāyaṇa, vi, 11, 30 (with a case of No. 7): bhartuḥ sarve dadṛçuç cā 'nanaṁ te, not in G.; hypermetric, ib. v, 63, 33 d.

⏑ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

14, ⏑ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – –, common, cæsura after the fourth: navanītaṁ hṛdayam brāhmaṇasya, i, 3, 123 a; tata eṣām bhavitāi 'vā 'ntakālaḥ, i, 197, 7 d; yadi cāi 'vaṁ vihitaḥ Çaṁkareṇa, i, 198, 4 a; upasargād bahudhā sūdateç ca, viii, 42, 33 a; yadi daṇḍaḥ spṛçate 'puṇyapāpam, xii, 73, 22 a; so in xiii, 159, 27, and 42 (initial ∪ and –); santi lokā bahavas te narendra, i, 92, 15 a; eṣa dharmaḥ paramo yat svakena, iii, 4, 7 c; agnihotrād aham abhyāgatā 'smi, iii, 186, 22 a; tasya mūlāt saritaḥ prasravanti, ib. 28 c; nāi 'va çakyaṁ vihitasyā 'payānam, C. i, 7,329 c (but B. 198, 1, na vāi); kasya hetoḥ sukṛtaṁ nāma kuryāt, xii, 73, 22 c; samprahārṣīç Cyavanasyā 'tighoram, xiv, 9, 32 b; 10, 22 a and 30 b. Also hypermetric.

[1] I think that this is the way such early stanzas must be read as appear, e. g., in Praçna iv (10), 11, c, where b–c read: (b) prāṇā bhūtāni | samprati̇ṣṭhanti yatra; (c) tad akṣaraṁ ve- | dayate yas tu somya. The alternative is a choriambus with the scolius – ∪ – ∪; but on this see the remarks above, p. 281.

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⏑ – – ∪ ∪∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

15, ⏑ – – ∪ ∪∪ – –, common,[1] cæsura after the fourth: tato divyam ajaram prāpya lokam, i, 89, 17 a; purodhāya sukṛtaṁ duṣkṛtaṁ vā, i, 90, 18 b; tad eve 'dam upapannaṁ vidhānam, i, 198, 1 d; tad evāi 'tad avaçasyā 'bhyupāiti, ii, 56, 16 c; praṇetāram ṛṣabhaṁ Yādavānām and draṣṭāro hi Kuravas taṁ sametāḥ, v, 71, 3 b and 4 a; tad icchāmi na sa taṁ yājayeta, xiv, 9, 4 d; so iii, 5, 22 b; v, 48, 57 c; vii, 145, 94 a, etc.; with long or heavy initial, tat tat prāpya na vihanyeta dhīraḥ, i, 89, 7 e; prāptaṁ rājyam asapatnam punas tāiḥ, i, 1, 216 d; taṁ sarvasya bhuvanasya prasūtiḥ, i, 232, 14 c; tatra dyūtam abhavan no jaghanyam, iii, 34, 13 a; tam manyeta pitaraṁ mātaraṁ ca, v, 44, 9 c; hiṁsāvegam udaropasthavegam and nindā cā 'sya hṛdayaṁ no 'pahanyāt, xii, 279, 17 b and d; durgaṁ janma nidhanaṁ cā 'pi rājan, xii, 319, 110 a; in C. i, 3,662 d, kuryād eva, where B. 92, 18 d, has evaṁ. Other cases in iii, 4, 22 b; 197, 9 a and 10 b; vii, 2, 21 c; xii, 73, 26 c; 206, 27 c and 29 d; xiii, 71, 18 d; 94, 43 b; 159, 19 d, etc., all with cæsura after the fourth syllable. Rarely hypermetric.

In xii, 60, 47 c, the second foot ends in brevis! It is, however, forced by the meaning: ekaṁ sāma | yajur ekām | ṛg ekā. In regard to nā 'nyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate, see the paragraph on the scolius, p. 279, where also is cited caturdvāram puruṣaṁ caturmukham. and another similar pāda.

– ∪ – ∪ ∪∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

16, – ∪ – ∪ ∪∪ – –, çuklam ekam aparaṁ cā 'pi kṛṣṇam, i, 197, 32 d. I have no other examples of this opening.

⏑ – ∪∪ ∪∪ – – ∪ – ⏑

17, ⏑ – ∪∪ ∪∪ – –, antique and sporadic, cæsura after the fourth: çamārthinam upayātaṁ Kurūṇām, i, 1, 175 b; ṛjur mṛdur anṛçaṁsaḥ kṣamāvān, xii, 63, 8 c; ye tad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti, v, 44, 31 d; 45, 18 d. BAU. iv, 4, 14, etc. (ya etad).

[1] This is the only case where the fourth syllable is a brevis in a common combination.

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⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–

18, ⏑⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–, antique and unique, virajaso vitamaskā viçokāḥ, xiii, 102, 32 b. The same repeated below has, in 35, supuṇyagandhā virajā viçokāḥ (hypermetric in 42, supuṇyagandhā virajā vītaçokāḥ). Compare ib. 38. Imitation of Chānd. viii, 1, 5; Māitri, vi, 25, etc. With choriambic opening in a sporadic hypermeter, p. 294.

⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑–⏑

19, ⏑–⏑– ⏑⏑⏑–, common, cæsura after fourth or fifth: yuvaṁ diço janayatho daçāgre, i, 3, 64 a; ajo hi çastram agilat ḳilāi 'kaḥ, ii, 66, 8 a; (after iyaṁ Gaṅge 'ti niyatam pratiṣṭhā, xiii, 26, 88 a, No. 20), ib. c, in hypermetric form, prātas trivargā ghṛtavahā vipāpmā (the same without cæsura, ib. 94, 13 d, below); te bhānavo 'py anusṛtāç caranti, i, 3, 65 c; te māṁ yathā vyabhicaranti nityam, i, 76, 52 b; rājā 'ham āsam iha sarvabhāumaḥ, i, 89, 15 a; jānīmahe Vidura yatpriyas tvam, ii, 64, 1 c; īço 'bhaviṣyad aparājitātmā, ii, 71, 18 d; brahmadviṣaghnam amṛtasya yonim, vii, 201, 67 d; Vāivasvatasya sadane mahātman, xiii, 102, 14 c; also i, 90, 6 c; ii, 63, 6 c; iii, 4, 12, a; 186, 8 d; 186, 25 d; xiii, 90, 48 a, etc. In jagatī: evam bruvāṇam ajināir vivāsitam, ii, 77, 19 a; parājiteṣu bharateṣu durmanāḥ, vii, 2, 8 c; kulambharān anaḍuhaḥ çataṁ çatān, xiii, 93, 32 a. In i, 90, 24 c–d = v, 35, 45 this measure is combined with that of the next number: mānāgnihotram uta mānamāunam (etc., see No. 20). The tendency is to give up this measure for the choriamb, and so grammar suffers, as in ix, 59, 10 b: ye cā 'py akurv*anta* sadasyavastrām. This old metre, which is Vedic and is found in the Upanishads, is already passing away in the epic, though it can scarcely be called rare. In some parts it is rarer than in others, and it still survives in the Purāṇas. In the seventh book's three hundred odd triṣṭubhs, for example, it occurs only in the two places cited above; the fourth book in its two hundred has only one case (in jagatī form), iv, 14, 51 d; the thirteenth, with three hundred odd triṣṭubhs, has eight cases; the second, in one hundred and fifty-odd, has five. Other jagatī cases are in i, 197, 20 a; iii, 134, 10 c; xiv, 9, 30 c (all with cæsura

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after the fourth); and v, 71, 5 a, ṛṣiṁ sanātanatanaṁ vipaçcitam.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, this metre is found in G. ii, 25, 42, and 79, 40, where occur respectively the pādas:

athāi 'vam açruparipūrṇalocanā
tam ārtam açruparipūrṇanetram

In the former case, B. has açrupratipūrṇa. This is the usual phrase, as in R. vii, 40, 31, viyogajāçrupratipūrṇalocanaḥ (in çloka, açrupūritalocanāḥ, R. vi, 45, 27). The latter of the two pādas above is not in B. at all. There is also a varied reading in R. vii, 77, 21, sarvaṁ tadā cā 'kathayan mame 'ti, for here G. 84, 19 has sarvaṁ tadā kathitavān mame 'ti. The measure, however, is not entirely confined to G., though it appears in B. only in two praksipta passages, iii, 56, pr. 25, Indrāt pravṛttim upalabhya Jānakī or Sītā (where G. has pratilabhya); vii, 37, 3, 9; vidyotati jvalati bhāṭi lokān. In G. v, 80, 24, na ced iyaṁ naçati vānarārditā (not in B.), naçyati is probably to be read (as usual). This measure is found in hypermetric form also in G. vi, 43, 37, çriyaṁ ca kīrtiṁ ca samavāpnuhi tvam, where B. has çriyaṁ ca kīrtiṁ ca ciraṁ samaçnute, but perhaps samāpnuhi ought to be read in G. (or avāpnuhi, as in R. vi, 59, 57, sthirāṁ kīrtim avāpnuhi). Such an hypermeter is found sporadically in Mbh. xiii, 26, 88 c (above); also with neglected cæsura.

⏑ – – – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

20, ⏑ – – – ∪ ∪ ∪ –, rather rare, cæsura after fourth or fifth: avācyā vāi patiṣu kāmavṛttiḥ, ii, 71, 3 c; Viṣṇo retas tvam amṛtasya nābhiḥ, iii, 114, 27 b; mānenādhītam uta mānayajñaḥ, i, 90, 24 d = v, 35, 45; sabhāyāṁ yatra labhate 'nuvādam, xii, 73, 16 b; caturdhā cāi 'nam upayāti vācā, xii, 270, 23; nāi 'ṣām (!) ukṣā vahati no 'ta vāhāḥ, xii, 343, 19; iyaṁ Gāṅge 'ti, etc. (No. 19, line 3). Also in hypermetric form.

Like the last number, this is a decadent metre in the epic.[1] The late fourth and seventh books have no certain

[1] In the Dhammapada, triṣṭubhs with ∪ ∪ ∪ – as second foot are numerically equal to those with – ∪ – – (eight each, as contrasted with ninety-six with choriambic middle).

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examples. In the former there is none at all; in the latter, vii, 200, 83 a, āsannasya svarathaṁ tīvratejāḥ stands for C.'s reading, 9,340, svaratham ugratejaḥ, but it may be one of B.'s frequent improvements.

I have not noticed any epic pāda with the form ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –, such as is found in the earlier versification, e. g. çukram ādāya punar eti sthānam, BAU. iv, 3, 11; nor with fourth brevis, except as hypermeters, p. 290, when three breves follow (çloka, Nos. 11, 12).

Sporadic, or at most rare, are all the remaining forms.

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

21, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –, sporadic, cæsura after fourth or fifth: purā jagāu maharṣisaṅgha eṣaḥ,[1] v, 43, 50 b; Sanatsujāta yām imām parāṁ tvam (brāhmīṁ vācaṁ vadase viçvarūpām), v, 44, 1. In iii, 197, 13 a, and 13,285 (this has a *vāi* which is omitted in B., apparently because *sadā* in B. is regarded as belonging to b) there is a parallel jagatī, which I read:

(a) jātā hrasvā prajā pramīyate sadā
(b) na vāi vāsaṁ pitaro (a)sya kurvata

The version of B. abandons a as too unmetrical, and omits vai, to make of b the pāda: sadā na vāsam pit⁻⁻o 'sya kurvata; while C. abandons b, and also refuses to recognize the hiatus, but keeps vāi, which, however, with hiatus makes of the hemistich two pādas, as given above. Compare the corresponding form in çloka measure. There is a parallel in the Mahābhāṣya:

no Khaṇḍikān jagāma no Kaliṅgān,

but Weber, IS. vol. xiii, p. 368, reads jagāma, perhaps a warranted emendation (compare jagrāha, ib. c).

– – – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

22, – – – – ⏑ – ⏑ –, sporadic or unique: svastī 'ty uktvā maharṣisiddhasaṅghāḥ. I have lost the reference.

These diiambic middles appear to be almost as rare in other popular verse. Only one case is found in the

[1] The whole stanza runs: chandāṅsi nāma kṣatriya tāny Atharvā purā jagāu maharṣisaṅgha eṣaḥ, chandovidas te ya uta nā 'dhītavedā na vedavedyasya vidur hi tattvam. Pāda c is explained under hypermeters. Both of the passages from which the two first extracts are taken are antique.

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Dhammapada and that is rather doubtful (vs. 281): kāyena ca | akūsalaṁ na kayirā, with kayirā for kayrā.[1]

⏑ – ∪ – – – ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

23, ⏑ – ∪ – – – ∪ –, antique and sporadic, variable cæsura: tadvṛṣṭimahnā prasthitāu balasya, i, 3, 63 d; vedān adhīyītā 'nahaṁkṛtaḥ syāt, i, 89, 7 b; mānaṁ na kuryān nā 'dadhīta roṣam, v, 44, 10 c; in hypermetric form, bhayāhitasya dāyam mamā 'ntikāt tvām, iii, 197, 17 c.

In the Rāmāyaṇa G. iii, 75, 74, Sumeruçṛṅgāgre gatām aninditām, where B. has çṛṅgāgragatām; G. v, 11, 10, mattapramattānāṁ samākulāni, where B. has mattapramattāni; G. vi, 46, 74, sa bhūtale nyastaḥ kapipravīraḥ, where B. has bhīmabalā 'bhipiṣṭaḥ; G. vi, 51, 108, jaghāna çaktībhir vinaṣṭacetāḥ, where B. has çaktyṛṣṭigadākuṭhārāiḥ. I have noticed no example in RB.

In the Dhammapada this measure is also rare, though sometimes employed, as in No. 143 b: asso yathā bhadro kasānivitṭho ātāpino saṁvegino bhavātha.

[23 b, See the note to No. 25.]

∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – – ∪ – ⏑

24, ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ – – –, sporadic or unique; ubhāu ca te jarāmṛtyū vyatītāu, xiv, 9, 5 c; Ikṣvākavo yadi brahman Dalo vā, iii, 192, 58 a (or with ı before br, No. 12.) Perhaps hypermetric in Hariv. C. 7,442 c, dhṛtāyudhaḥ sukṛtīnām uttamāujāḥ, but B. 2, 72, 53, has sukṛtīnām.

⏑ – – – ∪ – – – ∪ – ⏑

25, ⏑ – – – ∪ – – –, rare, cæsura after the fourth: tadā devīṁ rudantīṁ tām uvāca, i, 7,292 b in C., but rudatīm in B. 197, 17; na cā 'bhakṣye kvacit kurvanti buddhim, xii, 141, 78 b; so 'haṁ nāi 'vā 'kṛtam pūrvaṁ careyam, i, 3,657 c in C., but ∪ ∪ – – in B. 92, 13; nā 'cāryasyā 'napākṛtya pravāsam, v, 44, 15 a; tasmād etāṁ darām āviçya çeṣva, i, 197, 24 d (but in C. 7,299, āviçā 'trāi 'va çeṣva); vimucyo 'ccāir mahānādaṁ hi sādho, xv, 15, 6 c.[2]

[1] More probably: kāyena ca akūsalaṁ na kayirā, ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – –. [So the new ed., but with *cā akūsalam* suggested.]

[2] For ⏑ – – ∪ ∪ – – – – ∪ – ⏑, I have only H., loc. cit., p. 297, āpo devya ṛṣīṇāṁ viçvadhātryo (No. 25 b), where B. inserts hi after ṛṣīṇāṁ, or a form with – – ∪ – after – – – ∪(∪), that is, hypermetric opening.

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⏑ – ∪ – – – – – ∪ – ⏑

26, ⏑ – ∪ – – – – –, sporadic:
samāhvayat saṁrambhāc cāi 'va kāvyaḥ, i, 76, 51 b; mahac ca rūpaṁ tad vāi parvatebhyaḥ, v, 44, 29 d. Also hypermetric, p. 291.

∪ – – – – – – – ∪ – ⏑

27, ⏑ – – – – – – – –, sporadic and questionable: maheṣvāsāḥ Kāikeyāç cā 'pi sarve, C., iii, 15,654 b, but B. 268, 16, has Kekăyāç; rajo dhvastaṁ Gāṇḍīvena pravṛttam, C. v, 1,869, but B. 48, 61, has Gāṇḍīvena. At the cost of grammatical nicety, xii, 24, 27, avoids the cadence by having caturaḥ for catvāraḥ: cāturhotraṁ caturo vājimukhyāḥ. For the hypermeter, see p. 291.

[Note: etat sarvam anirdeçenāi 'vam uktam, xii, 108, 33 a, would be hypermeter of – – – ∪ (∪) – – – – ∪ – ∪, but see the note on p. 296.]

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FINAL NOTES.

To pp. 44–45: On the Māitri Upanishad. Compare also mātrā, "matter," in Māitri vi, 6; the later Gītā, 2, 14; and possibly xii, 271, 12. The image of spirit as a "smokeless flame" is found in Kaṭha Up., iv, 13, jyotir ivā 'dhūmakaḥ; Māitri (i, 2 and) vi, 17; and the epic, xii, 251, 7 (307, 20; 325, 12): sarvātmānam mahātmānaṁ vidhūmam iva pāvakam; as is also the phrase tām āhuḥ paramāṁ gatim, Kaṭha, vi, 10; Māitri, vi, 30; Gītā, 8, 21. On a closer resemblance to Māitri vi, 15, see the note on p. 167. The tree of desire is in this passage called the hṛdi kāmadrumaç citro mohasaṁcayasambhavaḥ, the image, like that of the following "town of the senses," being very fully expanded, xii, 255, 1 ff. The "wheel of transmigration" is found in other passages also: yathā kāṣṭhaṁ ca kāṣṭhaṁ ca (R. ii, 105, 26) sameyātām mahodadhāu . . . saṁsāre cakravadgatāu; sukhaduḥkhe manuṣyāṇāṁ cakravat parivartataḥ, xii, 28, 36–41 (= 174, 15 ff.); 174, 19.

To p. 117: On Kapila's ādya. Compare ādyā prakṛtiḥ, xii, 299, 34.

To p. 118: The reference to the negative definition (omitted from the first paragraph) is xii, 201, 27.

To p. 159: Cf. xii, 28, 46: na mṛtyum ativartante velām iva mahodadhiḥ.

To p. 183: On God as the Divine Word. Compare xii, 47, 46: yam āhur aksaraṁ divyaṁ tasmāi vāgātmane namaḥ. See p. 14.

To p. 186: On Yama's abode. The first note is restated, more carefully, on p. 288.

To p. 191: On the help derived from Professor Cappeller's MS. By "in the epic" is of course to be understood in the Mahābhārata. It should perhaps have been stated that all cases have been re-examined, and that the MS. contained nothing in regard to çlokas and no discussion of the various other metres. Without qualifying my indebtedness, I should not wish to make Professor Cappeller responsible for the further analysis.

To p. 213: On the scapegoats. According to xii, 343, 53, Indra's sin was distributed over women, fire, trees, and cows.

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The distribution of this sin is parallel to that of Nahuṣa (here said to be cow-killing), which was divided into one hundred and one parts (generally, but not always, an inauspicious number), as diseases among men, xii, 263, 49.

To p. 217: On the conversion of çlokas and triṣṭubhs. I ought here to have referred to the attempt at wholesale excision of triṣṭubhs in the work published in 1883 by Sörensen, Om Mahābhārata's Stilling i den indiske Literatur, pp. 211 ff. The theory, despite the ingenuity of the author, never seemed to me convincing. The early forms of triṣṭubh found in the epic, and the fact that Patañjali cites epic triṣṭubhs, seem to me decisive evidence that the latter measure was a primitive form of epic expression.

To p. 238: On Patañjali's epic verses. M. Barth, in his review of Dahlmann's first book, Journal des Savants, 1897, very properly questions whether Professor Ludwig is correct in claiming that "all citations in Bhāṣya verses referring to the epic are in other metre than that of the epic" (p. 8 of the study entitled Ueber das Verhältniss des mythischen Elementes zu d. hist. Grundlage d. Mbh., Abh. d. Böhm. Ak., 1884). Neither scholar gives illustrations in support of his statement. The examples given above, on p. 239, sufficiently illustrate the partial correctness of Professor Ludwig's observation. At the same time, the half-çloka cited above, on p. 6, is found in both Bhāṣya and Bhārata, and Patañjali's triṣṭubh pāda, asidvitīyo 'nusasāra Pāṇḍavam, is in regular Bhārata metre. The truth seems to be that Patañjali's epic verse is not wholly different; but it is on occasion freer than that of the Bhārata.

To p. 263: On the Prākrit original of the epic. It is possible that the epic tales may have been composed first in patois; but it is not probable that the philosophical sections, for example, the Gītā and parts of Çānti, have suffered such a transformation.

To p. 264: On pseudo-epic atrocities. An early epic writer would have said (in prose) jīvān aham dṛṣṭavān. The poet of the pseudo-epic, just after using the word jīva (masc.), employs, in xii, 280, 20, not only jīvāni but adṛṣṭavān:

evaṁ saṁsaramāṇāni jīvāny aham adṛṣṭavān

From the context it is evident that, as Nīlakaṇṭha says, the real meaning is "I have seen" (aham vedmi), though the commentator derives the sense through the idea of not-seeing being

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equivalent to knowing not by sight but by insight. The form, however, is simply an irregularly augmented verbal, and the sentence means literally, "thus in course of transmigration have I seen spirits." The form stands on a par with the augmented imperative of R. iv, 3, 27, where some late pedant, to avoid the metrical irregularity of an anapæst after the first syllable, has handed down tam abhyabhāṣa, "speak to him," as the opening words of a verse (just before na kiṁcid apaçabditam!). The difference between such freedom as this and that found (for the same reason) in R. v, 13, 41, where occurs samyag āpaḥ prevekṣyāmi, is that, whereas the later metricist employs an unheard-of liberty, the second poet simply harks back to the legitimate interchange of āpaḥ and apaḥ, which, to avoid another irregularity, are exchanged in the already stiffening verse of the Rig Veda; for here also we find in RV. x, 121, 8 (to avoid in a triṣṭubh an opening choriambus): yaçcid āpo mahinā paryapaçyat. Similarly, in syntax, we find in the pseudo-epic the genitive after a comparative, as in xiii, 14, 5 (cited by Holtzmann), and xii, 218, 28; nā 'nyo jīvaḥ çarīrasya; exactly as we find it in the later Rāmāyaṇa; for G. vi, 24, 28 merely indicates that the text is late (since the alternate text, R. vi, 49, 20, has the ablative here); but the genitive occurs at R. i, 47, 22, nā 'sti dhanyataro mama. That the Rāmāyaṇa was also influenced by Prākrit forms, may be shown by R. iv, 17, 49: (māṁ yadi tvam acodayaḥ) Māithilīm aham ekāhnā tava cā 'nītavān bhaveḥ. Here bhaveḥ must be for the dialectic optative bhave (as the commentator says, "bhaveyam"). Whether çādhi, in yatra na çādhi (= çikṣayasi), is due to dialectic form, I must leave to experts to decide, R. ii, 105, 10:

eṣo 'pamā mahābāho tadarthaṁ vettum arhasi
yatra tvam asmān vṛṣabho bhartā bhṛtyān na çādhi hi

In R. ii, 111, 25, occurs anuçāsāmi, sic, and it is difficult to see why çāsasi is not found here.

To p. 265: Note on *bhavati* with the accusative of specification. The only case of this construction in respectable Sanskrit known to me is in Maitri Up. vi, 10: athe 'ndriyārthān pañca svāduni bhavanti, "the five (senses) become (operative, as regards) the objects of sense, in tasting." The preceding phrase has svāduni bhavanti without object, and the scholiast supplies prati with indriyārthān. In no circumstances, however, could the sixth

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chapter of Māitri prove an early use for a construction otherwise unknown in good Sanskrit. Probably the Petersburg Lexicon is quite right in questioning the reading altogether.

To p. 358: The table is (revised) from Professor Cappeller's MS.

To p. 373: On sāuvīra. For the Bālhīkas' (Vahlīkas') sāuvīra, see IS. xiii, p. 369. Both Bhārata and Bhāṣya recognize Çākala, the chief town of the Madras.

To p. 374: On the Puñjāb. Compare the grouping of Kashmeer and Puñjāb as places of pilgrimage: Kāçmīramaṇḍale nadyo yāḥ patanti mahānadam, tā nadīḥ sindhum āsādya çīlavān svargam āpnuyāt, xiii, 25, 8 (with Candrabhāgā and Vitastā in 7).

To p. 378: On human sacrifices. The inferred antithesis is, of course, the horror elsewhere felt at the very sacrifice here ordered. So in ii, 22, 11, it is said that "human sacrifice has never been recognized" (seen). But Çiva is here worshipped with human sacrifices, as has always been the case with this God and his consort. On the "blamable vice" of hunting, compare also ii, 68, 20; xii, 28, 31.

To p. 387: On the denarius. In a passage published some years ago (AJP. vol. xix, p. 24) I called attention to the fact that, though the Roman denarius is not directly mentioned in the epic itself, yet it is mentioned in a later addition to the epic, and this addition is in turn recognized (so late are some parts of the epic itself) in two (I might have said three) books of the epic; whence followed the conclusion that those parts of the epic itself which recognize the addition that in turn recognizes the denarius must naturally be later than the introduction of the denarius into the country, and this implies for these parts of the epic a date later by half a thousand years than the date assumed by the synthetic method for the whole epic in its present condition. When in *Die Genesis des Mahābhārata*, p. 45, the author comes to discuss this awkward point, he simply says, without referring to the source of his information or to the actual state of the case: "This poem contains no such evidence of late origin" (as is implied in the recognition of the Roman coin), words of especial significance when one considers that the author everywhere insists on regarding "this poem" as a complete whole, and that they are put immediately after the remark: "No book in which it (the denarius) occurs can belong

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to a remote antiquity." The passage as a whole is thus liable to give readers unacquainted with synthetic methods the erroneous impression that the historical facts, instead of disproving the contention of the author, favor the conclusion drawn by him. Compare i, 213, 34: na vyājena cared dharmam.

To p. 391, note: On Buddhistic traits. The Pāṣaṇḍas in this passage are set next to those who āçrameṣu vṛthācārāḥ . . . iha lāukikam īhante māṁsaçoṇitavardhanam, iii, 188, 48–49. The last verse, bahupāṣaṇḍasaṁkīrṇāḥ parānnaguṇavādinaḥ āçramāḥ . . . bhaviṣyanti, is the converse of the one cited above on p. 87 from iii, 191, 10. In the former passage, Professor L. de la Vallée-Poussin has just called my attention to the significance of the world-destroying "seven suns" as a term "well-known in Pāli and Nepalese books." I had space only to note the item, as his card came while I was correcting page-proof. The particular importance of this observation lies not in the fact that "seven suns" are Buddhistic (for they are also Brahmanistic), but in these two facts combined, first that (in distinction from seven rays) seven suns are rare in Brahmanism and common in Buddhism, and second that they are here associated with Pāṣaṇḍas, whom the epic scholiast regards as "unbelievers, particularly Buddhists," and with vihāras, another term somewhat more closely associated with Buddhists than with Brahmans. I have pointed out above, p. 49, that the duplicate form of this section is probably later than the Vāyu Purāṇa. In this section, the parent-children are a little older than in the parallel verse at 190, 49 = 188, 60, the age of the girls being that of the boys as cited above. The former is the zodiac section (p. 392).

To p. 392: On some later traits in the epic. The passage (in note 3) from Vana gives the rare adjectival form Yāvana nṛpāḥ, "Ionic kings out of the West." The same section, iii, 254, has a verse, 7 a (not in C.) on the kings of Nepal, Nepāla-viṣaya, a name unknown in early literature and presumably interpolated here. The Mongolians, mentioned in vii, 11, 16, also seem to belong to a late period, a fact M. Barth has emphasized. The Huns, too, while common in the Bhārata, are strange to the Rāmāyaṇa (probably unknown altogether). I really do not know how the synthesist explains such cases, whether as dating from 500 B.C. or as interpolations. The theory is so elastic, with its extrusion of unwelcome data and illogical recourse to

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interpolations whenever convenient, that it is perhaps otiose to try to refute it on historical grounds. Again, in regard to late words, merely as words, any one may say that any word may have any age; but there is still a reasonable suspicion that a number of words found in unique combination or only in certain parts of the epic and in later literature may indicate a somewhat close connection between these parts and that literature: anvavāya, family, i, 209, 2; vii, 144, 6; atyatikrāmat (rathavarān), vii, 146, 40; kāṁdiçīkāḥ (prādravan), ix, 3, 9; x, 8, 102; nā 'yaṁ klībayituṁ kālaḥ, ix, 5, 27 and v. l. to vi, 96, 12 = 4,334; aṣṭāpada, gold, xii, 299, 40, etc. Compare also in mythology, only three world-protectors, xiii, 159, 31 (effect of trinity?); Varuṇa's wife, Siddhi, xii, 301, 59; Citragupta (p. 184).

To p. 396: On the date of the Jātakas. In respect of the importance to be attached to the circumstance that epic tales are recognized in the Jātakas, it must not be forgotten that for the form of the Jātakas, as we have them, there is no evidence whatever of a very ancient date, and since the oldest sculptured tale does not antedate the third century B. C., even the matter they offer can only doubtfully be referred to so early a century. It is of course quite possible, and some may think it probable, that at least the content, if not the form, of the extant Jātakas, is still earlier; but in using the tales for literary and historical comparison it is obviously unsafe to base much upon a double uncertainty, of date and of form. The fact that Buddha always appears in these stories as a Bodhisattva makes it possible indeed that the Jātakas may be much later than the third century. M. Barth, in the review referred to above, has with his usual clearheadedness called attention to the fact that the custom, generally recognized in these stories, of sending young men to Taxila to complete their education, is anything but an antique trait.

Correction. — On pages 55 and 57, prekkhā (prekṣā) is a lapsus for pekkhā.

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